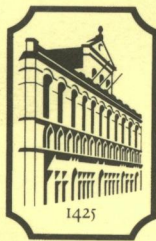


HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA

JOURNAL OF NEO-LATIN STUDIES

Vol. LXI - 2012



LEUVEN UNIVERSITY PRESS

HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA

Journal of Neo-Latin Studies

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Beginning with volume 17 (1968) HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA appears annually as a *Journal of Neo-Latin Studies*.

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HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA

H U M A N I S T I C A
L O V A N I E N S I A

JOURNAL OF NEO-LATIN STUDIES

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LEUVEN UNIVERSITY PRESS

*Gepubliceerd met de steun
van de Universitaire Stichting van België*



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Presses Universitaires de Louvain,
Minderbroedersstraat 4 - B 3000 Leuven/Louvain, Belgium

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ISBN 978 90 5867 929 1
D/2012/1869/74
ISSN 0774-2908
NUR: 635

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SIXTH ANNUAL JOZEF IJSEWIJN LECTURE

(LEUVEN, 28 SEPTEMBER 2011)

Perrine GALAND

ÊTRE PARLEMENTAIRE ET POÈTE EN FRANCE DANS LA SECONDE MOITIÉ DU XVI^e SIÈCLE

1. Introduction

La Renaissance française, comme on le sait, doit presque tout à l'influence de l'Italie: sa redécouverte des auteurs anciens, ses méthodes philologiques et pédagogiques, sa foi dans la dignité et le libre-arbitre humains, et, bien sûr, sa maîtrise d'une écriture 'moderne', en prose et en poésie, fondée à la fois sur l'érudition et sur une affectivité toute individuelle. Or, cet épanouissement d'une culture qui revendiquera bien vite son indépendance et ses particularités propres s'est accompli dans le milieu de Guillaume Budé (1467-1540), juriste et homme de lettres, héritier de ce qu'on appellera le *mos gallicus*, cette méthode humaniste d'analyse du droit léguée elle aussi par l'exemple italien.¹ La théorie poétique, en particulier, a été importée et développée à Paris d'abord dans le milieu des juristes et des parlementaires. Le regard des Français en quête de modèles se tourne en priorité vers les grands poètes italiens de la fin du Quattrocento, à commencer par le Florentin Ange Politien (Angelo Poliziano, 1454-1494), ami de Laurent le Magnifique et de Botticelli, dont les œuvres seront introduites et commentées par le juriste orléanais Nicolas Bérault, ami de Budé et d'Erasmus, et marqueront de leur empreinte (explicite ou implicite) tout le XVI^e siècle.²

¹ Sur Guillaume Budé, voir M.-M. de La Garanderie, *Christianisme et lettres profanes, Essai sur l'Humanisme français (1515-1535) et sur la pensée de Guillaume Budé* (Paris: Champion, 1995 [1976]) et, du même auteur, *Guillaume Budé, philosophe de la culture*, éd. L.-A. Sanchi, *Etudes et essais sur la Renaissance*, 85 (Paris, Classiques Garnier, 2010).

² Voir P. Galand-Hallyn, 'Nicolas Bérault lecteur de Politien', in L. Secchi Tarugi (ed.), *Poliziano nel suo tempo. Attes du VI^e colloque international de l'Institut Pétrarque, Chianciano-Montepulciano, 18-21 juillet 1994* (Firenze: Franco Cesati editore, 1996), pp. 411-427; N. Bérault, *Praelectio et commentaire à la Silve Rusticus de Politien*, édition, traduction et notes de P. Galand (à paraître Genève: Droz, 2012); M.-F. André, *Nicolas*

Combiné avec les idéaux esthétiques et spirituels d'Erasme (lui-même largement tributaire des réflexions de Politien sur la création littéraire), cet héritage a aidé au développement d'une écriture — latine ou vernaculaire — individuelle, toute en demi-teintes, arborant son humanité, qui s'est diffusée en France et en Europe du nord. L'on a vu fleurir, dans les deux langues, les recueils de pièces de circonstance, le plus souvent autobiographiques ou affectant de l'être, spontanés et (faussement) négligents, comme l'indiquent leur variété souvent désordonnée ou le caractère oral de leur style, érudits et virtuoses néanmoins; au contraire de leurs modèles italiens, plutôt profanes sauf le Carme mantouan Battista Spagnoli, très diffusé également en France, ces ouvrages affichent rapidement un souci éthique ou religieux, assignant en principe à la confiance personnelle une visée parénétiq ue et morale, plus que narcissique.³

Pendant la première moitié du siècle, cette poétique érasmisante a fleuri en réelle harmonie avec les écritures francophones de Rabelais, Marot ou Scève; elle est vite devenue le fait de poètes professionnels ou de professeurs humanistes: Jean Salmon Macrin, Nicolas Bourbon, Etienne Dolet, Jean Visagier, Jean Ducher, Jean Dorat, mais ces auteurs ont presque tous gravité dans le milieu de la Robe. En 1549, la Pléiade, groupe de poètes d'avant-garde, fait irruption dans le monde littéraire, affirmant de façon fracassante, par la voix de Du Bellay et de Ronsard, à la fois la supériorité de la langue vernaculaire et celle d'une inspiration apollinienne 'furieuse' et hautaine, qui veut rompre avec l'écriture antérieure, latine et française, axée plus humblement sur le labeur et l'humeur. Pourtant, une forte tradition de la poétique érasmisante va perdurer, en latin, à côté de l' 'illustration' de la langue française et même continuer à l'encadrer, à l'influencer. Cette tradition se maintiendra grâce à l'action des juristes humanistes, que Marc Fumaroli a pu qualifier, à juste titre, de 'colonne vertébrale de l'humanisme

Bérauld laissé pour compte des 'Bonnes Lettres'. Monographie sur l'humaniste orléanais N. Bérauld (c. 1470-c.1555), thèse de doctorat soutenue à l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne le 25 novembre 2011, sous la direction de P. Galand.

³ Sur cette poésie de circonstance, voir P. Galand, 'Quelques coïncidences (paradoxales?) entre l'*Épître aux Pisons* d'Horace et la poétique de la *silve* (au début du XVI^e siècle en France)', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 60 (1998), 609-639 et P. Galand et S. Laigneau (eds), *La 'silve': histoire d'une écriture libérée en Europe, de l'Antiquité au XVIII^e siècle. Actes du colloque international des 2-5 juillet 2008, Gand, Koninklijke Academie voor Nederlandse Taal-en Letterkunde*, à paraître aux éditions Brepols (*Latinitates*, 6), 2012.

français'.⁴ L'un des piliers de ce lyrisme de classe, tout au long du siècle, est, par exemple, le 'salon' parisien d'une famille de robins, les Deloynes-Morel.⁵ Le grand-père, François Deloynes (c. 1468-1524), président aux enquêtes en 1522 et le père, Jean de Morel (1511-1581), maître d'hôtel du roi, étaient des amis intimes de Budé et d'Erasme. Pendant tout le siècle, Deloynes, Morel et sa femme Antoinette Deloynes (veuve de l'avocat au Parlement Lubin Dallier), relayés par leur petite-fille et fille Camille Morel (1547-ap. 1611), ont joué un rôle de trait d'union entre les milieux parlementaires, les humanistes et les poètes professionnels latins ou vernaculaires. Avec l'aide de Michel de L'Hospital (1505-1573), le futur chancelier de France, leur voisin à Paris dans la Rue Pavée, près de Saint-André-des-Arts, les Morel ont même pour ainsi dire 'lancé' la Pléiade, en guidant stratégiquement les débuts orageux de Ronsard à la cour.⁶

L'intérêt des juristes français pour les Belles Lettres, a fait l'objet, ces dernières années, de plusieurs études utiles. Marc Fumaroli a minutieusement analysé l'éloquence spécifique des Parlementaires. Il a montré que les juristes, imprégnés de l'idéal, puisé chez Quintilien, du *vir bonus dicendi peritus*, se voyaient réellement comme les successeurs du Sénat romain et travaillaient à élaborer une langue française épurée et une rhétorique brillante, mais contrôlée par l'éthique et la religion. Pour Fumaroli, depuis le début du siècle (bien avant même l'édit de Villers-Cotterêts, 1539) jusqu'au règne d'Henri III (1574), c'est au Parlement autant qu'à la Cour que l'on observe la manière de bien parler le français.⁷ Loris

⁴ M. Fumaroli, *L'Âge de l'éloquence: rhétorique et 'res literaria' de la Renaissance au seuil de l'époque classique* (Genève: Droz, 2002 [1980]), troisième partie: 'Le "style" de Parlement', pp. 425-510 (p. 432).

⁵ Sur cette famille importante, voir S. F. Will, 'Camille de Morel: a prodigy of the Renaissance', *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association*, 51 (1936), 89-119; P. Ford, 'An Early French Renaissance Salon: The Morel Household', *Renaissance et Réforme/Renaissance and Reformation* (numéro spécial *Salons littéraires de femmes dans l'Europe de la Renaissance*, édité par C. Winn et F. Rouget), 28/1 (2004), 9-20; P. Galand, 'Quelques orientations spécifiques du lyrisme néo-latin en France', Lecture plénière pour la France au Congrès international de l'International Society of Neo-Latin Studies, Bonn, août 2003, in R. Schnur e.a. (ed.), *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Bonnensis*, Medieval and Renaissance texts and studies, 315 (Arizona: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2006), pp. 299-320.

⁶ Voir L. Petris, *La plume et la tribune: Michel de L'Hospital et ses discours (1559-1562); suivi de l'édition du De initiatione Sermo (1559) et des Discours de Michel de L'Hospital (1560-1562)*, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 360 (Genève: Droz, 2002), pp. 11, 468, 500-519.

⁷ Fumaroli, *L'Âge de l'éloquence*, troisième partie.

Petris, éditeur des *Quatrains* du parlementaire Guy du Faur de Pibrac (un recueil de préceptes moraux)⁸, a montré, du reste, le lien de cette éloquence avec les genres gnomiques et Valérie Hayaert ses rapports avec la littérature emblématique.⁹ Loris Petris a également étudié l'art oratoire en vernaculaire de Michel de L'Hospital dans une importante monographie intitulée *La Plume et la tribune. Michel de L'Hospital et ses discours (1559-1562)*.¹⁰ Bruno Petey-Girard et Alexandre Tarrête ont publié les actes d'un colloque sur la carrière juridique et les conceptions rhétoriques du haut magistrat Guillaume du Vair.¹¹ Ingrid De Smet, dont le livre a été complété par un colloque du Centre Saulnier, s'est penchée sur le cheminement professionnel et littéraire de Jacques-Auguste de Thou (1553-1617), maître des requêtes puis conseiller d'Etat à Paris, montrant ce que sa carrière devait à sa réputation de lettré.¹² Enfin, Giovanni Rossi, dans une magistrale étude sur André Tiraqueau (1488-1558), important ami de François Rabelais et de Budé, a étudié ce que l'élaboration de sa pensée juridique emprunte aux lettres.¹³

Si le rapport des juristes à l'éloquence (surtout vernaculaire) — par essence assez évident — et à la culture humaniste est ainsi déjà bien clarifié, il manque encore une analyse d'ensemble de leur conception théorique et de leur pratique de la poésie. Je me contenterai, pour aujourd'hui, d'en dégager quelques traits constants, en explorant rapidement certains aspects de la production poétique latine de trois auteurs issus du milieu robin : 1. les *Carmina* de Michel de L'Hospital (parus à Paris, 1585, puis dans une réédition complétée à Amsterdam, en 1732 — j'ai, du reste, eu la chance de trouver à la bibliothèque de Gand ce qui est sans doute le manuscrit préparatoire de cette dernière édition); Loris Petris avait déjà amorcé dans son livre sur les discours une réflexion intéressante sur la poétique du Chancelier, que nous poursuivons

⁸ Guy du Faur de Pibrac, *Les Quatrains. Les plaisirs de la vie rustique et autres poésies*, textes édités, introduits et commentés par L. Petris (Genève: Droz, 2004).

⁹ V. Hayaert, *Mens emblematica et humanisme juridique* (Genève: Droz, 2008).

¹⁰ Voir ci-dessus la note 6.

¹¹ B. Petey-Girard et A. Tarrête, *Guillaume du Vair, Parlementaire et écrivain (1556-1621)*, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 403 (Genève: Droz, 2005).

¹² I. De Smet, *Thuanus, The Making of Jacques-Auguste de Thou (1553-1617)*, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 418 (Genève: Droz, 2006); I. De Smet (ed.), *Jacques-Auguste de Thou. Écriture et condition robine*, Cahiers V. L. Saulnier, 24 (Paris: Presses universitaires de Paris-Sorbonne, 2007).

¹³ G. Rossi, *Incunaboli della modernità. Scienza giuridica e cultura umanistica in André Tiraqueau (1488-1558)* (Torino: Giapichelli, 2008).

ensemble en préparant une édition critique annotée des *Carmina* de L'Hospital¹⁴; 2. le *Sylvarum liber primus* (édité à Paris chez Denis Dupré en 1571) de Guillaume de Calvimont, cousin d'Etienne de La Boétie, le fameux ami de Montaigne, et avocat aux Parlements de Bordeaux puis de Paris¹⁵; 3. Pour finir un long poème descriptif intitulé *Cantilupum*, qui dépeint les fameux jardins topiaires (ornés de figures sculptées dans les végétaux) de Chanteloup (Essonne), propriété des Neufville, grande famille de secrétaires d'Etat issus de la bourgeoisie marchande et apparentés à la Robe, puis des Savary de Brèves, liés à l'illustre famille robine des de Thou. Ce texte a été édité en 1587 sans nom d'auteur (on ne lit que les initiales I. B. L. S. M.), sans lieu ni date¹⁶; je pense, pour diverses raisons, qu'il a été probablement composé par Madeleine de L'Aubespine, épouse du secrétaire d'état Nicolas IV de Neufville Villeroy, qui tenait salon et écrivait elle-même des vers.¹⁷ J'ai choisi de dire un mot de ce poème pittoresque — dont je prépare actuellement l'édition commentée en collaboration avec un urbaniste, Matthieu Dejean¹⁸ —, justement parce que l'érudition féminine est une particularité de ce milieu de Robe (ce qu'atteste le salon des Morel déjà évoqué). Je m'interrogerai d'abord sur le statut des juristes-poètes, puis sur la dimension autobiographique de leurs œuvres dont je soulignerai la visée à la fois 'publicitaire' et éthique.

¹⁴ Le volume I (= livre I des *Carmina*), édité avec la collaboration de D. Amherdt et de C. Laimé-Couturier, paraîtra à Genève, chez Droz, en 2012.

¹⁵ *Gulielmi Calvimontani in supremo Parisiensi Senatu patroni Sylvarum liber primus* (Parisiis: Ex typographia Dionysii à Prato, 1571). Sur cet auteur, voir le résumé de mon séminaire de l'Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes, Sciences historiques et philologiques, de l'année 2008-2009, publié dans l'*Annuaire* de l'E.P.H.E. de 2011, n°141, pp. 148-152 (consultable en ligne: <http://ashp.revues.org/index996.html>). J'utilise ici l'exemplaire des *Sylves* conservé à la Bibliothèque Nationale de France (YC-1283).

¹⁶ Nous avons à ce jour identifié quatre exemplaires de *Cantilupum*: trois de l'édition de 1587, respectivement conservés à la Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Paris (8 Z 1047 INV 3188 RES (P8)); à la Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris (8Ê 21363 [Res]) et à la Bodleian Library d'Oxford (Vet.E1e.33); un exemplaire d'une réédition de 1588 conservé à la British Library (1213.k.11.(3)); le texte, tout comme celui de la Bodléienne, n'a pas été correctement identifié, il est décrit comme 'a description in Latin hexameters of an estate bearing that name near Castro in Italy, [Rome?]' ; il s'agit sans doute de la localité de Cantalupo in Sabina confondue ici avec le domaine de Chanteloup). J'utilise ici, pour le moment, les deux exemplaires français de l'édition de 1587.

¹⁷ Sur cette grande dame, qui cotoya notamment Ronsard et Desportes, voir *Selected Poems and Translations. By Madeleine de L'Aubespine*, ed. and trans. by A. Klosowska (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

¹⁸ Egalement dans le cadre de mon séminaire de l'E.P.H.E.

2. Les juristes-poètes en quête d'un statut

Si les juristes se réclament ouvertement de la culture humaniste, y compris dans leurs activités professionnelles, ils semblent moins à l'aise quand il s'agit pour eux d'afficher leur pratique poétique. D'un côté, il ne va pas de soi pour un notable, chargé de fonctions respectables, de s'adonner à la poésie, qui risque toujours d'apparaître — malgré les efforts apologétiques déployés par les humanistes italiens depuis Pétrarque — comme un passe-temps futile, plutôt réservé à la cour (or les parlementaires, comme le rappelle Fumaroli, se voient comme des médiateurs entre le palais royal et l'université, ce que la topographie parisienne illustre symboliquement à leurs yeux: le Parlement est situé dans l'île de la Cité, entre le Louvre sur la rive droite et l'université sur la rive gauche, comme le souligne en 1607 Louis d'Orléans, ancien avocat général de la Ligue, rallié à Henri IV et chantre de Paris¹⁹); d'un autre côté, les poètes professionnels, soutenus par le roi ou par des mécènes, représentent pour les juristes une concurrence intimidante.

Il revient, me semble-t-il, à Michel de L'Hospital d'avoir fondé la légitimité de la composition poétique pour sa classe sociale. L'Hospital a pris soin en effet de mettre en scène dans son œuvre, de façon paradigmatique, ses propres débuts poétiques, dès les années 1546-1549, avant même qu'il ne fût nommé chancelier de Marguerite de Valois.²⁰ L'humaniste se place d'emblée sous l'*auctoritas* de deux grands personnages: le cardinal Jean du Bellay, le cousin du poète de la Pléiade, diplomate important sous le règne de François I^{er},²¹ et le poète de cour Jean Salmon

¹⁹ Fumaroli, *L'Âge de l'éloquence*, p. 428.

²⁰ Pour tout ce passage je renvoie à mes analyses détaillées dans P. Galand-Hallyn, 'Michel de L'Hospital à l'école de Jean Salmon Macrin dans les *Carmina*', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 65/1 (2003), 7-50.

²¹ Sur Macrin, voir I. D. McFarlane, 'Jean Salmon Macrin (1490-1557)', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 21/1 (1959), 55-84, 311-349, et 22 (1960), 73-79, et l'introduction de Georges Soubeylle à Jean Salmon Macrin, *Epithalames & Odes*, édition critique avec introduction, traduction et notes par G. Soubeylle (Paris: Champion, 1998) pp. 17-20 (= version augmentée et légèrement modifiée de l'édition antérieure: *Le livre des Epithalames (1528-1531), Les odes de 1530 (livres I & II)*, édition critique, avec introduction, traduction et notes par G. Soubeylle, Publications de l'Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail, Série A, Tome 37 (Toulouse: Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail, 1978); Jean Salmon Macrin, *Hymnes (1537)*, ed. Suzanne Guillet-Laburthe (Genève: Droz, 2010); P. Galand-Hallyn, entre autres publications, 'L'ode latine comme genre "tempéré": le lyrisme familial de Macrin dans les *Hymnes* de 1537', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 50 (2001), 221-265; 'Mémoires d'une vie trop courte: mise en scène du souvenir chez Jean Salmon Macrin (*Naeniae*, Paris, 1550)', in Hélène Casanova-Robin et Perrine Galand (eds), *Écritures*

Macrin, auteur-phare, en langue latine, de cette première moitié de siècle, qui s'était illustré par de nombreux recueils-*'feuilletons'*, où il mettait en scène sa vie de famille, ses amis, ses patrons. L'Hospital fréquentait alors le cercle cultivé du cardinal à Saint-Maur-des-Fossés, en même temps que ses amis parlementaires Du Drac, Faye, de Lion et Tiraqueau. Macrin édita en 1546 des poèmes de Jean Du Bellay, à la suite des trois livres de ses propres odes.²² Le professionnel de la littérature et l'homme d'état se parrainaient ainsi mutuellement. L'Hospital fut autorisé à encadrer les pièces du cardinal de deux épîtres horatiennes de son cru, toutes programmiques, les pièces III, 8 et III, 10. Dans la première, qui sera développée ensuite dans une pièce postérieure, II, 17, le juriste se penche sur la question cruciale de l'inspiration poétique. Depuis le début du siècle, les milieux humanistes avaient été imprégnés des nouvelles définitions que Politien, à la suite de Quintilien et de Stace, avait données de la nature du poète.²³ Le *furor* divin décrit par Platon s'y effaçait devant le *calor*, élan affectif soutenu par une érudition en profondeur, plus propice aux petits genres intimes, à la manière d'Horace ou du Stace des *Silvae*, qu'à l'épopée ou à la tragédie. L'importance accordée désormais seulement à l'*ingenium* personnel et à l'étude rendait cette explication rationalisée de l'inspiration bien plus endossable par les juristes. L'Hospital offre ainsi dans sa première épître une *retractatio* d'un lieu commun issu des *Tristes* d'Ovide (*trist.*, 4, 10, 15-26) et modifié par Stace (*silv.*, 2, 7, 36-38), adopté et enrichi par Pétrarque, Boccace, Politien et Macrin: le thème de la vocation enfantine du poète, analogue à celle du religieux (hors du siècle, désintéressé) et contraire à celle du juriste (avide de faire carrière dans la société), à laquelle le père, selon les versions, s'oppose (Ovide, Boccace, Pétrarque) ou apporte son soutien (Stace, Politien, Macrin).²⁴ La figure paternelle apparaît ainsi tantôt comme celle d'un

latines de la mémoire de l'Antiquité au XVI^e siècle, Colloques, congrès et conférences sur la Renaissance européenne, 66 (Paris: Garnier, 2010), pp. 379-412.

²² Jean Du Bellay, *Poemata*, éd. G. Demerson et R. Cooper (Paris: Société des Textes Français Modernes, 2007).

²³ Voir P. Galand-Hallyn et F. Hallyn (eds), *Poétiques de la Renaissance. Le modèle italien, le monde franco-bourguignon et leur héritage en France au XVI^e siècle*, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 348 (Genève: Droz, 2001), chapitre II sur l'inspiration.

²⁴ Sur ce sujet, voir J. Lecointe, *L'Idéal et la différence. La perception de la personnalité littéraire à la Renaissance*, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 275 (Genève: Droz, 1993), pp. 246-270; P. Galand, 'Marot, Macrin, Bourbon: "Muse naïve" et "tendre style"', in G. Defaux (ed.), *La Génération Marot. Poètes français et néo-latins (1515-1550). Actes du Colloque international de Baltimore — 5-7 décembre 1996* (Paris: Champion, 1997), pp. 211-240; Ead., 'Michel de L'Hospital à l'école de Jean Salmon Macrin'.

défenseur des valeurs sociales et de la carrière juridique, tantôt comme celle d'un adepte des valeurs chrétiennes et du renoncement à la gloire et à la fortune. Macrin, dans une ode (II, 23) de 1530 certainement connue de L'Hospital, avait exprimé sa reconnaissance envers son père qui, contre l'avis des siens, avait autorisé le jeune poète à délaisser 'le droit civil et le barreau, qui permettent d'accumuler les richesses', 'iura cum civilia plurimi | Et congerendis divitiis forum | Accommodum (...)', fustigeant comme Virgile 'ceux qu'habitent l'exécrable appétit de posséder', 'Sacra fames quibus est habendi'. L'Hospital nuance le propos, en décrivant à son tour un père aimant et soucieux, mais prudent, contrariant en douceur la vocation poétique de son fils par crainte de l'engager dans la pauvreté, apanage traditionnel des poètes depuis Homère. L'humaniste prend soin néanmoins de préciser que, magistrat vertueux, resté poète dans l'âme, il n'a jamais profité de sa fonction pour s'enrichir (II, 17); il souligne aussi que ses obligations professionnelles et le vacarme du tribunal l'ont contraint à adopter, comme Horace, le genre humble de l'épître en vers (III, 8). Dans cette habile réécriture d'un *topos* poétique, L'Hospital fait ici, comme on dit, d'une pierre trois coups: d'abord il montre qu'il maîtrise élégamment le code et l'intertexte poétiques; ensuite il affirme le caractère inné de son inspiration, point important car, malgré l'usage inévitable des protestations de modestie qui parsème leur oeuvre, Michel, comme nombre de ses émules juristes, considère l'écriture poétique comme un acte sérieux et non comme un simple divertissement intellectuel. C'est bien dans les neuf livres de ses *Carmina* et non dans des mémoires en prose que L'Hospital choisira plus tard de raconter ses souvenirs et de faire son bilan politique, spirituel et affectif. Enfin, en se rangeant ainsi dans la catégorie des poètes par nature, au même titre que Macrin, mais en indiquant qu'il a préféré son devoir de magistrat à son inclination naturelle, il défend une position empreinte d'un certain stoïcisme, qui parcourra toute son oeuvre et qui colore souvent les recueils poétiques des juristes-poètes. En même temps, le thème de la vocation contrariée lui permet d'expliquer à l'avance, par le manque de temps ou d'expérience, les insuffisances éventuelles de son art, comparé à celui des poètes de profession. Il semble du reste, à lire le début de l'épître III, 8, que L'Hospital situe le groupe des poètes-juristes, que Macrin en 1550 nommera les 'poètes de la capitale', 'principe in urbe poetae'²⁵, entre les poètes de cour, seulement capables d'épigrammes, de railleries et de jeux

²⁵ Macrin, *Naeniarum libri II* (Paris: Michel de Vascosan, 1550), III, 8 (p. 140, v. 21).

d'esprit, aveuglément adulés à la cour, et les 'vrais' poètes liés aux Muses et à Apollon, comme Macrin ou comme les auteurs d'épopées qu'il appelle de ses vœux.

La pièce III, 10, est chargée, quant à elle, de régler la question épineuse de la bienséance de l'activité poétique pratiquée par un notable. L'Hospital raconte que, lors d'un voyage en compagnie d'un ami, il fut hébergé par Macrin à Loudun. A la veillée, celui-ci annonce à ses hôtes ébahis que le cardinal Jean Du Bellay est aussi un poète et, devant le scepticisme souriant de L'Hospital, il sort de sa poche l'édition même de 1546 (qui contient à la fois ses poèmes et ceux de Du Bellay) et leur lit des odes du prélat. Les deux auditeurs et le lecteur lui-même sont bien vite envoûtés par le charme quasi orphique des vers. Cependant, L'Hospital a pris soin de mettre dans la bouche de Macrin, juste avant sa lecture, une véritable apologie de la poésie comme noble et indispensable occupation des serviteurs de l'Etat, qui leur permet à la fois de se récréer et d'approfondir des méditations utiles à leur charge. Ce discours, qui fait écho à l'épître liminaire de l'édition où sont donnés en exemple les cardinaux-poètes italiens Adrien, Bembo et Sadolet, s'inspire du *Pro Archia* de Cicéron (12-13), ainsi que du *De otio* et du *De tranquillitate animi* de Sénèque. A la fin de la pièce, L'Hospital indique que la révélation de la double vocation de Du Bellay a eu sur lui un effet contagieux et lui a permis d'improviser, lors de son retour à cheval, tout le poème III, 10 lui-même. Dans les deux épîtres que l'on vient de voir, le magistrat s'abrite donc sous la double égide d'un poète professionnel et d'un cardinal écrivain, tout en attribuant aux juristes-poètes un statut spécifique, proche des *vates*, des inspirés, par l'*ingenium* et la vertu, sinon par la virtuosité, loin des vulgaires versificateurs et des amuseurs de la cour.

De cette nécessaire mise au point, à la fois modeste et orgueilleuse, l'avocat Guillaume de Calvimont a repris à son compte le thème de la vocation poétique entravée par le manque de temps et le vacarme des tribunaux. A son tour, il a opposé, dans une pièce adressée, à la fin du recueil, à Camille Morel (98, pp. 24r^o-24v^o)²⁶, la candeur des Muses à la fureur des Procédures allégorisées (*Querelae*), le désintéressement des unes à la cupidité des autres, reprenant sous forme de boutade le *topos* de la pauvreté des poètes; Guillaume explique en effet que sa belle-mère

²⁶ *Gulielmi Calvimontani in supremo Parisiensi Senatu patroni Sylvarum liber primus*, f. 24r^o-24v^o.

(qui cherche à le déshériter) n'est d'accord avec lui que sur un point: elle voudrait le voir pareil à Homère, c'est-à-dire sans le sou! L'auteur de *Chanteloup*, de son côté, s'attarde assez longuement, au début de son poème²⁷, sur son inspiration qu'il peint d'abord laborieuse, puis, balayant ses scrupules: 'At non perpetuo, divae²⁸, quia digna negantur, | Idcirco vobis dicentur carmina nulla' (v. 9-10), bien plus assurée: 'Pegasides, longa his [lucis] Parnassus somnia debet, Tu quoque Apollo veni (...)' (v. 25-26); le cas est particulier, il est vrai, puisqu'il s'agit sans doute d'une écriture féminine et que le défi de l'auteur est autant lié à son sexe qu'à sa classe sociale.

3. La poésie autobiographique, entre orgueil de classe et responsabilité morale

J'aimerais à présent étudier les deux principales fonctions que la plupart des parlementaires poètes attribuent à leur pratique poétique, conçue le plus souvent comme un discours autobiographique, ou du moins présentée comme tel. On retrouve dans leurs oeuvres la conscience de classe, ainsi que le sens d'une responsabilité intellectuelle et éthique envers la société, que la critique a relevées dans leur conception de l'éloquence robine.²⁹ Aux yeux de cette catégorie sociale qui s'attache à rivaliser avec les aristocrates courtisans, l'écriture poétique est un lieu idéal pour affirmer une supériorité à la fois liée à la culture, à la morale mais aussi, non sans quelque paradoxe ou hypocrisie chez ces admirateurs du 'pauvre' Homère, à la puissance ou même à la richesse.

L'Hospital et Calvimont (et bien d'autres) ont adopté la forme du recueil de silves staciennes ou d'épîtres horatiennes, de poésies de circonstances marquées par une forte coloration autobiographique, même s'il ne s'agit pas d'un récit structuré de l'existence du poète. Le poème de Chanteloup s'apparente aussi aux silves où Stace décrit les villas où il a séjourné. La fonction de ces auto-portraits, plus ou moins élaborés, est manifestement celle d'un témoignage sur la société contemporaine, en même temps que d'une apologie ou d'une promotion de leur auteur et/ou de sa famille. Cependant, certaines précautions devaient accompa-

²⁷ *Cantilupum*, vv. 1-30.

²⁸ L'auteur s'adresse aux nymphes des jardins.

²⁹ Cf. ci-dessus l'introduction.

gner une telle peinture narcissique, pour éviter qu'elle ne débouche sur l'impudeur ou la 'philautie' — l'amour excessif de soi — fustigée par Erasme. C'est pourquoi une perspective éthique semble toujours de mise dans les auto-portraits, modèles ou anti-modèles, chargés officiellement d'exhorter leurs lecteurs à la vertu. Prise entre auto-promotion et souci parénétiq, la poésie parlementaire offre toute une gamme de nuances que je ne peux qu'effleurer à présent, à travers les silves de Calvimont et celle du jardin de Chanteloup.

L'épanouissement poétique d'un bâtard. Guillaume de Calvimont était le fils naturel (né dans le Périgord entre 1520 et 1530) d'un grand personnage de la Robe, Jean de Calvimont (1490-1557), et d'une inconnue, Guillemette Meriter³⁰; d'abord conseiller au Parlement de Bordeaux, puis peu de temps magistrat à Paris, Jean de Calvimont revient à Bordeaux en 1526 comme deuxième Président du Parlement. François I^{er} lui confiera plusieurs missions diplomatiques. C'est lui notamment qui sera chargé de négocier la libération des enfants du Roi restés en otage à Madrid après le désastre de Pavie. Marié à deux reprises, Jean n'eut que deux enfants légitimes de sa seconde femme, Marguerite de Farges, une fille, Louise, puis un fils posthume, Jean (1557-1586?), qui fut son héritier, au détriment de Guillaume, bâtard que son père avait pourtant reconnu (en 1546). L'avocat engagea une longue procédure contre la veuve. Guillaume fut d'abord clerc, puis avocat au Parlement de Bordeaux, puis accéda au Parlement de Paris, toujours comme avocat, il mentionne cette mutation dans l'une de ses 'silves' (7, p. 7r°).

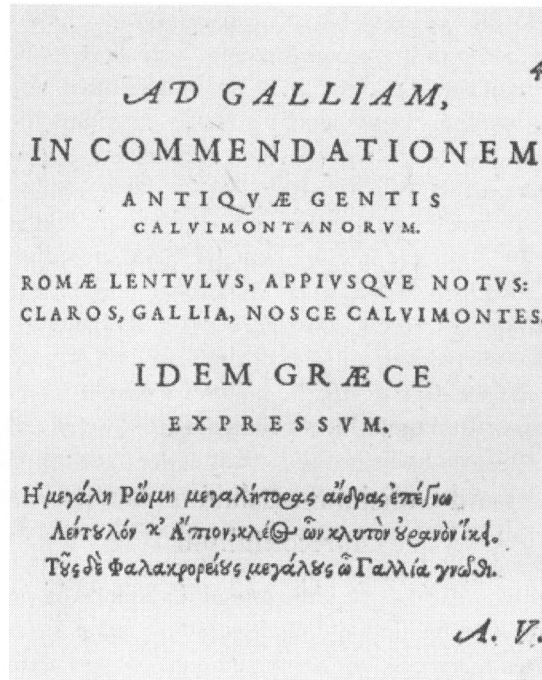
Le recueil a été publié en janvier 1571, en une courte période d'accalmie et d'espoir au sein des guerres de religion, avant la reprise des atrocités et la Saint-Barthélemy; la même année, les œuvres posthumes (dont des *Poemata*) du cousin germain de Calvimont, le fils de sa tante Philippe, Etienne de La Boétie étaient éditées par Montaigne.³¹ Il me semble qu'en rassemblant ces cent-dix *silvae* (plus sept pièces de paratexte), dont la

³⁰ Je remercie Philippe Rougier qui me communique régulièrement les résultats de ses recherches sur les archives des Calvimont. P. Rougier et l'archéologue Marie Palué ont organisé récemment une exposition sur le thème 'Les Calvimont, seigneurs de Labenche. Une ascension sanglante du Périgord à Brive du XV^e au XIX^e siècle' à Brive-la-Gaillarde (du 27-5 au 30-8-2011).

³¹ Voir P. Galand-Hallyn, 'Les "essais" latins d'Etienne de La Boétie (*Poemata*, 1571)', in M. Tetel (ed.), *Etienne de La Boétie, Sage révolutionnaire et poète périgourdin. Actes du colloque international de Duke University, 26-28 mars 1999* (Paris: Champion, 2004), pp. 123-156.

chronologie est difficile à établir, Guillaume (alors âgé de 41 à 51 ans) cherche à faire le point sur sa carrière pour son propre profit et pour celui des autres. Il met en valeur systématiquement sa famille, ses relations parmi les juristes mais aussi parmi les intellectuels de son temps, prend quelques revanches sur des adversaires et se dessine en poète et en sage accompli. Bien qu'il conserve l'esthétique du mélange (des thèmes et des mètres) et de l'improvisation virtuose que suppose l'écriture de la silve, on voit s'esquisser des séquences, des échos et des réseaux internes.

On note d'abord que le recueil est dédié à un autre bâtard, Henri d'Angoulême (1551-1586), fils du roi Henri II et de Jane Stuart (elle-même bâtarde de James IV d'Ecosse), personnage bouillant et lettré qui fréquentait l'Académie du Palais. Les huit premières pièces indiquent les liens de Guillaume avec la Cour et le milieu parlementaire: Michel de L'Hospital (4, pp. 6r°-6v°) et Jean de Morel (5, pp. 6v°-7r°), dont j'ai mentionné le salon, y font le trait d'union entre Henri d'Anjou (1, p. 5r°; 2, pp. 5r°-5v°; 3, pp. 5v°-6r°), qui deviendra roi trois ans plus tard, et de grands personnages de la Robe comme les Présidents Christophe de Thou (6, p. 7r°) et Pierre Séguier (7, pp. 7r°-7v°), et le conseiller Nicolas Perrot (8, pp. 7v°-8r°). Fort de son *ethos* de poète, Guillaume s'y adresse d'un ton assuré et même parfois familier à ces hauts personnages; on reconnaît l'attraction que les robins, souvent issus de familles marchandes, éprouvaient pour l'aristocratie; on retrouvera dans le reste du recueil une attestation permanente des relations du poète avec des notables de la cour ou de la Robe. Pourtant, le père de Guillaume avait été le premier de la famille à contracter mariage avec des jeunes filles de la noblesse périgourdine. Le poète a donc soin de placer au seuil de son livre trois liminaires qui rappellent au lecteur la noblesse de son lignage; les deux premières pièces (p. 4r°), signées des initiales A. V. (sans doute le médecin Antoine Valet, auquel s'adresse la dernière épigramme, 110, p. 26v°), sont élégamment typographiées à la manière des inscriptions antiques; l'auteur y compare, en latin puis en grec, les Calvimont aux Lentuli et aux Appii, grandes familles de l'antiquité romaine. Au verso de la même page figurent les armes de la famille (comportant deux tours et deux lions) commentées par une épigramme. Le recueil s'achève de même par une devise familiale: 'ut turris constans, nobilis utque Leo' (p. 26v°). D'autres pièces chantent certains de ses parents parlementaires. La plus curieuse et la plus élaborée toutefois, la pièce 14 (f. 9v°), s'adresse à son demi-frère, l'héritier légitime de son père; dans cette épigramme assez surprenante,



pleine d'humour, le poète accuse explicitement sa belle-mère d'avoir capté l'héritage qui lui revenait, en abusant, en son absence, son père devenu sénile, mais la chute plaisante quoiqu'ambiguë de la pièce, peint un Calvimont désintéressé:

Ad Ianum Calvimontanum fratrem suum

Sum patris in tenerae prognatus flore iuventae,	1
Te tremulus genuit, posthumus esque patri.	
Sum natu primus, vix sum tamen ultimus haeres.	
Non heic qui prior est tempore, lege prior.	
In promptu causa est, hebeti me absente parenti	5
Ut placet elogium cauta noverca facit.	
Et quia supremo placuit sic forte Tonanti	
Sis prior illi haeres, ultimus ut tibi sim.	
Absit, propter opes properent sua stamina Parcae,	
Tempora quo vitae sint breviora tuae.	10

Entre armoiries glorieuses et bâtardise frustrante, ces poèmes familiaux en disent long sur le désir de compensation sociale du poète.

La réussite intellectuelle, cependant, apparaît — on le voit chez nombre de juristes —, comme un moyen de s'élever au moins aussi important que les alliances sociales. On trouve des séquences de poèmes consacrées à des imprimeurs (85, f. 22r°; 100, 101, f. 24v°); à des humanistes, professeurs et/ou poètes, tels que Denis Lambin, professeur au Collège royal (16, f. 10r°; 58, f. 18r°), le médecin Valet, précepteur d'Odet de Turnèbe (110, f. 26v°), François de Belleforest, qui sera historiographe d'Henri III (104, f. 25r°), les Ecossais George Buchanan (87, f. 22v°) et Adam Blackwood (paratexte, f. 3r° et pièce 89, f. 23r°), Pierre de Brac (59, f. 18r°, 68, 69, f. 19r°-19v°), Gabriel Bounyn (30, 31, ff. 13v°-14r°), dramaturge, et même l'illustre Pléiade, représentée dans ses silves par Dorat (17, f. 10r°; 58, f. 18r°), Baïf (18, f. 10r°) et Ronsard (15, ff. 9v°-10r°; 24, f. 11v°; 32, f. 14r°-14v°, 58, f. 18r°). Calvimont fréquentait donc l'intelligentzia parisienne et les auteurs à la mode; c'est pourtant bien de Michel de L'Hospital, alors retiré de la politique à la date de parution des silves, qu'il se réclame quand il s'agit de sa propre création poétique. Dans une élégie (4, 1-2, f. 6r°-6v°) qui commence par une citation de Juvénal (*sat.*, 8, 1): 'Stemmata quid prodest antiquae extollere gentis? | Delectent proprio parta labore magis', usant d'une mise en scène toute humaniste, Calvimont raconte une vision: il a rencontré à l'Elysée la Muse de L'Hospital qui lui a conseillé d'aller lui demander l'inspiration. L'Hospital reste décidément le grand modèle, même si nous apprenons, dans une autre épigramme adressée au Président Séguier (7, f. 7r°-v°) qu'il s'était d'abord opposé à la mutation de Guillaume, qui voulait passer de Bordeaux à Paris, mais que le roi a tranché en faveur de l'avocat... La pièce 23 (f. 11r°-v°) promet au chancelier une éternelle célébration pour son parrainage poétique. Dans son recueil, Calvimont cherche à prouver qu'il est capable de pratiquer des facettes très variées de l'écriture poétique en vigueur de son temps. On trouve ainsi un petit cycle de poésies érotiques (38, f. 15r°, 50, 51, 52, 53, 56, f. 16v°-16v°), adressées à une certaine Sabina, dans lesquelles le poète cultive moins le sentiment que la virtuosité formelle: jeux sur le sens et la métrique des termes *lepus et lepos* à la manière de Martial, variations métriques où la même déclaration d'amour est réécrite successivement en hexamètres, en strophes saphiques, en hendécasyllabes. On repère également deux énigmes agrémentées d'une panoplie de figures de mots (42, f. 15v°, 49, f. 16v°). Ce sont là des exercices de versification et des jeux de société

que l'on pratiquait avec ardeur, en cette fin de siècle si bouleversée, dans les salons ou à la cour. Calvimont veut montrer qu'un juriste peut avoir autant d'esprit qu'un poète courtisan.

Mais ces galanteries, saupoudrées ici ou là, ne signifient pas que Guillaume n'ait pas retenu les leçons de son maître L'Hospital. Ecrire des vers, pour un juriste, ne peut se limiter à des badinages, si utiles soient-ils dans les relations sociales; s'il ne s'interdit nullement une certaine légèreté, Calvimont entrelace ses silves de réflexions plus graves sur l'existence. L'Hospital est ainsi gratifié d'une ode saphique à la paix, qui rend hommage à la politique iréniste qu'il mena inlassablement. Au début du recueil, juste après les épigrammes où le poète déploie l'éventail de ses relations, il insère plusieurs pièces à coloration philosophique, pour rappeler le lecteur à une vision plus austère du monde. La première de ces pièces est une réflexion sur l'inconstance de la Fortune (9, f. 8r^o-v^o). Elle est suivie d'une série de variations métriques (10, 11, 12, 13, f. 8v^o- f. 9v^o), un peu analogues, sur le plan formel, quoique plus discrètes, au cycle de Sabina, mais adressées à la fameuse Camille Morel (1547-ap. 1611), la fille de Jean de Morel, enfant prodige devenue une femme de lettres réputée et tenant un salon où elle recevait Dorat et ses amis. Toutes ces épigrammes traitent de la métaphore du miroir, empruntée à un passage de l'*Alcibiade* de Platon³², où Socrate et son ami dialoguent à propos du célèbre précepte 'connais-toi toi-même'. Calvimont, homme d'âge mûr, y adopte l'*ethos* socratique pour donner à son tour à la jeune Camille (âgée de vingt-quatre ans au moment de l'édition), une leçon de vie: il y dénonce la fausseté des apparences, loue la supériorité de l'esprit sur le corps (mais rend quand même hommage au passage à la beauté de la jeune femme!), enseigne la nécessité de se préparer à la vieillesse. La parole poétique et l'intertexte platonicien lui permettent ainsi de franchir la distance sociale qui le sépare en temps normal de la prestigieuse famille Morel:

Ad Camillam Morellam de usu et utilitate speculi ex Socrate

Deformes, pariter pulchros iuvenesque senesque
 Socratis in speculo cernere membra decet,
 Ornet ut ingenio deformis corporis artus,
 Cuncta suo pulcher corpore digna gerat.
 Ne tenera iuvenes faciant indigna iuventa,
 Se nihil indignum perpetret ipse senex.
 (10, f. 8v^o)

³² Platon, *Alcibiade majeur*, 132c-133e.

Ad eandem

Hoc te si speculo Camilla cernas,
 Indignum facies lepore tanto
 Nil vel nomine, vel parente, nanque
 Res bellas peragit puella bella.
 (12, f. 9r°)

Les silves de Guillaume de Calvimont dessinent ainsi les réussites et sans doute encore les espoirs d'un enfant naturel dont le statut social, dans le monde de la robe, est demeuré bien inférieur à celui des membres de sa famille paternelle, mais qui est parvenu, en cultivant les Muses, à pénétrer les cercles littéraires où humanistes, parlementaires et hommes de cour se mêlaient et à y faire résonner fièrement le nom de ses ancêtres. C'est dans un univers à la fois semblable et différent que je me propose, pour finir, d'enquêter sur le rôle de la poésie des parlementaires: celui d'un poète qui, au contraire de Guillaume de Calvimont, s'est trouvé, dès sa naissance légitime, au faite suprême de la société de son temps et qui, la maturité venue, se plut à célébrer la richesse, la culture et la vertu de sa famille, symbolisées par le parc aux topiaires édifiants, merveilles de la technique, du domaine de Chanteloup.

Richesse, art et vertu. Le poème de Chanteloup a été rédigé par un auteur qui ne se nomme pas autrement que par des initiales (I.B.L.S.M), mais qui précise dès les premiers vers (v. 3-4, p. 3) qu'il a été associé jadis par *Juno pronuba* (la divinité protectrice de la mariée) aux jardins merveilleux, célèbres pour leurs topiaires et leurs automates, qui font la gloire du propriétaire et qu'il va décrire par le menu. Il s'agit donc d'une femme. A l'époque de la publication (1587), l'illustre famille robine du propriétaire du domaine de Chanteloup dans l'Essonne (sur la route de Paris à Orléans), Jean de Neufville (1527-1597), compte justement une poétesse fort prisée: Madeleine de L'Aubespine (1546-1596), mariée depuis 1561 au prestigieux neveu de Jean, le conseiller royal Nicolas IV de Neufville Villeroy, était dame d'honneur de Catherine de Médicis; elle tenait salon à l'hôtel de Villeroy et dans sa demeure de Conflans, près de Paris. Adulée par maints poètes, dont Philippe Desportes, elle était considérée par Ronsard comme sa fille spirituelle et s'était déjà fait connaître par ses sonnets français, sa traduction des *Héroïdes* d'Ovide et probablement un traité de morale à usage familial, le *Cabinet des saines affections*, inspiré du *De tranquillitate animi* de

Sénèque.³³ Elle constitue ainsi un auteur érudit et latiniste très plausible du poème.

Son oncle par alliance, Jean, cadet modeste qui vécut par ailleurs dans l'ombre, n'eut pour seul titre de gloire que ce parc enchanteur qui fut célèbre à travers toute l'Europe.³⁴ Secrétaire de la chambre du roi en 1549, marié la même année à Geneviève Alard, fille d'un conseiller au Parlement, il hérita la seigneurie de Chanteloup de son père Nicolas II de Neufville, en 1553; en 1566, sous Charles IX, il sera trésorier de France, fonction plutôt lucrative. La fille cadette de Jean de Neufville, Anne, épousera en 1575 Christophe-Auguste de Thou, conseiller du roi, issu d'une des plus grandes familles de la robe parisienne; la petite-fille issue de ce mariage, également prénommée Anne, épousa François Savary, marquis de Brèves, important diplomate et orientaliste du XVII^e siècle. Chanteloup restera donc lié au milieu des juristes. Pendant les années 1585-1587 — époque probable de la composition du poème —, les Neufville se rangeront secrètement avec les Ligueurs contre le roi Henri III et, selon Pierre de L'Estoile, Jean sera caricaturé par les partisans du roi sous la noire figure d'un corbeau distraît, symbole de son habit de robin.³⁵ En 1589, Nicolas IV, le mari de Madeleine, fut même soupçonné d'avoir eu part à l'assassinat du roi. Revenons à Jean de Neufville. Il se consacra sans doute dès avant 1570 à orner son jardin de merveilleux topiaires; en 1586, Henri III et Catherine de Médicis y demeurèrent trois jours.

³³ Les textes des poèmes français et la traduction d'une des *Héroïdes* ont été récemment réédités par A. Klosowska dans *Madeleine de l'Aubespine: Selected Poems and Translations: A Bilingual Edition*, ed. and trans. Anna Klosowska, *The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007). *Le Cabinet des saines affections* a été publié par C. Winn: *Le Cabinet des saines affections, attribué à Madeleine de L'Aubespine. Cinq éditions de 1584? à 1600*, édition critique par C. H. Winn (Paris: Champion, 2001); voir J. Balsamo, 'Des saines affections (1591) et le syncrétisme philosophique dans la culture de cour sous Henri III et Henri IV', *Journal de la Renaissance*, 6 (2008), 23-36. I. de Conihout, qui a accepté de collaborer à notre édition, a redécouvert il y a quelques années la bibliothèque des Neufville Villeroy, lire par exemple 'La "belle librairie" évanouie de Nicolas de Villeroy retrouvée', in I. de Conihout e.a. (eds), *Henri III mécène, des arts, des sciences et des lettres* (Paris: PUPS, 2006), pp. 318-329; voir aussi J. Balsamo, 'Abel Langelier et ses dames: les Dames des Roches, Madeleine de l'Aubespine, Marie Le Gendre, Marie de Gournay', in D. de Courcelles et C. Val Julian (eds), *Des femmes et des livres. France et Espagne XIV^e-XVIII^e siècles*, Etudes et rencontres de l'Ecole des chartes, 4 (Paris: l'Ecole des chartes, 1999).

³⁴ Pour l'histoire complète du domaine, voir l'article à paraître de Matthieu Dejean, 'Jean de Neufville dans les jardins de Chanteloup'.

³⁵ Pierre de L'Estoile, *Registre-journal du règne de Henri III*, t. V, (1585-1587) (Genève: Droz, 2001), pp. 53-60 (cité par Dejean, 'Jean de Neufville', p. 6).

Il est assez probable, du reste, que la reine-mère se soit inspirée de Chanteloup lorsqu'elle fit aménager les jardins topiaires des Tuileries (entre 1560-1570), ainsi que le suggère le poète Pierre de Laudun d'Aigaliers.³⁶ En 1596, le légat du pape, Octavien de Médicis, y séjourna à son tour. Par la suite, pendant quinze ans, le domaine, célébré par les guides touristiques en latin surtout, attira maints visiteurs de provenance internationale.

La comparaison avec des guides de voyages contemporains ou un peu postérieurs³⁷ montre que les descriptions très fournies de Chanteloup sont aussi très exactes, même si l'auteur joue constamment de l'allégorie, comme Stace dans ses *Silves*, pour animer la nature et les statues qui la peuplent, reproduisant les grands mythes antiques, souvent d'après les *Métamorphoses* d'Ovide. Le jardin est vanté pour ses terrains de jeux multiples aux équipements luxueux mais sa partie la plus longuement détaillée est le bois des topiaires où se succèdent les divinités. Les prouesses techniques réalisées par les jardiniers et les artisans à leur service, capables de combiner la taille des végétaux et l'articulation des automates, semblent uniques à l'époque en France. L'attraction majeure de ce Disneyland de haut niveau est une image du monde réalisée à l'aide de terre, d'eau courante et de plantes (vv. 479-510):

In medio septem coelestes curritis orbes,	
Docta thimo tenui latos quos dextera duxit,	480
Inter quos certo firmata est pondere tellus,	
Quam varii circum venti cinxere fluentes	
Vi fontis, qui terrae etiam discrimina ponens,	
Hic Asiam signat, nigros hic terminat Afros,	
Hic facit Europam, regna hic incognita monstrat.	485
Nec non Oceani lati vasta aequora ponit,	
Quoque medo terram magnus circumfluat omnem,	
Quo findat mediam, quo cunctos hauriat amnes.	
Hoc etiam mirere magis quod flumina signet	
Singula, quae angustis tubulis ut carcere in altum	490
Evomit unda levis, rursusque hinc murmure grato	
Oceanum confusa petunt, sed origine certa,	
Hic fluit Euphrates, rutilus Pactolus arenis	
Hac ruit, hac tepido convolvitur India Gange,	
Turbidus hac torquet flaventes Ister arenas,	495

³⁶ Pierre Delaudun sieur d'Aigaliers, *Franciade* (Paris: A. Du Breuil, 1603), chant VI, pp. 197-201 (cité par Dejean, 'Jean de Neufville', pp. 17-21).

³⁷ Voir l'article à paraître de M. Dejean, 'German travelers lost in translation. Marvels and fame of Chanteloup gardens through the German eye'.

Barbarus hic Rhenus, multi sine nomine currunt.
 Vos modo nunc dicam septemflua flumina Nili
 Quaeque suis etiam gentes regionibus illic
 Distinctae apparent, fluviis pelagoque notandae.
 Italiae hic campos, hic fuscis cernis Iberos,
 Praestantesque illis animoque et corpore Gallos,
 Et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos (...)

500

Michel de Marolles, qui visita le jardin en 1611, commente ainsi la merveille:

ce que j'y trouvai de plus ingénieux et de plus ravissant à mon gré étoit la représentation d'une mappemonde avec de la terre et de l'eau naturelle, où les mers et les rivières n'étoient point oubliées, non plus que les montagnes et les quatre vents également disposés autour du grand cercle de l'horizon, lesquels faisoient rejaillir l'eau de leurs bouches qu'ils sembloient enfler exprès.³⁸

Ayant vu la fontaine à la même époque ou à peu près, Hans Georg Ernstingers nous apprend qu'il s'agit bien là d'art topiaire:

Ain anderer reicher brunnen, welcher repräsentiert die spheram caelestem mit den 12 himblischen zaichen, Zodiacis und 7 planeten, von buxbaum und offtbemeltem kraut troine gemacht; in der mitten ist der globus der erden als Asia, Aphrica, Europa und America von erden mit grass bedeckht, so artlich mit iren flüssen und dem meer zuegericht, als obs ainer in ainer mappa oder landtafl sähe, uned springen auch wasser über sich an mehr orten aller viertail der erden.³⁹

Une telle réalisation, assez exceptionnelle et certainement très onéreuse, combine, comme on le voit, la maîtrise (*docta dextera*, v. 480) de l'*ars topiaria* (les signes du Zodiaque et les planètes sont faits de buis et de troène, les continents sont en terre couverte de gazon) avec celle de l'hydraulique. Mais elle arbore aussi une connaissance de la science cosmographique: les deux observateurs comparent cette reproduction du monde avec une 'mappemonde' ou une carte, 'mappa', 'landtafl', projections planes des deux hémisphères du monde sans doute analogues à celles des livres de l'époque⁴⁰, tandis que l'auteur de *Cantilupum*

³⁸ *Memoires de Michel de Marolles, abbé de Villeloin divisez en trois parties (...)* (Paris: Antoine de Sommaiville, 1656), pp. 16-17.

³⁹ Hans Georg Ernstingers, *Raisbuch (nach Teutschland, Welschland, gantz Frankreich, thails Hispanien, Behain und niderlendische Provintzen)*, hg. von Philipp Alexander Ferdinand Walther, Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, 135 (Stuttgart: Litterarischer Verein, 1877), pp. 208-209.

⁴⁰ Notre édition comprendra une confrontation systématique des sources du poèmes avec les volumes de la bibliothèque des Villeroy, retrouvés par I. de Conihout.

souligne la précision avec laquelle les fleuves sont reproduits un par un : ‘Hoc etiam mirere magis quod flumina signet | Singula’, et même les populations aisément reconnaissables (*cernis*, v. 24), sans doute sous forme de figurines sculptées. Recréer minutieusement, artistiquement, puis posséder le monde dans son jardin ! On ne peut sous-estimer le caractère symbolique de cette plaisante maquette. Le commanditaire de la fontaine comme des autres artifices du jardin, ainsi que le souligne le poème de sa nièce par alliance, fait ainsi en tous lieux valoir son pouvoir, son savoir et même sa sagesse.

Lorsque Stace louait les villas, les parcs, les collections de statues de Manilius Vopiscus ou de Pollius Felix, il les associait — non sans quelque sophisme — au goût des propriétaires pour la philosophie épicurienne, en faisant des métonymes de leur élévation d’esprit.⁴¹ De même, l’auteur de *Chanteloup* prend soin de relier le luxe architectural du jardin à une culture et même à une éthique. Les divinités aimables ou effrayantes qui accueillent le visiteur sont issues de l’univers ovidien ou d’autres textes antiques ; elles offrent un véritable parcours éducatif, ou mieux, initiatique, à déchiffrer (l’auteur lui-même évoque les *ambages* du lieu au vers 7). La toute première divinité est la Vertu qui monte la garde et ne laisse qu’à ses adeptes l’accès au jardin : ‘Ipsa etiam Virtus uenienti a limine primo | Occurrit, prohibens sua templa patere profanis’ (vv. 92-93). Un peu plus loin se dressent des estrades (sans doute en gigogne) d’un genre spécial, qualifiées de *pegmata*, qu’un mécanisme permet de rehausser ou d’abaisser. Sur cette plate-forme analogue, écrit l’auteur, à celles des portiques et des théâtres antiques, ‘pegmata porticibus quondam nota atque theatris’, le promeneur verra surgir la Vertu, le Vice et, pris entre elles, Hercule, à la croisée du chemin. Puis la Vertu s’envolera dans les airs, tandis que le Vice s’enfuira en compagnie de Tristesse. L’art topiaire et l’art mécanique sont ainsi mis au service du fameux apologue de Prodicos et les visiteurs, grands et petits, éprouveront, devant ce théâtre de marionnettes (grandeur nature ?) un plaisir à la fois enfantin devant l’ingéniosité technique et culturel au rappel d’une fable philosophique fameuse. On notera au passage — et ce détail mériterait toute une analyse — que le terme grec *pegma*, d’emploi rare, que l’on ne trouve ni chez Vitruve ni chez Alberti, mais bien chez Ulpian (*dig.*, 33, 7, 12, 25),

⁴¹ P. Galand-Hallyn, *Le Reflet des fleurs. Description et métalangage poétique d’Homère à la Renaissance*, Travaux d’Humanisme et Renaissance, 283 (Genève : Droz, 1994), chapitre IV.

avait été, comme l'a montré Valérie Hayaert, largement étudié par les juristes, qui en avaient répertorié les mentions chez les anciens et les significations variées: 'estrade', 'mise en scène', 'échafaud', 'ornement'.⁴² Sénèque faisait de ces *artes ludicrae* un symbole de l'artifice qu'il opposait à la vertu.⁴³ Au contraire, le juriste Pierre Coustau, en 1555, en fera le titre de son livre d'emblèmes moraux adressés à son milieu, *Pegma cum narrationibus philosophicis*, invitant ainsi les juristes à monter sur des 'pegmes' pour combattre leurs vices.⁴⁴ En 1585, Etienne Pasquier avait encore offert ce volume au juriste Philippe Hurault, alors chancelier de France.⁴⁵ Il y a fort à parier que l'auteur de *Cantilupum* n'emploie pas ce terme par hasard. Dans le jardin 'philologique' de Chanteloup, les *pegmata*, sortes d'emblèmes en trois dimensions, servent, comme chez Coustau, à exhiber la vertu. Du reste, l'ensemble du jardin, y compris les aires de jeux collectifs dont la critique actuelle a bien dégagé la valeur pédagogique et éthique, notamment dans leur rapport au hasard⁴⁶, est présenté par l'auteur du poème non tant comme un lieu luxueux de divertissement que comme un moyen de conserver la mémoire du passé et de ses valeurs, notamment stoïciennes. Le texte latin lui-même constitue ainsi — comme dans la lettre (V, 6) où Pline le Jeune décrit sa villa de Toscane et assimile sa description à un *analogon* du lieu — un double textuel de la promenade à laquelle il convie le lecteur et dont il dévoile l'arrière-plan à la fois culturel et philosophique.

L'on voit que ce chef d'œuvre de technique et de culture, métonyme de son propriétaire et de la famille Neufville, avait manifestement pour but d'attirer la faveur du Roi et des Grands; en écrivant un poème qui venait, en quelque sorte, doubler les merveilles topiaries, elles-mêmes issues de la poésie antique, Madeleine poursuivait sans doute plusieurs

⁴² Hayaert, *Mens emblematica et humanisme juridique*, chapitre II: 'Pegma, pegmata, une énigme de pandectiste', pp. 49-78.

⁴³ Sen., *ep.*, 11, 88, 22 (cité par Hayaert, *Mens emblematica et humanisme juridique*, p. 58).

⁴⁴ Hayaert, *Mens emblematica et humanisme juridique*, pp. 71-78.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 75-76.

⁴⁶ Voir notamment M.-M. Fontaine, *Libertés et savoirs du corps à la Renaissance* (Paris: Paradigme, 1993), chap. 'Le jeu de paume comme modèle des échanges: quelques règles de la sociabilité à la Renaissance', pp. 99-155, [1^{ère} version: dans F. Thélamon (ed.), *Sociabilité, pouvoirs et société. Colloque de Rouen 1983*, Publications de l'Université de Rouen, 110 (Rouen: Presses de l'université de Rouen, 1987), pp. 143-153] et du même auteur 'La vie autour du château: témoignages littéraires', in Jean Guillaume (ed.), *Architecture, Jardin, Paysage. L'environnement du château et de la villa aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles* (Paris: Picard, 1999), pp. 259-293.

buts: célébrer l'œuvre de son oncle (par alliance) Jean, qu'elle met du reste brièvement en scène à la fin du poème (vv. 629-642) et témoigner l'estime de la branche plus brillante de la famille à ce personnage pieux et assez retiré; justifier, comme jadis Stace dans ses descriptions de villas, l'étalage de la richesse et du luxe de sa maisonnée par une éthique associée à l'érudition; faire ses preuves, à l'égal des hommes, en matière de poésie latine savante, après s'être illustrée dans l'art du sonnet érotique et de la traduction du latin. La date de la publication de *Cantilupum*, 1587, n'est sans doute pas étrangère non plus à la position délicate de Nicolas IV, son mari, proche de la Ligue, à la cour d'Henri III, dans ces années-là. En honorant l'un des plus discrets parmi les Neufville, en décrivant les plaisirs souriants d'un *otium* inoffensif et bon enfant, en transformant les méandres raffinés du jardin en itinéraire spirituel, presque philosophique, la poétesse offrait une image à la fois brillante, innocente et même exemplaire, de cette famille de robins parvenue presque au faite de l'ascension sociale.

Au terme de ce parcours, l'on voit que la poésie, pour le milieu des robins, n'est pas simplement un passe-temps ou un jeu, mais peut comporter des enjeux de grande importance: depuis le début de la Renaissance française, les Parlementaires se sentent, à l'instar des orateurs romains, les dépositaires de la culture du passé tout autant que de la langue française; il se considèrent également comme les gardiens de l'éthique de leur pays. Or, l'admiration que les humanistes italiens du Quattrocento professaient pour l'art poétique les avaient souvent conduits à placer, dans leurs réflexions théoriques, le poète au-dessus de l'orateur, en raison du prestige orphique de la métrique et de la profondeur philosophique des mythes.⁴⁷ Les robins français, si proches des professionnels de l'Humanisme, ont souhaité accéder à leur tour à cet art d'élite. Il revint à l'Hospital de légitimer cette ambition en s'appuyant sur les penseurs antiques de l'*otium*. Les Parlementaires pouvaient désormais marcher sur les traces d'un Cicéron. Leur pratique poétique, imitée des poètes intimistes comme Horace ou Stace, plus que des auteurs d'épopée, leur a permis de broser aux yeux de la cour ou de la bourgeoisie cultivée l'autoportrait collectif de leur classe montante, à la fois érudite et vertueuse, digne des plus hauts offices; elle leur a permis également de se distinguer en tant que famille ou individu, de compenser un handicap

⁴⁷ Voir Galand-Hallyn – Hallyn, *Poétiques de la Renaissance*, chapitre I.1., pp. 3-28.

social, comme c'est le cas pour L'Hospital, dont le père avait trahi le roi, ou de Calvimont, fils naturel légitimé, ou de proclamer au contraire sa réussite, comme on le voit pour Madeleine de L'Aubespine et le clan des Neufville. Entre les élégants, mais vains poètes courtisans et les poètes professionnels plus concentrés sur leur érudition, les Parlementaires-poètes ont su prolonger une écriture érasmienne de la méditation humaine, parfois maladroite, souvent élégante et très personnelle.

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PAPST PAUL II. (1464-1471) UND DER TÜRKENKREUZZUG IN
EINEM LITERARISCHEN DIALOG DES FLORENTINERS
SILVESTRO FRANCESCO DA MONTELUPO, O.P. (1415-1479)

1. Die Handschrift

Der in der Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze unter der Signatur Nuovi Acquisti (= N.A.) 1276 aufbewahrte Codex ist seitens der Forschung bislang unbeachtet geblieben.¹ Es handelt sich um eine Prachthandschrift des späten 15. Jahrhunderts, die sich, wie der handschriftliche Katalog des Giovanni Targioni Tozzetti belegt², bereits im 18. Jahrhundert, allerdings unter der Signatur Magl. XXXV 2, in Florenz befand.³ In den 1830er Jahren gelangte sie jedoch — unter ungeklärten Umständen — in den Besitz des englischen Bibliophilen Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792-1872) und fand unter der Signatur 7012 Eingang in dessen berühmte Privatbibliothek.⁴ Der unmittelbar vorhergehende Besitzer ist unbekannt.⁵ Nach Phillipps' Tode wurde sein beeindruckender Bücherbestand sukzessive und portionsweise an verschiedene öffentliche Bibliotheken verkauft.⁶ Der am Ende noch verbliebene Rest gelangte nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg in den Besitz des Antiquariats Robinson, welches die Bücher einzeln weiterveräußerte. So wurde auch die genannte Handschrift

¹ Die Handschrift ist registriert bei Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Iter Italicum: accedunt alia itinera. A finding list of uncatalogued or incompletely catalogued humanistic manuscripts of the Renaissance in Italian and other libraries*, V (Leiden, 1990), 599.

² Giovanni Targioni Tozzetti, *Catalogo generale dei manoscritti Magliabechiani* (11 Bände, erstellt um die Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts). Signatur in BNCF: Sala Mss Cat. 45.

³ Als verschollen registriert bei Kristeller, *Iter*, I (Leiden, 1977), 122.

⁴ Vgl. einführend A.N.L. Munby, *The Catalogues of Manuscripts and Printed Books of Sir Thomas Phillipps. Their Composition and Distribution* (Cambridge, 1951).

⁵ Phillipps' Katalog gibt lediglich an, dass die Handschriften 6873-7022 'Ex Bibl. Miscellaneis' stammten; vgl. A.N.L. Munby, *The Formation of the Phillipps Library up to the Year 1840* (Cambridge, 1954), S. 162.

⁶ Vgl. A.N.L. Munby, *The Dispersal of the Phillipps Library* (Cambridge, 1960).

schließlich im Jahre 1973 bei Sotheby's versteigert und vom italienischen Staat erworben. Dieser schenkte ihn der Florentiner Nationalbibliothek.
— *Habent sua fata libelli*.

Der Codex besteht aus weißem Pergament. Seine erste Seite ist aufwändig verziert und zeigt die Miniatur des Papstes Paul II. (Pietro Barbo; 1464-1471) sowie das Wappen der venezianischen Familie Barbo.⁷ Enthalten ist auf fol. 1r-77v nur ein einziger, in Prosa verfasster Text, welcher sich in einer sorgsam ausgeführten Schrift präsentiert. Auf der letzten Seite (fol. 77v) liest man den Kolophon: 'Gabriel de Pistorio transcripsit etcetera'.⁸ Aufgrund der äußeren Erscheinung darf man annehmen, dass es sich um eine Widmungshandschrift handelt. Umso erstaunlicher ist es jedoch, dass der Text weder eine Überschrift noch ein Explicit aufweist, in der bzw. dem der Name des Autors überliefert würde.⁹ Wie noch zu zeigen sein wird, rührt dieses Defizit vermutlich daher, dass der Verfasser an der päpstlichen Kurie bestens bekannt und eine explizite Nennung seines Namens deshalb überflüssig gewesen ist. Bei dem Text handelt es sich um einen lehrhaften Dialog¹⁰, an dem neben dem Ich-Erzähler nur noch eine weitere Person beteiligt ist.

2. Der Inhalt und die biographischen Einschübe

In der Einleitung beschreibt der zunächst namenlose Ich-Erzähler, wie er am 1. Sextilis des laufenden Jahres 1470 zur Mittagsstunde einen Traum hat. Ihm erscheint ein mit der Ritterwürde ausgezeichnete Mann, welchen er noch aus seiner Kindheit kennt (fol. 1r):

⁷ Es ist zunächst überraschend, dass die Handschrift heute in Florenz und nicht in der Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana liegt. Allerdings gingen die Bücherbestände Pauls II. nach dessen Tod an seinen Verwandten Marco Barbo über; nur ein Teil gelangte später in die päpstliche Bibliothek.

⁸ Auf fol. 77v ist unter dem Kolophon von einer späteren, nicht kalligraphischen Hand (15. / 16. Jh.) ein kurzes anonymes Gedicht in Volgarre nachgetragen worden.

⁹ Ein englischer Bibliothekar hat auf einem vorne in die Handschrift eingefügten Zettel unter anderem notiert: 'The author of this work appears to be unknown. It is probably unique'.

¹⁰ Inc. *Dormitanti michi circa meridiem*. Der Text wird nicht verzeichnet bei Ludwig Beralot, *Initia Humanistica Latina: Initienverzeichnis lateinischer Prosa und Poesie aus der Zeit des 14. bis 16. Jahrhunderts, im Auftrag des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom bearbeitet von Ursula Jaitner-Hahner*, 2: *Prosa*, Teil 1 (Tübingen, 1990). Eine Edition des gesamten Textes ist in Vorbereitung.

Ecce vir adest insignis, quem in mei [!] adolescentia noveram. Vir erat staturae mediocris, non plene albus, opinione magnus et quondam gener Iacopucci Caldorii dictus. Vir non parum honoratus, sed insignitus baltheo videbatur militari et Quiritum more togatus.

Die Identität der zweiten Person wird hier somit ebenfalls noch nicht gelüftet, sondern nur angedeutet (es handelt sich um einen Schwiegersohn des Iacopuccius Caldorius). Überrascht spricht der Ich-Erzähler die Traumgestalt an und fragt sie nach dem Grund ihres Erscheinens (fol. 1r):¹¹

Quem permagis¹² admirans proprio vocavi nomine dicens: "Quid mihi et tibi, Paule, de genere dormientium? Que tui adventus ad lfol. 1v me causa est?"

Der Leser erfährt somit, dass die Traumgestalt auf den Namen Paulus hört. Dieser beruhigt den Ich-Erzähler zunächst: Er erscheine dem Schlafenden nur deshalb im Traum, um mit ihm zu reden (fol. 1v):

At ipse voce lugubri grave respondens: "Confabulaturus tecum, mesto rore sparsus, pater, adveni". Meque iam toto pavido facto aspectuque in terram presso adiecit: "Nulla adsit causa timendi, pater. Nam licet de genere sim dormientium, spes tamen est mihi, quia non mortuus".

Der Ich-Erzähler erkundigt sich nun erneut nach dem Grund des Kommens (fol. 1v):

Quo audito ac viribus paululum resumptis in eum prospectans, non ut de Africano legitur in libello De somnio Scipionis, dixi: "Quae causa tui adventus ad me, Paule? Cum dormiveris, iam anni sunt fere novem, si non pleni. Est tibi opus suffragio, quia confabulaturum¹³ mecum te advenisse affatus es? Dic, super qua causa vis conferre, ut te audito respondeam, quoad velim".

Man gewinnt hier die Information, dass Paulus vor fast neun Jahren 'eingeschlafen' ist — Wie die spätere Wortwahl zeigt, handelt es sich hierbei um einen Euphemismus für den Tod. Zugleich erhält der Leser einen ersten, nur indirekten Hinweis darauf, dass Ciceros *Somnium Scipionis* ein wichtiges literarisches Vorbild des Textes darstellt.¹⁴

¹¹ In allen folgenden lateinischen Zitaten wird die — mitunter inkonsequente — Graphie des Florentiner Codex beibehalten. Nur die Groß-/Kleinschreibung und die Interpunktion sind um des besseren Verständnisses willen an die deutsche Rechtschreibung angepasst. Zudem sind sämtliche Abkürzungen aufgelöst. Zwischen *u* und *v* wird differenziert.

¹² Konj. Haye; *pmagis* Hs.

¹³ Konj. Haye; *confabulaturus* Hs.

¹⁴ Siehe hierzu unten Abschnitt 5.

Paulus erläutert nun, dass er mit dem Ich-Erzähler über die türkische Eroberung der Insel Negroponte (Euboia) sprechen wolle (fol. 1v):

Qui ait: "Super flebili Nigropontis occasu nuperrime facto". Ad quem: "Graviusne hoc aliquid captura Constantinopolitana in anno tertio post iubilum facta est?" Qui ait: "Longe haec gravior quam tibi declarata Carrarie".

Die Eroberung Negropontes wird hier also mit dem Fall Konstantinopels verglichen. Zur damaligen Zeit, d.h. im Jahr 1453, scheinen sich der Ich-Erzähler und Paulus gemeinsam in Carrara aufgehalten und über das aktuelle Ereignis gesprochen zu haben. Der Untergang Negropontes, so die zentrale These, sei die größere von zwei Katastrophen.

Der Ich-Erzähler kündigt jetzt an, dass er mit Paulus in einen mehrtägigen Dialog einzutreten gedenke (tatsächlich wird sich das Gespräch über drei Tage erstrecken), dessen Thema der Heilige Geist sei. Im Anschluss an diese Disputation solle Paulus ihm vom Fall Negropontes erzählen (fol. 1v):

Ad quam vocem supra modum ter¹fol. 2¹ritus pronus in terram cecidi et una secum totus lachrimis madidus factus, de solo surrexi et dixi: "Ex quo advenisti, Paule, certos hic mecum commoraberis dies teque auditurum prestabis et responsum de spiritu sancto sermonem. Deinde auditum parabo, ut, quam lachrimis perfusus caepisti, rem gestam mihi enarres".

Hiermit ist die Makrostruktur des folgenden Textes zutreffend beschrieben. Paulus setzt sich sodann zum Ich-Erzähler nieder und sie beginnen das gemeinsame Gespräch (fol. 2r):

Qui propius consedere caepit. Ut me placido vultu audiret, se disposuit. At ipse tunc cecini: "Credo in spiritum sanctum (...)".

Nach dem Bekenntnis zum Heiligen Geist folgen einige weitere Vorbemerkungen über die Schwierigkeit der Unterweisung. Denn Paulus behauptet in aller Bescheidenheit, ein solches theologisches Gespräch übersteige seine fachliche Kompetenz (fol. 2v):

Quis, o Silvester, virorum clarissime, in hoc tam eleganti ac tam egregio negotio tantaeque rei discussione non Hieronymi utatur eloquio (...) ? 3¹l Quid me igitur, pater, advocasti, cum nil ipse possim aut valeam, quo ad presentem, pro qua instas, materiam nec lingua, calamo vero minime tuae sancte postulationi satisfacere possem?

An dieser Stelle fällt somit erstmals der Name des Ich-Erzählers. Es handelt sich um einen theologisch kompetenten, offenbar renommierten Gelehrten namens Silvester.

Dieser lässt die Ausflüchte seines Gesprächspartners nicht gelten, sondern beharrt auf dem vorgeschlagenen Thema (fol. 3r):

Obaudiendum tibi erat, Paule, ac etiam omni conatu parendum. Nec me credere velim existimes lfol. 3v| hac excusatione dedita te non magis culpandum quam excusandum. Nam te perpraedicant docti et in hac arte qui censentur periti.

Nach den Worten Silvesters verfügt also auch Paulus über eine gewisse theologische Kompetenz. Letzterer ziert sich im Folgenden noch ein wenig, willigt dann jedoch ein, das gelehrte Gespräch zu beginnen. Er ruft zunächst den Heiligen Geist an (fol. 3v), sodann fordert Silvester ihn auf, die Lehren der großen Autoritäten bezüglich dieser göttlichen Instanz vorzutragen (fol. 4r). Hierauf beginnt das philosophisch-theologische Gespräch über die Bestimmung des Heiligen Geistes (fol. 4). Dabei werden in einem ersten Abschnitt die theologischen Irrtümer der spätantiken 'Häretiker' Donatus, Arius und Sabellius behandelt (fol. 8r-9v).

Danach folgt eine autobiographische Passage, in der Silvester ausführt (fol. 10r):

Mos enim est praebentis venena sub mellitis poculis virus letiferum prestare convivanti (...) Nam vermiculo hamo cooperto etiam grandes capiuntur pisces et dulci quoque Serenarum cantu sopiti summergeuntur remiges.

Paulus findet eine solche Äußerung banal (fol. 10r):

Non magnum fore fateor remiges mergi vinctos et catenatos. Nam persaepe contingere sum expertus ad marinas beluas deici consimiles, etiam et a pyrratis. Expectabam grandia te dicturum. Pariunt forsant montes, cum nascitur mus¹⁵, quia dixisti remiges mergi.

Doch Silvester wehrt diesen Vorwurf ab, indem er seine Äußerung in einen größeren Zusammenhang stellt und mit einem zeitgenössischen Exemplum unterfüttert (fol. 10r):

Parvifacere videris, quia summersos dixi servituti aut captivitati deditos, ac si non etiam biremium, triremium totiusque classis aut partis magnos heroes lfol. 10v| et gubernatores absorberi a fluctibus etiam nostra aetate deplansimus.¹⁶ Num te ignorare existimo¹⁷ nos ex urbe Roma secedere aliquando ad

¹⁵ Vgl. Hor., *ars*, 139: 'Parturient montes, nascetur ridiculus mus'.

¹⁶ = *deplangimus* oder *deplanximus*.

¹⁷ Hier wäre wohl eher der Konjunktiv *existimem* zu erwarten — oder statt des fragenden *Num* ein begründendes *Nam*. Da der Autor aber auch an vielen anderen Stellen nicht den Regeln klassischer Stilkunde folgt, ist eine Konjekture zwar möglich, jedoch nicht zwingend erforderlich.

germanos nostros tollendos et suadendos, ne mare eo navigio intrarent, quo fluctibus absorcto¹⁸ omnes, qui inerant, perierunt nec unus ex eis remansit ad nova deferenda, Petro de Boncianis excepto, qui solus de galea Florentinorum evasit, quam pelagus absorbit die lune, hora XIII^a, quinta Martii, M^oCCCC^oLXIII^o, luna XXXVI^a percurrente, Aquarium Sole piscante?

Silvester berichtet hier von einer florentinischen Schiff, das im Jahre 1464 im Sturm untergegangen ist. Von seinen (offenbar geistlichen) Brüdern, welche sich damals auf dem Meer befanden, hat nur Petrus de Boncianis überlebt. Die Leser erfahren zudem, dass sich der Ich-Erzähler im genannten Jahr in Rom aufgehalten hat. Man darf ferner vermuten, dass er aus Florenz stammt oder mit der Stadt zumindest sehr gut vertraut ist. Paulus bestätigt umgehend die Kenntnis des erschütternden Ereignisses (fol. 10v):

Audivi cuncta, quae narrasti, nec erat, quo a lachrimis abstinere potuerim, quibus genas per dies plurimos madidas reddidi et consolari¹⁹ minime valebam. Nec te immemorem esse credo dicto die, mense et anno perplures tam Venetorum quam ceterarum nationum naves deperisse.

Im Sturm ist somit nicht nur ein einzelnes Schiff, sondern offenbar eine ganze Flotte untergegangen. Aufgrund der expliziten Nennung Venedigs könnte man bereits hier vermuten, dass Paulus die Stadt näher kennt (diese Annahme wird sich bei der noch folgenden Lektüre bestätigen).

Nach einigen weiteren theologischen Ausführungen folgt eine zweite autobiographische Passage (fol. 13v), in der Silvester seinen Gesprächspartner Paulus mit einem *mergullus* vergleicht. Paulus versteht dieses Wort jedoch nicht und fragt daher nach seiner Bedeutung (fol. 14r): ‘Dic queso, pater, quid per mergullum, cui me similem fecisti, sentias’. Silvester wundert sich über eine solche Unkenntnis (fol. 14r):

Consideranti mihi de tui oblivione magis ac magis dolore compremor.²⁰ Et si deciderint a te minima levique, grandia quomodo retinebis? Mergulli, de quibus queris, aves esse creduntur, quae Venetorum lingua “perdigornate” vocari dicuntur.

Da er das Wort *mergullus* (‘Taucher’) für seinen Gesprächspartner in den venezianischen Dialekt übersetzt, darf man annehmen, dass er sich

¹⁸ Konj. Haye; *absorctos* Hs. Der Schreiber hat wegen des vorhergehenden *fluctibus* und des nachfolgenden *omnes* versehentlich auch hier ein *s* angehängt. Die Form *absorcto* ist vermutlich als *absorto* gesprochen worden (gemeint ist sicherlich *absorto*).

¹⁹ Hier nicht deponentiell, sondern reflexiv verwendet.

²⁰ Eine grammatisch unsaubere, gleichwohl verständliche Formulierung.

zumindest für eine gewisse Zeit in dem diesbezüglichen Sprachraum aufgehalten hat.

Hierauf fügt Silvester eine weitere persönliche Notiz an (fol. 14r):

(...) quas [sc. aves] nobis de Iustinopoli[m]²¹ redeuntibus peracto predicationis offitio anno dormitionis patris tui et creationis Nicolai quinti prope Caurolim prospectantes paululum in risum modestum cadere coacti fuimus.

Die geschilderte Episode fällt in das Jahr 1447, in dem Papst Eugen IV. stirbt und Nikolaus V. zu seinem Nachfolger gekrönt wird. Silvester hat sich zu dieser Zeit im istrischen Iustinopolis (Capodistria) aufgehalten, um dort zu predigen. Offenbart gehört er einem Bettelorden an. Schließlich enthält die Passage auch eine wichtige Information über den Gesprächspartner Paulus: Dieser ist ein Neffe des Papstes Eugen IV. (Gabriele Condulmer / Condulmaro aus Venedig). Seine bislang nur vermutete venezianische Herkunft ist damit bestätigt.

Silvester kritisiert Paulus im Folgenden erneut für dessen Unwissenheit (fol. 14v): 'Non decebat et te de levibus interrogare sermonem, quem aetas et viri abhorret professio'. Die Bemerkung deutet an, dass Paulus, auch wenn er ursprünglich verheiratet gewesen war, später in den geistlichen Stand übergetreten ist.²² Obwohl er zum Zeitpunkt seines Todes offenbar kein junger Mann mehr gewesen ist, behandelt Silvester ihn hier und im Folgenden wie einen zu belehrenden Schüler. Die dialogischen Rollen sind somit klar verteilt.

Das Gespräch scheint nun in eine intensivere Auseinandersetzung mit den theologischen Irrtümern der orthodoxen Griechen zu münden (fol. 33v). Doch der erste Gesprächstag ist jetzt beendet und die Nacht zwingt den Beiden eine Pause auf. Silvester schlägt daher vor (fol. 34r):

Iam prima profugata die nox ipsa, quae venit, quietem prestans mortalibus cunctis. Dormi, queso, parum, ut secundo mane resurgas et me quoque vocato faciam, quod hortaris.

Die Nacht selbst wird in der Erzählung ausgeblendet. Ohne narrativen Einschub folgt nun, am Beginn des zweiten Tages, das angekündigte Gespräch über die Griechen. Paulus drängt Silvester zunächst, die diesbezüglichen Aussagen des Papstes Eugen zu erläutern (fol. 34r):

²¹ Die falsche Form *Iustinopolim* ist vermutlich durch das nachfolgende *Caurolim* beeinflusst.

²² Hierzu passt auch die obige Bemerkung, Paulus sei 'früher' der Schwiegersohn des Iacopuccius Caldorius gewesen (*quondam gener Iacopucci Caldorii dictus*).

In quarto galli cantu surrexere servi ad horas matutinas vocatas et te expectant tui.²³ Surge, pater, iam precor, ut tua lingua pangat, quae per Eugenium quartum decreta data fuere.

Silvester bittet jedoch um einen Aufschub; denn er möchte zunächst Eugens Leistungen niederschreiben (fol. 34r):

Ex quo placet, Paule, de re tenebrosa perorem. Patientiam habeto parum, quo perstringam calamo, quae lfol. 34vl per pontificem maximum nostro acta fuere in aevo.

Hier wie auch an anderen Stellen ist die Fiktion der dialogischen Mündlichkeit somit durchbrochen (eine alternative Erklärung könnte darin bestehen, dass Silvester alles, was er mündlich vorträgt, zugleich auch schriftlich fixiert bzw. im Rahmen eines Diktats fixieren lässt).

Paulus bittet nun jedoch Silvester zunächst um die genauere Erläuterung einer vorherigen Aussage (fol. 34v):

Mirabundus de strato surgens iterum ecce adsum et, quae levi somno vidi, ore predicam. Dolebam satis de tuo dicto recenti, quo rem tenebrosam faris, que toto lucet in orbe. At nisi declaraveris ea, que sentis, non credam, quod loqueris.

Silvester erklärt, dass die Griechen aufgrund ihrer dogmatischen Irrtümer den Zorn Gottes auf sich gezogen hätten (fol. 34v):

Ad Graios, que fuere dicta, oro, converte, qui, cum per centenos et amplius erraverint annos, veram cito perapprehensam deseruere viam.

Silvester spielt hier auf jene Bemühungen um eine Kirchenunion an, die 1369 in eine persönliche Konversion des byzantinischen Kaisers mündeten. Dann führt er weiter aus (fol. 34v):

Sevus clamor quorum multiplicatus cum fuerit nimis et in similitudinem Sodomorum, deum, quem per secula fuerant experti benignum, probaverunt ultorem anno tertio post iubileum, et quae a magno Constantino traxerat nomen, admodo²⁴ Turchaia merito vocanda sit.

Durch die Irrlehre der Orthodoxen, so die These, ist Konstantinopel im Jahre 1453 an die Türken gefallen. Paulus fordert seinen Lehrer daraufhin auf, er möge Eugens Dekrete behandeln, welche auf dem Konzil

²³ Quelle nicht identifiziert.

²⁴ So in der Hs. zusammenhängend als ein Wort geschrieben; hier ebenso wie auf fol. 63v wie *modo* ('jetzt') verwendet. Eine Konjektur *at modo* verbietet sich auch wegen des vorhergehenden Relativsatzes.

von Ferrara-Florenz bezüglich der Kirchenunion gefasst worden sind (fol. 34v):

Secundum sapientiam cordis mei dei iusto iudicio factum credamus, ut novissimus error peior sit priore. Et quos pius deus et clemens pietate sua misericorditer tanto sustinuerat tempore, ad viam veritatis revocandos post agnitam veritatem et in lfol. 35r concilio sponte confessam²⁵ in suis prioribus excessibus iuste perire damnavit. Inde oro te, pater, ad ipsa decreta pandenda procedas.

Silvester entspricht dieser Bitte und gibt einen detaillierten Bericht über das Konzil (fol. 35r-36v). Dabei bilden das Wesen der Trinität und insbesondere die spezifische Qualität des Heiligen Geistes das zentrale Thema der Erörterung. Wie Silvester am Ende seines Berichts betont, hat er am Konzil persönlich teilgenommen (fol. 37r):

Haec mente, Paule, servata fuere mea de dicto celebrato concilio; aliis alia quam plura narranda relinquo. Sat sint haec pauca de ipsa hystoria. Libeat igitur adire alia narranda.

Das Florentinum ist damit abgehandelt. Paulus bittet nun darum, weitere Aspekte nach eigenem Belieben ansprechen zu dürfen (fol. 37r):

Sapiunt, singula quae dicta fuere; desunt tamen plura, sed dicenda poetae precari te velim et benigne votis condescendere meis.

Silvester gesteht ihm diesen Wunsch nach freier Themenwahl zu. Hierauf fordert ihn Paulus auf, ihm von seinem eigenen Onkel Eugen zu berichten (fol. 37r): 'De pastore ipso sanctissimo opere pretio enarra, si qua nosti. Sane pontifex extitit dignus'. Silvester gibt seinem Drängen nach und beginnt mit einer langen Erzählung über den Papst (fol. 37r-42r). Dabei bestätigt er zunächst, dass er jenen in Florenz persönlich kennengelernt habe (fol. 37r):

Quem vidi, quem novi et quem saepe adoravi in hac nostra predicatorum domo Florentina et primo sui atque secundo adventu et quem secutus fui Bononiam simul et Ferariam. Unde quae de ipso habeam, libenti animo audire te volo, sed patienter.

Die Leser erhalten somit die Information, dass Silvester dem Dominikanerorden angehört und in den 1430er Jahren in Florenz gelebt hat. Die folgenden, bis 1443 reichenden Jahre hat er zudem an den

²⁵ Passivisch verwendet.

unterschiedlichen Residenzen der Kurie (Florenz, Bologna, Ferrara) im päpstlichen Gefolge zugebracht.

Hierauf beginnt die eigentliche, persönlich gefärbte Erzählung über Eugen. Im pathetischen Ton setzt sie mit zwei Hexametern ein (fol. 37r):

De quo [sc. Eugenio] scripta dicunt: "Eugenius quartus, Armenos papa benignus | qui et Grecos leges docuit servare fideles".²⁶

Silvester schildert zunächst die familiäre und geographische Herkunft des Papstes (fol. 37r):

Hic pontifex maximus extitit patria Venetus, patre Angelo Condalmero matreque Katerina²⁷ generosis et honestis parentibus lfol. 37vl genitus, qui ante pontificium Gabriel fuerat vocatus. Mercator primo fidelissimus habebatur a cunctis. Hic statura grandis, aspectu decorus fuitque omni reverentia et veneratione dignus.

Es folgt eine Beschreibung der äußeren Erscheinung, sodann des Lebenswandels, schließlich Eugens Eintritt in die Kongregation *S. Georgius de Aliqua* (San Giorgio in Alga), welche Gabriele Condulmer zusammen mit Antonio Correr (1369-1445) im Jahre 1404 in Venedig gegründet hatte. Auch zu dieser Episode streut Silvester eine autobiographische Bemerkung ein (fol. 37v):

Et in tantum gratissimum confratribus coaetaneisque sese lfol. 38rl prestitit, ut memini me audivisse a venerabili patre meoque consanguineo bonae memoriae Francisco Iustinopolitano presule dictum Gabrielem ad cardinalatus dignitatem pervenisse ob gratiam singularem socii sui Antonii Corraro.

Man erfährt somit, dass Silvester mit Bischof Franciscus von Iustinopolis verwandt ist (wie sich noch zeigen wird, ist dessen Identität leicht zu klären). Seine bereits erwähnte Rückreise aus Istrien im Jahre 1447 hängt offenkundig mit der Arbeit für diesen Bischof zusammen.

Silvester erzählt sodann, wie Antonio Correr und Gabriele Condulmer gleichzeitig zu Kardinälen ernannt worden sind. Erneut folgt ein autobiographisches Zeugnis (fol. 38r):

Huiusce rei geste seriem dictus dominus Hostiensis episcopus legenti mihi sibi collationes patrum Paduae, in domo quondam Iacobi de Scrovinis

²⁶ Quelle nicht identifiziert.

²⁷ Konj. Haye; *Kterina* Hs.

rebellis, [de]²⁸ mense Madii²⁹ in anno M°CCCC°XLVI° et de re ipsa petenti totam narrans historiam et dicta vera fuisse confirmat fol. 38v^{vit}.

Silvester hat sich somit 1446 in Padua im Haus des Iacobus de Scrovinis (Iacopo de' Scrovegni) aufgehalten und im persönlichen Kontakt mit dem damaligen Bischof von Ostia gestanden (gemeint ist der bereits genannte Antonio Correr).³⁰

Sodann spricht Silvester über Eugens Jahre als Papst. Bei der Behandlung der 1434 erfolgten Flucht aus Rom stellt er heraus, dass Eugen damals nur von einem einzigen Kardinal, nämlich einem Dominikaner, begleitet worden sei (gemeint ist der Spanier Juan de Casanova) (fol. 38v):

(...) per Tyberim et pontum parata tiremi Pisas petivit, uno tantum ex cardinalibus comite, scilicet Iohanne de Casa Nova, ordinis predicatorum professore (...)

Man spürt in diesen Zeilen den Stolz des dominikanischen Autors auf den eigenen Orden. Hierauf beschreibt Silvester, wie Eugen im Juni 1434 erstmals nach Florenz gelangt ist (fol. 39r):

At sponte deinde cum gaudio non mediocri Florentiam veniens maximo cum populi faustu³¹ superboque et festo solenni XXII Iunii egregiam civitatem ingressus scribitur. Ubi anno completo et mensibus decem et seditionibus ibidem sedatis gravibus et solenniter consecrata perantea ecclesia maiore in honorem beate virginis in die ipsius XXV Martii, pro qua consecratione fundatus est ab ecclesia Sancte Mariae Novellae propriae habitatiōnis seu residentiae usque ad dictam ecclesiam consecrandam pons ligneus altitudine cubitorum trium a terra et miro ac regio ornatu dispositus fuit, tandem Bononiam profectus est.

Silvester hat den damaligen Papst Eugen offenbar im Dominikanerkloster Santa Maria Novella kennengelernt, wo dieser während seines Florentiner Aufenthaltes residierte. Er erzählt sodann (fol. 39r-v), wie Eugen hierauf das Konzil von Basel verdammt und eine neue Versammlung nach Ferrara einberuft (1437), danach mit zahlreichen Teilnehmern nach Florenz umzieht (1439) und schließlich alle in ihre jeweilige Heimat

²⁸ Wohl zu athetieren.

²⁹ = Martii.

³⁰ Correr ist seit 1431 Bischof von Ostia; er stirbt am 19. Januar 1445 in Padua. Silvester muss sich daher bei der Datierung um ein Jahr geirrt haben. Vgl. P. Preto, 'Correr', in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, III (München, 2002), 281.

³¹ *faustus*, -us, m. = 'Lärm', 'Jubel'; vgl. z.B. Bonifacius von Verona, *Eulisteia*, 4, 103 u. 6, 121, u. Jacopo Gaetani Stefaneschi, *Opus metricum*, 3, 473.

zurückschickt. Dabei hebt der Ich-Erzähler hervor, dass nur der greise Patriarch Joseph II. von Konstantinopel in Florenz zurückgeblieben und in Santa Maria Novella bestattet worden sei (fol. 39v):

(...) reservato tamen nobis et illis ad perpetuam rei memoriam Ioseph ipsorum patriarcha sanctissimo annorum lfol. 40rl centum decem apud Sanctam Mariam Novellam ordinis predicatorum dormiente et sepulto iacente, cuius in tumulto verba hec marmorea sculpta fuere: "Ecclesiae Antistes fueram, qui (...)".

Erneut hebt Silvester durch diese Bemerkung die Bedeutung seines Ordenshauses hervor. Die von ihm zitierte Inschrift dürfte er an jedem Tag seines Florentiner Aufenthaltes in Santa Maria Novella gelesen haben.³² Nachdem Silvester Eugens Großzügigkeit gegenüber den Dominikanern herausgehoben hat (fol. 40r: '(...) omnes ordinis lfol. 40vl predicatorum professos dispensabat'), folgt ein umfangreiches Lob des Papstes, in das wiederum eine autobiographische Bemerkung integriert ist (fol. 40v):

Divinis officiis lfol. 41rl et orationibus die nocteque in tantum deditus fuit, ut nos ipsi eum aliquando de nocte viderimus ad matutinas venisse et perseverasse nobiscum, etiam et tempore magnorum frigorum.

Kurz darauf schildert er ein weiteres Erlebnis in Florenz (fol. 41r): '(...) toto Florentino concurrente populo ad ecclesiam nostram (...) ' (gemeint ist wiederum Santa Maria Novella).

Silvesters Bericht ist geprägt von lokalhistorischen Ereignissen, die sich insbesondere auf die Geschichte der Stadt Florenz beziehen (so berichtet er z.B. über die Weihe von Santa Croce). Dabei beleuchtet er auch die jeweiligen Hintergründe und streut persönlich gefärbte Anekdoten ein. Immer wieder zeigen sich Bezüge zur Familie Condulmer, welcher der Hörer Paulus angehört. Dieser umfangreiche Abschnitt des Dialogs stellt somit eine Mischung aus Biographie, Papstgeschichte, Stadtchronik, Familienhistorie und Autobiographie dar. Die Erzählung des Silvester endet — wenig überraschend — mit Eugens würdevollem Tod. So heißt es schließlich (fol. 42r): 'Haec, Paule, de patruo tuo Eugenio quarto papa benigno dicta sufficient'. Silvesters Bericht ist damit abgeschlossen. Paulus erwidert in knappen Worten (fol. 42r):

³² Abgedruckt bei Joseph Gill, *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge, 1959), S. 269.

Clara cuncta, quae per te mihi dicta fuere, et nulla caligine obfuscata, pater, ostendisti. Iam secunda volat dies per solis occasum. Da, pater, queso moram, qua somno quiescam. At det ortus, ut surgam nocte, et transibo per umbram.

Hiermit endet also der zweite Tag des Gesprächs. Dieser ist ganz der Person und der historischen Rolle Eugens IV. gewidmet gewesen.

Es folgt jetzt der dritte Tag, dessen Beginn Paulus wiederum sprachlich markiert (fol. 42r):

Iam tertia est dies. Da sermones mihi perhennes. Necdum sol radiis terram presserat et ecce de pelagi alto nubecula parva elevari videtur.³³ Unde, pater, surge et pluviam lfol. 42v ex ea producito, qua totus laver cum ceco nato.³⁴

Silvester setzt die gewünschte Belehrung fort. Als er dabei den Heiligen Geist mit den Winden vergleicht, bittet ihn Paulus um eine nähere Erklärung (fol. 47r): 'Cum certio rem me de singulis reddideris, profecto perutilis fiet sermo, si a te de ipsis ventis, quibus spiritum sanctum comparasti, aliquid addideris'.

Silvester reagiert auf diese Bitte recht ungnädig (fol. 47r):

De ventis te petere comprobaris, ac si tertium Methaurorum librum nunquam legeris. Quem in anno terremotuum declarandum etiam a nobis elegisti. At nobis de Montepesulano redeuntibus illius magnae cometae tempore, que apparuit, questiuunculam de ventis et cometis persolvendam proposuisti. Attamen, etsi non plene, saltem quoad potero volfol. 47v tua persolvam.

Wie man aus diesen Zeilen erfährt, hat Silvester dieses Thema bereits in einem früheren Jahr, welches durch schwere Erdbeben geprägt gewesen und in dem ein Komet am Himmel erschienen ist, zusammen mit Paulus im Rahmen einer Aristoteles-Vorlesung (über die *Libri Meteororum*) hinreichend behandelt. Hierbei muss es sich um das Jahr 1453 handeln.³⁵ Die beiden Personen befanden sich damals auf einer Rückreise von Montpellier. Angesichts dieser Vorgeschichte verspürt Silvester keine Lust, sich nun zu wiederholen. Er gibt deshalb nur eine knappe Antwort und fügt dann hinzu (fol. 47v):

³³ Vgl. Vulg., *III Rg.*, 18, 44.

³⁴ Quelle nicht identifiziert.

³⁵ Siehe hierzu unten.

Reliquos [sc. ventos] vero dimittamus. Debet tibi satisfacere declaratio illa de his facta Carrarie propter Nothum, quem nautae Garbinum appellant, quo flante secunda Iulii M^oCCCCCLIII^o tam crudelis arborum evulsa³⁶ prostratio facta fuit. Certe ulmum illam vidisti procerem³⁷ ante ecclesiam Sancti Georgii medio truncatam. Vidisti et os putei marmoreum Parnumie ad alterum locum per cubitos decem et octo et amplius deportatum. Per quem ventum etiam vidisti cecidisse cardinem ostii, quo illic perculsus Carolus de Piglis periit. Nec solus ipse dicto Notho inpellenlfol. 48rte, sed plures quadraginta illis in locis mortui fuere.

Silvester verweist hier auf einen gemeinsamen Aufenthalt in Carrara³⁸, der vermutlich noch im genannten Jahr 1453 stattgefunden hat. Auch im paduanischen Pernumia scheinen die Beiden gewesen zu sein.³⁹

Paulus versichert rasch, dass er sich an das erschütternde Ereignis durchaus erinnern könne (fol. 48r):

Ratus fueram verissima esse, que dixisti, et testis ipse semper assistam. Te etiam ultro disputantem audiebam cum socio tuo fratre Alberto Perusino, cui una tecum primo abbatiam Charrariae locaveram, ad dominum Petrum, germanum meum, tituli Sanctae Marie Novae diaconum cardinalem pertinentem. Cuius etiam supra memoria extat per te introducta.

Er bestätigt hier somit, dass er sich damals ebenfalls in der Abtei von Carrara aufgehalten hat. Diese unterstand seinem leiblichen Bruder Pietro, welcher damals den Titel des Kardinaldiakons von Santa Maria Nuova führte. Paulus erinnert sich ferner daran, dass Silvester in Carrara mit einem Dominikaner namens Alberto da Perugia (dessen Identität im Folgenden noch geklärt wird) über die Ursachen des Sturms disputiert hat. Sodann erwähnt er einen weiteren Zeitzeugen (fol. 48r): 'Respondere te velim, queso, de ventis, quibus agitabas Nicolaum Zeno, sororis nostre virum'. Zugewesen war bei dem Gespräch in Carrara somit auch Nicolò Zeno, der Schwager des Paulus.

Silvester gibt schließlich nach und setzt zu einer längeren Erläuterung der vier Winde an (fol. 48r): 'Eo in tempore sermo erat nobis de Vulturno, Euro, Borrea et Africo'. (diese Erklärung reicht bis fol. 51r). Danach behandelt er ebenso extensiv die mit den Winden zusammenhängenden

³⁶ Vermutlich in *evulsarum* zu ändern.

³⁷ Die überlieferte, doch verdächtige Lesart *procerem* (statt *proceram*) lässt sich vielleicht halten unter Hinweis auf andere Texte, in denen *procer* und *procerus* miteinander vermennt werden; vgl. Peter Stotz, *Handbuch zur lateinischen Sprache des Mittelalters*. 2: *Bedeutungswandel und Wortbildung* (München, 2000), S. 177 (V §84.11).

³⁸ Vermutlich im heutigen Carrara San Giorgio.

³⁹ Der erwähnte Carlo de' Pigli ist nicht zu identifizieren.

Planeten und deren Einfluss auf das menschliche Leben (fol. 51r-59v). — Wie schon die vorherigen Zeitangaben angedeutet haben, ist der Ich-Erzähler und Autor an der Astrologie sehr interessiert. Bei der Erörterung des Planeten Mars bemerkt Paulus (fol. 54r):

Perpulchra dixisti, pater, iudicio sensuque meo Marti potius tribuenda quam Iovi. Nam dictus extat a poetis deus belli Virgilio inter vates maximo eum introducente, cum cecinit: "At nunc horrentia Martis | Arma virumque cano, Troiae qui primus ab oris"⁴⁰ etcetera. A quo et Mavortes denominantur, qui et corpore fortes.

Dieser Hinweis des Paulus auf Vergil gibt dem Lehrer Silvester die willkommene Gelegenheit, nun über sein Verhältnis zur paganen Dichtung zu sprechen (fol. 54r):

Nec Mavortes nec Quirites aut vates hanc nobis tradidere doctrinam et Musae minus, ut utar carmine Persii, quo libellum incipit: "Nec fonte labra prolii caballino | Nec in bicipiti somniasse Parnaso | Memini, ut repente sic poeta prodirem. | Elyconiadas pallidamque Pirenem | Illis relinquo, quorum ymagine lambunt | Edere sequaces. Ipse semipaganus | Ad salfol. 54vlcra vatatum carmen affero nostrum".⁴¹

Silvester bezweifelt also, dass die Dichter und Musen zur Planetenlehre beitragen könnten, und beruft sich hierbei auf den heidnischen Poeten Persius, welcher sich einer musischen Inspiration programmatisch verweigert hat. Allerdings macht Silvester im Folgenden auch die Unterschiede zwischen seiner eigenen Auffassung und der Position des römischen Dichters deutlich (fol. 54v):

Non quo detur opus, ut dicam "O curas hominum, o quantum est in rebus inane"⁴², sed vere sacra sunt, de quibus habitus est sermo".

Anders als Persius lehnt Silvester die musische Inspiration nicht etwa deshalb ab, weil er im Folgenden 'weltliche' und 'diesseitsbezogene' Satiren schreiben möchte, sondern er verweigert sich im Gegenteil der poetischen Tradition gerade deshalb, weil das Thema ein im höchsten Grade heiliges ist. — Wahre Inspiration und Belehrung *in rebus theologicis* kann nur durch den Heiligen Geist erfolgen, nicht durch pagane Poesie und deren Musentradition. Nachdem Silvester diese Position verdeutlicht hat,

⁴⁰ Vorproöm, v. 4, zur *Aeneis* u. Verg., *Aen.*, 1, 1.

⁴¹ Pers., *prol.*, 1-7; in der Handschrift als Prosa geschrieben und ohne Gliederung der Verse.

⁴² Pers., *sat.*, 1, 1.

belehrt er Paulus über den Planeten Mars (fol. 54v): ‘At de Marte ipso fiat disputatio, ex quo caepisti’.

Mit fol. 59v setzt ein neues Thema ein. Die beiden Gesprächspartner behandeln im Folgenden ausführlich die *pietas* als eine Gabe des Heiligen Geistes.⁴³ Nach dem erschöpfenden Disput bittet Paulus darum, nun wieder einschlafen zu dürfen (fol. 63r):

Da igitur queso mihi iterum dormire lfol. 63v et ad Christi tui dexteram in die iudicii cum ovibus locando et modulante affatu audituro cum omnibus sanctis: “Venite, benedicti patris mei, possidete paratum vobis regnum”.⁴⁴

Seine Aufgabe scheint erfüllt. Auch Silvester kündigt jetzt das Ende des Gesprächs an (fol. 63v):

Gaudeo plane, Paule, te iam nostris finem dedisse. Pro te superest ut spargam lachrimis omnes artus et precordia nostra suspiria et preces ad dominum fundant, qui te admodo⁴⁵ pervenire mandavit ex alto ad nocturna silentia. Vale igitur queso et nos vocatos cognosce ad opera.

Angesichts dieser Abschiedsformeln⁴⁶ scheint der Dialog abgeschlossen zu sein. Doch hier greift Paulus überraschenderweise ein und erläutert, dass das angestrebte Ziel des Treffens noch keineswegs erreicht sei (fol. 63v): ‘Siste, pater, adhuc grandis tibi restat via’. Silvester ist erstaunt und fragt, was denn jetzt noch zu tun sei (fol. 63v): ‘Quo me queso iterum eundum cogis longo fatigatum itinere?’ Paulus gibt zunächst eine kryptische, auf *Gn* 3, 19 verweisende Antwort (fol. 63v): ‘Ad laborem nasci omne mortale genus hominum nullus nostrum ignorat (...)’. Da Silvester nicht weiß, was hiermit gemeint ist, bittet er um eine genauere Erklärung (fol. 63v): ‘Vera te dicturum ratus fueram, sed, quo me pergere velis, nondum indicasti’. Dieser Bitte kommt sein Schüler nun nach (fol. 63v): ‘In tua iam, pater, de lfol. 64r spiritus sancti lectione completa sanam de pietate doctrinam, brevi tamen calamo te tradidisse affirmo’.

Die Vorlesung über den Heiligen Geist ist somit tatsächlich abgeschlossen (interessanterweise spricht Paulus hier von einem schriftlichen Text und durchbricht somit erneut die Fiktion des mündlichen Dialogs). Doch

⁴³ Zu den Gaben vgl. Vulg., *Is.*, 11, 2: ‘(...) spiritus scientiae et pietatis’.

⁴⁴ Vgl. Vulg., *Mt.*, 25, 34.

⁴⁵ Vgl. Anm. 24.

⁴⁶ Es ist auffällig, dass der Autor jeweils am Beginn und Ende eines Traumtages einen eher blumigen und predigthaftern, durch Bibelsprache geprägten Stil verwendet, während er sich im eigentlichen Lehrgespräch eines scholastischen Stils bedient.

nun, so Paulus, gehe es um die konkrete Umsetzung des von Silvester gelehrten Stoffes (fol. 64r):

Et ad quam [sc. doctrinam – Th. H.] me aliosque prosequendam hortaris, pro illa sponte nuntius ad te deditus iterum ecce adsum.

Paulus tritt jetzt also gleichsam zum zweiten Mal auf — doch nun nicht mehr als gelehriger Schüler, sondern als Bote, der seinem Lehrer eine Nachricht zu übermitteln hat (fol. 64r):

Veni, te preconem ut mittam pro parte patrum mei Eugenii pape IIII ad germanum meum ex Nicolao Barbo et Pulisena Condalmero Paulum papam secundum, Petrum perante dictum Barbo, non mediocri reprehensione dignum, et ne paveas ipsum verbis aggredi duris.

An der vorliegenden Stelle wird erstmals die Identität des Paulus vollständig offenbart: Er heißt Paolo Barbo und ist der Bruder des amtierenden Papstes Paul II. (vormals Pietro Barbo, Sohn des Nicolò Barbo und der Polissena Condulmer). Paulus ist nach eigener Aussage im Auftrag seines Onkels, des verstorbenen Papstes Eugen IV., unterwegs. Dieser überträgt dem Dominikaner eine heikle Mission: Silvester soll sich an Papst Paul II. wenden und ihn in harschen Worten kritisieren.

Der Angesprochene lehnt eine solche Mission aus prinzipiellen Gründen zunächst ab (fol. 64r):

Et quis fuerim, per tempora nosti, et qui modo sim, non ignoras. Pretimebat⁴⁷ patriarcha Iacob maledici a patre. Quo nam modo audebo ipse maximum adire pontificem clavibus caelum aperientem et inferna qui claudat⁴⁸, quoad vult? Est etiam prohibitum os ponere in celum.⁴⁹

Es ist somit für einen Geistlichen wie Silvester undenkbar, einen amtierenden Papst zu kritisieren. Auch hält er sich für gänzlich ungeeignet, die Rolle eines (tadelnden) Satirikers zu übernehmen (fol. 64r): 'Haud scio nec valeo Iuvenalis⁵⁰ Persique [ve]⁵¹ fungi officio'. Nicht ohne Geschick erinnert Silvester hier indirekt daran, dass er es noch kurz zuvor aus theologischen Gründen abgelehnt hat, Satiren im Stil eines Persius zu verfassen.

⁴⁷ So statt *Pertimebat*.

⁴⁸ Vgl. Vulg., *Mt.*, 16, 19: 'et tibi dabo claves regni caelorum (...)'; *Apc.*, 1, 18: '(...) habeo claves mortis et inferni'.

⁴⁹ Vgl. Vulg., *Ps.*, 72, 9: 'posuerunt in caelum os suum (...)'.
⁵⁰ Davor gestrichen: *venerabilis*.

⁵¹ Ist zu athetieren.

Er behält seine Verweigerungshaltung zunächst hartnäckig bei. Paulus solle — im Schlaf — einen anderen Boten finden (fol. 64r):

Requirito ergo alios, opem qui prestant et onera ferant, quoniam in hac ipsa re nostra tibi grata non erunt lfol. 64v| opera. Dormitare igitur queso et somno invenies oratores ydoneos etiam ad maiora per te destinandos.

Der Angesprochene versucht nun die von Silvester vorgebrachten Einwände zu entkräften. Hierzu führt er im ersten Schritt einige Belege aus der Bibel an, aus denen angeblich hervorgehe, dass es keineswegs verboten, sondern im Gegenteil sehr verdienstvoll sei, Höherstehende zu ermahnen (fol. 64v). Anschließend lässt er wiederum ein autobiographisches Beispiel folgen (fol. 65r):

Reminiscere te aliquando audivisse a Petro de Noceto Nicolaum quintum, morti cum appropinquasset, gravi et devota plurimum oratione facta et exortatis fratribus doluisse, paenituisse ac⁵² multis lachrimis pressuram Constantinopolitanam per annos duos ante et menses ob suam negligentiam captivandam deditam inimico crucis et Christi domini ac redemptoris nostri, cuius cruore loti mundatique sumus a macula, ut debita expiatione completa valeamus cum agno caelestes inhabitare aedes.

Silvester hat somit einst aus dem Munde des Petrus de Noceto gehört, dass Papst Nikolaus V. kurz vor seinem Tode im Jahre 1455 die zwei Jahre zuvor erfolgte Eroberung Konstantinopels heftig beklagt und seine eigene Saumseligkeit hierfür verantwortlich gemacht habe. Silvester soll daher Papst Paul II. daran erinnern, dass er in der Gefahr schwebe, in ähnlicher Weise verdammt zu werden wie einst sein angeblich arianischer Amtsvorgänger Liberius (352-366 n. Chr.) (fol. 65r):

Adiuro igitur te per ipsum viventem in secula, vocem meam ut audias, et nuntiabis ei te a me proprietate fraterna missum, ne de eo scribatur sicut de Liberio Arrianae heresis fautore, quem connumeratum agnovi inter perpetuo damnatos. Is pro saede amissa et lfol. 65v| imperantis timore compulsus in tam grande prolapsus est nefas, quo maius nullum foret.

Wegen seiner Verbannung nach Aleppo und aus Furcht vor Kaiser Constantius II. hat Liberius, so behauptet Paulus hier, das Nicaenum relativiert und dem Arianismus Raum gegeben. Den Bezug zur gegenwärtigen Situation sieht Paulus offenbar in zweifacher Hinsicht: Paul II. könnte nach Konstantinopel nun auch die zweite Hauptstadt der Christenheit (sc. Rom) verlieren, außerdem ist der wahre Glaube durch die Türken bedroht.

⁵² Wohl statt *ac paenituisse*.

Im Folgenden ermahnt Paulus seinen Lehrer allerdings, er solle im Gespräch mit dem Papst den richtigen Ton treffen (fol. 65v):

Hec loquere ergo secure, pater, quoad potes, et longo tempore te edisse panem suum noli oblivisci, quamvis labore tuo saltim nunc repende vices per me tibi relata dandaque sibi narrando. Voluntas etenim dei est.

Es ist somit Gottes Wille, dass diese Botschaft über Silvester an den Pontifex weitergeleitet wird. Natürlich ist sie in respektvoller Weise vorzubringen, zumal da Silvester offenbar seit langer Zeit im Dienste Pietro Barbos bzw. Pauls II. steht.

Schließlich erläutert Paulus noch einmal den genauen Inhalt der Botschaft (fol. 65v):

(...) et res gestas palam facies Nigropontis deperditi et classem paratam quadringentorum triremium venturam ad omnes de prope insulas de proximo diripiendas et evastandas usque ad Hesperiam quinto anno reservandam.

Silvester soll also nicht nur von dem Fall Negropontes berichten, sondern auch von der gewaltigen türkischen Flotte, welche die griechischen Inseln und den Westen bedroht. Silvester zeigt sich ob dieser Nachricht und ihrer Konsequenzen erschüttert (fol. 65v):

Heu, heu me! Non calamitates miserorum, sed fragilem totius Christianae conditionis audio statum. Horret animus temporum nostrorum ruinas prosecui. Decem iam et septem et eo amplius anni sunt, quod Constantinopolim captam deplanximus in ortu solis die Martis IIII. Kalendas Iunii anno ventorum et terremotuum M^oCCCC^oLIII^o (...).

Erneut wird hier somit das Jahr 1470 als Gegenwart der Sprecher markiert. Vor siebzehn Jahren, d.h. 1453, haben starke Winde und Erdbeben den Untergang Konstantinopels angekündigt.

Silvester erläutert nun auf astrologischer Ebene, dass die Sterne den Türken damals günstig gewesen seien. Hingegen hätten die Griechen durch ihr moralisches und religiöses Fehlverhalten den Zorn Gottes auf sich gezogen (fol. 66r):

At noluere Graii cervice respondere depressa, sed superba erigebant colla et caput in altum, avaritia pleni, fraude doloque ac sogdomia, religio nulla quibus, sed tota inerat devotio torta.

Paulus bestätigt die Richtigkeit dieser Analyse (fol. 66r):

Veram reddidisti huiusce flagellationis Grecorum causam, scilicet scelera ipsorum sine aliqua paenitudine, pro quibus graviora peioraque meruissent nulla pietate visa per eos a temporibus multis.

Mit dem Begriff der *pietas* wird nun ein Thema aufgegriffen, das bereits zuvor (fol. 59v-63r) im lehrhaften Gespräch über den Heiligen Geist ausführlich behandelt worden ist. Die Exegese erhält jetzt jedoch eine neue Richtung. Denn Paulus führt hierzu aus (fol. 66r):

Nosti et persepe predicasti sacrificium nullum magis deo gratum ipsa pietate, pro qua mittendus esto et quo ad ipsam de multis lfol. 66vl interrogandum. Pietatem etenim et donum iam dixisti. At et ipse pietatem agnovi esse virtutem, sed differentiam inter utranque nec audiui aliquando nec legi.

Silvester soll also nun erneut über dieses Thema sprechen. Dabei steht die Frage, ob *pietas* eine (sc. menschliche) Tugend oder eine Gabe (sc. des Heiligen Geistes) sei, nach Ansicht des Paulus mit dem Fall Negropontes in engstem Zusammenhang (fol. 66v): 'Pulchra profecto res erit et expetita, si eam notam efficies et claram. Parabit namque viam ad Nigropontis tradendi hystoriam'.

Der Lehrer entspricht nun dem geäußerten Wunsch und erläutert das Wesen der *pietas*. Dabei erlaubt es ihm die Ambivalenz des Begriffs, die Gottesliebe mit der Liebe zum Vaterland (*pietas patriae*) zu verknüpfen. Dass Vaterlandsliebe etwas Löbliches sei, belegt Silvester im Folgenden nicht nur durch die Heilige Schrift, sondern auch durch Beispiele aus der antik-paganen Geschichte (fol. 67v); hierbei zitiert er aus dem Geschichtswerk des Livius (fol. 68r). Paulus fühlt sich durch diese erklärende Rede seines Lehrers seelisch gestärkt. Daher kann es Silvester jetzt wagen, seinen Schüler aufzufordern, die Eroberung Negropontes in allen Einzelheiten zu erzählen (fol. 69v):

Prestes locum, Paule, queso doloribus repleto a planta usque ad verticem. Stupor permaximus apprehendit me. Unde oro, a die calamitatis et miseriae, a die magna et amara valde res gestas a principio resumas.

Paulus vermag dieser Bitte nachzukommen, da er an den Geschehnissen offenbar persönlich beteiligt gewesen ist (fol. 69v): '(...) quae vidi et quae gravissima paena consideravi, narrabo'.

Er erzählt zunächst von den astrologischen Vorzeichen, welche den Sieg der Türken geweissagt hätten, und lässt dann eine sehr detaillierte Schilderung der türkischen Angriffe (am 15. Juni 1470) folgen. Er erläutert die Taktiken der Gegner, registriert die menschlichen Verluste, beschreibt die genauen Örtlichkeiten und gibt exakte Tagesangaben. Als Protagonisten erscheinen auf Seiten der verzweifelt kämpfenden Christen der venezianische Gouverneur Alvise Dolfen und der spätere Verräter

Tommaso Schiavo di Lebena. Seinen lebendigen Bericht lässt Paulus in das Fazit münden (fol. 75r):

Magne namque pietatis viri Nigropontani magneque pietatis et feminae, quae pro patria, ymo et pro omni Christiana religione quam strenue decertare, quam intrepide acerbissimam mortem sponte et se et natos obpetendo subiere!

Die Männer und Frauen von Negroponte haben somit eine überragende *pietas* gezeigt, indem sie sich so leidenschaftlich für ihre Heimat und ihren Glauben eingesetzt haben.

In scharfem Kontrast zu dieser heldenhaften Verteidigung der christlichen Griechen erscheint das Verhalten des Westens. Insbesondere die geistlichen Würdenträger werden heftig kritisiert (fol. 75r):

Quam igitur gravi reprehensione digni habendi erunt, quibus credita est ecclesia et populus Christi sanguine redemptus, quem superhumdanter⁵³ in dies bibentes nomen sanctum blasphematum non ulciscuntur, Moysi exemplo ut sacerdotium eorum perduret in aeternum.⁵⁴

In der Sprache des Satirikers geißelt Paulus das Fehlverhalten und die Passivität der gegenwärtigen Prälaten (zu ihnen muss auch der jetzige Papst Paul II. gerechnet werden). Da sie das an Christus und seinen Anhängern begangene Unrecht nicht rächen, verlieren sie ihren Anspruch auf das ewige Priestertum. Zur Stützung dieser Argumentation erinnert Paulus an ein weiteres biblisches Exemplum (fol. 75r):

Semitas imitari videntur Hely de sella cadentis, quam per secula semper in voluntaria paupertate patruus meus Eugenius exornavit quartus.

Als der blinde Prophet Eli erfuhr, dass seine beiden missratenen Söhne, die Priester Hofni und Pinhas, in der Schlacht gefallen waren und die Bundeslade an die Feinde verloren hatten, fiel er vom Stuhl und brach sich das Genick.⁵⁵ Paulus sieht hierin jenen apostolischen Stuhl, auf dem sein Bruder jetzt sitzt und um den sich ihr gemeinsamer Onkel einst so verdient gemacht hat. Die Passivität Pauls II. wird somit auf das Schärfste mit dem vorbildlichen Verhalten Eugens IV. kontrastiert.

⁵³ So statt *superabundanter* (Vulg., *Eph.*, 3, 20); die überlieferte Lesart lässt sich jedoch als Ableitung des belegten Verbs *superundare* halten.

⁵⁴ Vgl. Vulg., *Hbr.*, 7, 14: 'in qua tribu nihil de sacerdotibus Moses locutus est', 7, 17: 'contestatur enim quoniam tu es sacerdos in aeternum' u. 7, 24: 'hic autem eo quod maneat in aeternum sempiternum habet sacerdotium'.

⁵⁵ Vulg., *1 Sm.*, 2-4.

Dieser Gedanke wird nun noch weiter ausgeführt (fol. 75r):

Pro cuius <anima>⁵⁶ laudes inferi superique canere dicuntur. Quem terra, quem pontus Martis arma caepisse, sursum ethera ferunt Eugenium fuisse quartum. Cor nobile cuius dum bella pararet in Turchum, dono vocatur a lfol. 75vl superis, ut insideret caelum, et ne Christi nomen macularet ille prophanus, classem ponto Francisco commendavit⁵⁷ nepoti, at Caesarino terram Iulianoque donavit armatos.

Eugen hat somit damals seine ganze Familie aufgebieten⁵⁸, um den Kampf gegen die Türken zu führen. Wäre er nicht vorzeitig gestorben, so hätte er die Ungläubigen zweifellos besiegt. Eugen verdient es somit, in Hymnen gepriesen zu werden (fol. 75v): 'Verus Christi pastor, quo nullus maior deinde! Laudes ergo dicite, posteri, priores quoque illi'. Im Gegensatz zu Eugen bleibt Paul II., sein eigener Neffe, angesichts der Türkengefahr vollkommen passiv.

Obwohl Paulus zuvor angekündigt hat, seine Botschaft durch Silvester überbringen zu lassen, wendet er sich nun direkt an Papst Paul II. und erinnert ihn an die verwandtschaftliche Beziehung zu Eugen (fol. 75v):

Quaeque ultro qui sua seque reddidit Christo, patruus qui extitit ex Polissena sorore, quae te Petrum genuit (Paulus nunc ab alto vocaris), condonet sine umbra nostra crimina tolli. Sydera qui condidit eumque vocavit ad astra, tibi prestitit viam, quam ipse sequaris.

Da Pietro Barbo über seine Mutter Polissena von Eugen abstammt, ist er verpflichtet, auch dessen politisches Erbe anzunehmen. Er muss den vorgezeichneten Weg in den Himmel ebenso beschreiten, wie sein berühmter Onkel es einst getan hat. Gott wird ihm dabei helfen. In diesem Zusammenhang kommt Paulus abschließend auf seine eigene Rolle zu sprechen (fol. 75v): 'Nec scandere me tentasse credas more quorundam, quos absit ut sequar (...)'. Er selbst kann seinem Onkel auf diesem Weg nicht folgen. Nur Paul II. ist als Pontifex dazu berechtigt, durch den erfolgreichen Kampf gegen die Türken die Sterne zu erreichen. Nur Päpste, nicht jedoch Normalsterbliche, können vergöttlicht werden.

Silvester pflichtet den Ausführungen seines Schülers bei: Es sei ein Zeichen der *pietas*, den Bedrohten zu helfen und die Türken abzuwehren.

⁵⁶ Konj. Haye; in Hs.

⁵⁷ Konj. Haye; *commendavit* Hs.

⁵⁸ Der genannte Franciscus ist Francesco Condulmaro/Condulmer. Eugen machte ihn 1431 zum Kardinal und verlieh ihm später weitere Ämter; vgl. Peter Partner, *The Pope's Men. The Papal Civil Service in the Renaissance* (Oxford, 1990), S. 186.

Doch die Völker (sc. des Westens) seien schwach, selbststüchtig und untereinander zerstritten. Paulus formuliert nun einen konkreten Appell: Die Menschen sollten endlich zur Vernunft kommen und den Venezianern zu Hilfe eilen (fol. 76r: (...) *dirigerentur ad Venetos tutandos, defensandos protegendosque*), da der Türke ganz Italien bedrohe (fol. 76r). Es ist aufschlussreich, dass hier eine spezifisch venezianische und somit partikuläre Perspektive eingenommen, die Aufforderung zur Unterstützung der Lagunenstadt jedoch mit einem panitalienischen Interesse begründet wird.

Die Rede des Paulus gipfelt in der an den Pontifex gerichteten Aufforderung (fol. 76v): *‘Te igitur queso, pater patrum, aperire oculos et patriam respicere: a lachrimis abstinere non poteris’*. Der Papst ist verpflichtet, seine venezianische Heimat zu unterstützen. Silvester wendet nun ein, dass der Appell vergeblich sei, da Paul II. keine Hilfe leisten könne (fol. 76v): *‘Ut videris, Paule, suadere moliris pontifici maximo ad arma sumenda contra inimicum crucis et Christi, cum nil possit et valeat’*. Doch Paulus bestreitet diese Behauptung (fol. 76v): *‘Poterit autem, quantum volet’*. Der Pontifex solle den Anderen ein Vorbild sein und sie führen (fol. 77r):

(...) *Advocentur populi veri et cruce signati. Dispergantur predicatores. Decimae requirantur. Animentur principes (...). Surge ergo, pater! Sequere Paulum apostolum (...).*

Mit dieser an Paul II. adressierten Aufforderung, überall im Westen den Kreuzzug gegen die Türken predigen zu lassen, endet der Text.

3. Die historische Einordnung und Identifizierung der Personen

Wie der Prolog erwähnt, beginnt das dargestellte Gespräch zwischen einem Lebenden und einem ‘Entschlafenen’ (d.h. Toten) am 1. August des Jahres 1470 und dauert drei Tage. Der verstorbene Paulus berichtet, dass Negroponte (Euboia) kurz zuvor von den Türken erobert worden sei. Tatsächlich fiel die Insel am 12. Juli 1470, und es dauerte nur zwei Wochen, bis die Nachricht nach Rom gelangte.⁵⁹ Der im Text erwähnte Papst Paul II. amtierte von 1464 bis zu seinem Tod am 26.

⁵⁹ Vgl. Margaret Meserve, ‘News from Negroponte: Politics, Popular Opinion, and Information Exchange in the First Decade of the Italian Press’, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 49 (2006), 440-480 (SS. 449-450).

Juli 1471.⁶⁰ Da das Werk den Pontifex als Lebenden anspricht, muss es in dem recht schmalen chronologischen Korridor zwischen August 1470 und Juli 1471 vollendet worden sein. Angesichts der Erwartung einer raschen Übermittlung der politischen Botschaft könnte der Text an der Kurie oder zumindest in Rom entstanden sein.

Obwohl in der Florentiner Handschrift lediglich die Vornamen der beiden Gesprächspartner genannt werden, kann man durch eine genaue Analyse der zahlreichen persönlichen und autobiographischen Bemerkungen auf die Identität der Personen schließen. Im Text erfährt man zunächst, dass der Gesprächspartner namens Paulus bereits im neunten Jahr tot ist. Rechnet man vom genannten Jahr der Abfassung des Werkes zurück, so muss es sich um das Todesjahr 1461 oder 1462 handeln. Ferner wird berichtet, dass der Venezianer Paulus ein Neffe des Papstes Eugen IV. (Gabriele Condulmer / Condulmaro aus Venedig; *pontifex* 1431-1447)⁶¹ und zugleich ein Bruder des Papstes Paul II. (Pietro Barbo aus Venedig; *pontifex* 1464-1471) ist. Er besitzt die Ritterwürde und ist ein Schwiegersohn des Iacopuccius Caldorius.⁶² Seinen Gesprächspartner Silvester kennt er offenbar seit vielen Jahren. Er hat mit ihm eine Reise nach Südfrankreich unternommen und sich längere Zeit mit ihm in einer Abtei bei Carrara aufgehalten, die seinem Bruder Pietro, dem seit 1440 amtierenden Kardinaldiakon von Santa Maria Nuova und späteren Paul II., untersteht. Zugegen waren damals auch Alberto da Perugia⁶³ und der Schwager des Paulus, ein Mann namens Nicolò Zeno (hierbei handelt es sich um den Gatten der Elisabetta Barbo und den Vater des späteren Kardinals Giovanni Battista Zeno).⁶⁴ Paulus interessiert sich für theolo-

⁶⁰ Vgl. einführend Roberto Weiss, *Un umanista veneziano. Papa Paolo II.* (Venedig – Rom, 1958); Ludwig Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste im Zeitalter der Renaissance von der Thronbesteigung Pius' II. bis zum Tode Sixtus' IV.*, Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters, 2 (Freiburg i. Br., 1904⁴), SS. 291-447.

⁶¹ Zu Eugen vgl. die maßgebliche Biographie von Joseph Gill, *Eugenius IV. Pope of Christian Union* (London, 1961); ferner immer noch lesenswert: Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, SS. 280-347.

⁶² Gemeint ist offenbar Jacopo Caldora (1369-1439), in den Jahren 1426-1431 Condottiere in päpstlichen Diensten; vgl. Domenico Boninsegni, *Storie della città di Firenze dall'anno 1410 al 1460* (Florenz, 1637), SS. 21-22.

⁶³ Zu Alberto da Perugia vgl. Giovanni Battista Vermiglioli, *Biografia degli scrittori Perugini e notizie delle opere loro ordinate e pubblicate*, Tom. 1, Par. 1 (Perugia, 1828), S. 206, Anm. 1.

⁶⁴ Zur Familie vgl. Giovanni Soranzo, 'Giovanni Battista Zeno, nipote di Paolo II, cardinale di S. Maria in Portico (1468-1501)', *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia*, 16 (1962), 249-274.

gische und wissenschaftliche Fragen, ist jedoch dem gelehrten Silvester intellektuell deutlich unterlegen.

Bei der beschriebenen Person handelt es sich zweifellos um den Venezianer Paolo Barbo.⁶⁵ Dieser wird im Jahr 1416 als ältester Sohn von Nicolò Barbo und Polissena Condulmer geboren. Durch seine Mutter ist er ein Neffe Eugens IV.⁶⁶ Im Jahr 1439 erwirbt Paolo die Ritterwürde, 1441 übernimmt er die Grafschaft Albi. Während Eugens Florentiner Zeit (1434-1443, allerdings mit Unterbrechungen) hält sich Paolo zusammen mit seinem Bruder Pietro zumindest zeitweise an der Kurie auf.⁶⁷ Bis zu Eugens Tod im Jahr 1447 steht er mit dem Papst im engeren Kontakt und erhält von diesem verschiedene Verwaltungsämter und Würden. Anschließend kehrt er nach Venedig zurück und vertritt dort viele Jahre lang die Interessen seines zum Kardinal ernannten Bruders. Er engagiert sich in der venezianischen Politik und übernimmt nacheinander wichtige Aufgaben als Gesandter und Verwaltungsmann (1449 *capo del Consiglio dei Dieci*, 1451 *savio di Terraferma* und *podestà* von Treviso, 1455 erneut *savio di Terraferma*). Nach einem einjährigen Exil in den Jahren 1458/1459 ist er erneut politisch und diplomatisch für seine Heimatstadt tätig. So reist er 1461 im Auftrag Venedigs nach Tours an den dortigen Hof Ludwigs XI. von Frankreich, um diesen zu einem Kreuzzug gegen die Türken zu bewegen, da Venedigs Interessen durch die im östlichen Mittelmeer vorrückenden Moslems massiv bedroht werden. 1462 kehrt die venezianische Gesandtschaft jedoch erfolglos nach Hause zurück. Im Herbst des Jahres wird Paolo zum Podestà von Verona ernannt, lehnt das Amt jedoch aus Gesundheitsgründen ab. Er stirbt am 4. Dezember 1462 und erlebt somit nicht mehr, wie sein jüngerer Bruder Pietro im Jahre 1464 als Paul II. den apostolischen Stuhl besteigt. Im Übrigen weiß man über Paolo relativ wenig. Von ihm sind lediglich drei Gesandtschaftsreden überliefert; intellektuelle oder speziell theologische Interessen sind nicht belegt.

Der zweite Gesprächspartner ist ein Mann namens Silvester. Aufgrund der klaren historischen Kontextualisierung und explizit genannten Verbindung mit Paul II. dürfte diese literarische Figur des Silvester mit der Person des Autors identisch sein. Silvester ist somit im Jahre 1470 noch

⁶⁵ Vgl. S. Borsari, 'Barbo, Paolo', in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 6 (Rom, 1964), 254-255.

⁶⁶ Gabriel Condulmers Schwester Polissena heiratete Nicolò Barbo; vgl. Gill, *Eugenius*, S. 15.

⁶⁷ Vgl. *ibid.*, S. 197.

am Leben und scheint gute Kontakte zur Kurie zu besitzen. Wie im Text vermerkt wird, kennt er den Venezianer Paolo Barbo seit Jugendzeiten und ist auch mit dem venezianischen Dialekt vertraut. Er gehört dem Dominikanerorden an und hat längere Zeit in Santa Maria Novella zu Florenz gelebt, wo er dem Papst Eugen IV. begegnet ist, als dieser die Stadt erstmals besucht und im dortigen Kloster residiert hat (Eugens erster Aufenthalt in Florenz dauert vom 23. Juni 1434 bis zum 18. April 1436).⁶⁸ Silvester kennt zudem in den 1460er Jahren einen Mann namens Petrus de Boncianis, bei dem es sich wohl um ein Mitglied der Florentiner Familie der Bonciani handelt.

Silvester nimmt am Konzil von Ferrara-Florenz teil.⁶⁹ Die folgenden, bis 1443 reichenden Jahre hat er an den unterschiedlichen Residenzen der Kurie (ab 1434 in Florenz, ab 1436 in Bologna, ab 1438 in Ferrara, ab 1439 wieder in Florenz) im päpstlichen Gefolge zugebracht.⁷⁰ Im Jahre 1445/1446 hat er sich außerdem in Padua im Haus des Iacobus de Scrovinis aufgehalten (d.h. bei der dortigen Bankiersfamilie Scrovegni) und im persönlichen Kontakt mit dem Venezianer Antonio Correr gestanden.

Ein Jahr später ist er Mitarbeiter des Bischofs Franciscus von Iustino-polis im venezianisch beherrschten Capodistria und übt dort eine Tätigkeit als Prediger aus. — Bei diesem von Paolo erwähnten Bischof muss es sich um den Dominikaner Francesco di Biondo (Servandi) handeln.⁷¹ Dieser wird vermutlich in den 1380er/1390er Jahren in Florenz (oder in der näheren Umgebung) geboren. 1404 ist er als Novize im Konvent von Santa Maria Novella belegt. Nach längeren Aufenthalten in Cortona, Fiesole und Gaeta findet man ihn 1413 erneut in Florenz. Als Vertreter des Dominikanerordens nimmt er am Konzil von Konstanz (1414-1418) teil. Im Jahre 1423 wird er zum Bischof von Arbe (Dalmatien) ernannt, 1428 zum Bischof von Capodistria, wo er bis zu seinem Tod (1448) bleibt. Da sich Silvester als dessen Verwandter bezeichnet, dürfte er ebenfalls aus der Florentiner Gegend stammen.

Im Jahre 1453 hält sich Silvester mit Paolo Barbo in Carrara auf, außerdem reisen die beiden im selben Jahr nach Montpellier. 1464 weilt

⁶⁸ Vgl. Stefano Orlandi, 'Il concilio Fiorentino e la residenza dei Papi in S. Maria Novella', *Memorie domenicane*, 80 (1963), 69-90 (SS. 82-90).

⁶⁹ Vgl. einführend Gill, *Council*.

⁷⁰ Zum Personal in Eugens Haushalt vgl. Partner, *The Pope's Men*, SS. 185-188.

⁷¹ Zu ihm vgl. Art. 'Francesco di Biondo da Firenze', in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 49 (Rom, 1997), 696-697; Joannes Baptista M. Contarenus, *De episcopis ad Istrianas ecclesias ex ordine praedicatorum assumptis dissertatio* (Venedig, 1760), SS. 4-7.

Silvester in Rom. Das kuriale Leben scheint ihm seit den 1430er Jahren aus nächster Nähe bekannt zu sein. Er kennt Pietro da Noceto (1397-1467), den Sekretär des Papstes Nikolaus V. Außerdem steht er viele Jahre, d.h. wohl nicht erst seit 1464, im Dienst des Pietro Barbo (in jenen Viten Pauls II., die Platina⁷², Gaspere da Verona und Michele Canensi⁷³ verfasst haben, sucht man jedoch vergeblich nach einem Geistlichen namens Silvester). Er verfügt über eine breite theologische und philosophische Bildung; die antik-pagane Poesie lehnt er allerdings ab. Seine Teilnahme am Florentinum deutet darauf hin, dass er zeitweise Professor der Theologie gewesen ist.⁷⁴ Diese Tätigkeit würde auch zur Lehrsituation des Textes passen. Silvester zählt nicht zu jenen namentlich bekannten Lehrern (Jacopo Rizzoni, Antonio degli Agli, Valerio Calderini, Amico Agnifilo), von denen Pietro und Paolo Barbo in ihrer Jugend unterrichtet worden sind.⁷⁵ Er gehört auch nicht zu jenen Personen, die Eugen IV. oder Paul II. zu Kardinälen ernannt haben. Ebenso wenig gibt es einen Bischof dieses Namens. Unter den von Peter Partner ermittelten 'Pope's men' ist er nicht zu finden.⁷⁶ Er zählt auch nicht zu den bekannten hochrangigen Geistlichen, welche Paul II. nach seiner Wahl um sich schart.⁷⁷

Zur Identifizierung der Person bietet es sich an, unter den dominikanischen Teilnehmern des Konzils von Ferrara-Florenz nach Silvester zu suchen.⁷⁸ Diese bilden bekanntlich Eugens wichtigste Stütze während der Verhandlungen.⁷⁹ In Florenz greift der Papst zudem vor allem auf Brüder aus Santa Maria Novella zurück.⁸⁰ Leider gibt es keine zuverlässigen

⁷² Giacinto Gaida (ed.), 'Platynae historici liber de vita Christi et omnium pontificum', in Giosue Carducci – Vittorio Fiorini (eds), *Rerum Italicarum scriptores. Raccolta degli storici italiani dal cinquecento al millecinquecento, ordinata da L.A. Muratori*, Nuova edizione, III/1 (Città di Castello, 1913), SS. 363-398.

⁷³ Giuseppe Zippel (ed.), 'Le vite di Paolo II di Gaspere da Verona e Michele Canensi', in Carducci – Fiorini (eds), *Rerum Italicarum scriptores*, III/16 (Città di Castello, 1904-1911).

⁷⁴ Die auf dem Florentinum eingesetzten Experten waren zumeist Professoren des Dominikaner- und des Franziskanerordens; vgl. Johannes Helmuth, 'Die lateinischen Teilnehmer des Konzils von Ferrara/Florenz', *Annuario Historiae Conciliorum*, 22 (1990), 146-198 (S. 182).

⁷⁵ Nachgewiesen bei Zippel, *Le vite di Paolo II*, SS. 78-79; vgl. Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, II, 272 u. Anm. 4; Weiss, *Un umanista veneziano*, SS. 14-15.

⁷⁶ Vgl. Partner, *The Pope's Men*, SS. 216-256 sowie Index.

⁷⁷ Vgl. Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, II, 343-344.

⁷⁸ Zu den Teilnehmern vgl. Helmuth, 'Die lateinischen Teilnehmer', SS. 146-198.

⁷⁹ Vgl. Gill, *Eugenius*, SS. 187-190.

⁸⁰ Vgl. Helmuth, 'Die lateinischen Teilnehmer', S. 183, Anm. 127.

Teilnehmerlisten für das Florentinum, so dass auch die Gruppe der Dominikaner bislang noch nicht exakt erfasst ist. Gilles Meersseman hat im Jahre 1939 insgesamt vierundzwanzig *praedicatores* namentlich identifiziert.⁸¹ Unter ihnen befindet sich kein Geistlicher namens Silvester. Allerdings ist anzunehmen, dass er zu dieser Zeit noch ein junger Mann ist und daher keine herausgehobene Funktion innehat.⁸² Das *silentium* dieser Quellen ist daher nicht aussagekräftig.

Da Silvester ein erfahrener Schriftsteller zu sein scheint, ist es angebracht, ihn unter den von Thomas Kaeppli zusammengestellten Autoren des Dominikanerordens zu suchen.⁸³ Doch auch hier findet sich kein Verfasser dieses Namens. In Kaepplis 'Index scriptorum chronologicus' trifft man zwar auf eine beachtliche Reihe von Venezianern und Florentinern, welche im Zeitraum zwischen 1420 und 1480 literarisch tätig gewesen sind. Aber keine der genannten Personen entspricht dem Profil des Silvester.⁸⁴ Im Ergebnis kann man festhalten, dass Silvester bislang somit nicht als Autor erfasst worden ist. Aufgrund des Unterweisungsgestus, den der Dialog zeigt, könnte es immerhin denkbar sein, dass Silvester im

⁸¹ G. Meersseman, 'Les dominicains présents au concile de Ferrare-Florence jusqu'au décret d'union pour les Grecs (6 juillet 1439)', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 9 (1939), 62-75. Es handelt sich um Johannes de Torquemada, Johannes de Montenero, Johannes de Colonia, Ludovico da Pisa, Johannes de Regno, Nicolaus de Lombardia/de Venetia/de Tricarico, Barthélemy Texier, Gui Flammochet, Wilhelmus de Anglia, Walterus de Anglia, Jean de Verceil, Jean Sancier, Jacques de Valences, Leonardo Matteo da Udine, Girolamo Giovanni (ab 1440 Erzbischof von Rhodos), Domenico Corella, Giovanni Ley, Simon de Candia, Thomas Simeonis de Caphasta, Andreas Chrysoberges, Julianus Antonius de Monte Lupo, Antonius de Romulis, Tommaso da Venezia, Lorenzo di Pietro Jacopini da Castel Fiorentino und Lorenzo Domenico de Cardoni. Vgl. auch Gill, *Council*, 140. Helmuth, 'Die lateinischen Teilnehmer', S. 184, teilt zudem mit, dass er 28 Dominikaner identifiziert hat, die am Konzil von Ferrara/Florenz teilgenommen haben; seine Liste ist jedoch bislang unpubliziert.

⁸² Auch wurden die Kurialen oftmals gar nicht als 'offizielle' Konzilsteilnehmer gezählt; zu dieser Gruppe vgl. Helmuth, 'Die lateinischen Teilnehmer', S. 163.

⁸³ Thomas Kaeppli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*, Bd. 1-4 (Rom, 1970-1993).

⁸⁴ Dieser Index bei Kaeppli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*, 4 (1993), 551-578. Hier findet man im genannten Zeitraum: Alexius Ubertini de Strozis Florentinus (belegt 1427), Petrus Antonii Cecchi de Florentia (1432), Ubertinus Bartholomaei de Albizis Florentinus (1434-35), Antonius Corarius Venetus (1445), Christophorus Christophori de Florentia (1446), Nicolaus Augustus de Venetiis (1446), Thomas de Paruta Venetus (1446), Iohannes de Florentia (1447), Hieronymus Iohannis de Florentia (1454), Laurentius Giacomini de Castroflorentino (1455), Antoninus Florentinus (1459), Bartholomaeus de Rimbertinis de Florentia (1466), Baptista Benedicti de Florentia (1472-73), Sanctes Iohannis de Schiattensibus Florentinus (1476), Christophorus Iohannis de Masis Florentinus (1479) und Petrus Antonius de Florentia (1479).

römischen *Studium Urbis* tätig gewesen ist⁸⁵, welches Paul II. neu organisiert hat.⁸⁶ Jedenfalls muss er im Jahre 1470 bereits recht alt sein. Er scheint ob seiner großen Erfahrung und langjährigen Bekanntschaft das uneingeschränkte Vertrauen und den Respekt des Papstes zu genießen.

Silvesters biographisches Profil ist dadurch gekennzeichnet, dass er einerseits offenbar aus dem Florentinischen stammt (begründet in der Verwandtschaft mit Francesco di Biondo), andererseits aber auch enge Beziehungen zum venezianischen Raum und hier insbesondere zu Padua pflegt. Den entscheidenden Schlüssel zur Identifikation der Person bietet das Dominikanerkloster von Santa Maria Novella, in dessen Nekrologium man den folgenden Eintrag findet:⁸⁷

Fr. Silvester franciscus philippi de monte lupo sacre theologie professor, obiit eodem morbo⁸⁸ die 4 julij 1479. Hic venerabilis pater ex monte lupo et honesta familia ducens originem adhuc in etate puerali⁸⁹ existens, florentie habitum nostri ordinis suscepit et pluribus annis inter novitios conversatus, tandem adolescens factus, cepit vacare studiis litterature, cuius rei gratia permultos in lombardia mansit annos. permaxime vero in studio paduano ita profecit quod per singulos magisterij gradus laudabiliter et jocunde ascendens ibidem magisterij honore dignatus est. fuitque deinde ibidem regens pluribus annis. eratque in illa provincia notissimus in actibus scolasticis et verbi dei pronuntiatione. Denique ad propriam domun [!] reversus, fuit in conventu prior (...); fuit etiam eo tempore diffinitor provincialis et generalis capituli. Post que officia fuit iterum a maiori parte electus prior conventus cui tamen officio sponte resignavit et cessit. (...) Satis etiam gratus predicator, unde in ecclesia maiori florentie predicavit et etiam in conventu nostro, et in pluribus aliis civitatibus et locis. fuit preterea doctus, presertim in decretis et casibus conscientie (...); peste correptus. (...) LXIII annos natus, diem clausit extremum.

Silvestro Francesco di Filippo wird somit 1415 im florentinischen Montelupo geboren. Noch im Knabenalter tritt er in den Konvent von Santa Maria Novella ein. Als junger Mann studiert er zunächst in der Lombardei, dann in Padua. An der dortigen Universität erlangt er seine akademischen

⁸⁵ Vgl. zuletzt P. Cherubini (ed.), *Roma e lo Studium Urbis. Spazio urbano e cultura dal Quattro al Seicento*, Pubblicazioni degli archivi di stato. Saggi, 22 (Rom, 1992), hier insbes. Rino Avesani, 'Appunti per la storia dello "Studium Urbis" nel Quattrocento' (SS. 69-87).

⁸⁶ Vgl. Weiss, *Un umanista veneziano*, S. 18.

⁸⁷ Stefano Orlandi (ed.), *Necrologio di S. Maria Novella*, I (Florenz, 1955), 181-182, Nr. (685) 694.

⁸⁸ Gemeint ist die Pest.

⁸⁹ So statt *puerili*.

Titel, unterrichtet viele Jahre als Professor der Theologie, übt wichtige Verwaltungsfunktionen aus und erwirbt sich einen Namen als wortgewaltiger Prediger. Anschließend kehrt er in sein Heimatkloster zurück und übernimmt bedeutende Ämter innerhalb seines Konventes sowie des Dominikanerordens. Seine Predigtstätigkeit führt ihn an viele verschiedene Orte. Er stirbt im Jahre 1479 an der Pest. — Das biographische und mentale Profil dieses Geistlichen passt ausgezeichnet zu dem Verfasser des literarischen Dialogs: Nachvollziehbar sind die florentinische Herkunft und Verwandtschaft mit Francesco di Biondo, die Prägung durch den Konvent von Santa Maria Novella (in den 1420er und 1430er Jahren), der Aufenthalt in Padua und die Arbeit als Professor der Theologie (in den 1440er/1450er Jahren), die weitreichende Predigtstätigkeit, die intimen Kenntnisse der Florentiner Verhältnisse, schließlich auch die bedeutende soziale Stellung, welche eine Beziehung zur Kurie plausibel macht.

Hinsichtlich der Ausbildung Silvesters findet man zudem im *Regestum litterarum* des Dominikanergenerals Guido Flammochet (Flamochetti) zum 16. Juni 1451 den folgenden Eintrag (überliefert in Florenz, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, ms. S. Marco 866, fol. 51r): 'Item die eadem frater Silvester de Florentia habet licentiam licentiandi et magistrandi postquam lecturam suam compleverit'.⁹⁰ Es ist sehr wahrscheinlich, dass es sich bei dem hier Genannten um Silvestro Francesco, den Verfasser des obigen Traktats, handelt. Seine Tätigkeit an der Universität von Padua ist in weiteren Quellen bezeugt⁹¹: Seit 1445 hält er sich in der Stadt auf; 1448 wird er Mitglied der Theologischen Fakultät; 1451 ist er *licentiat*, 1456 Dekan der Fakultät und 1457 Rektor des Dominikanerstudiums. Im Jahre 1458 kehrt er in sein Heimatkloster Santa Maria Novella zurück. 1460 wird er Dekan der Theologischen Fakultät in Florenz. 1462 folgt eine Tätigkeit als *regens* im Ordensstudium von Perpignan (damit ist auch der im Dialog angedeutete Aufenthalt in Südfrankreich erklärt).

Eine literarische Tätigkeit ist bisher nicht bezeugt gewesen. Man wusste lediglich, dass Silvestro im Jahre 1466 von seinem Florentiner Konvent eine Handschrift mit der *Summa contra gentiles* des Thomas von Aquin erhalten hat (Florenz, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, ms.

⁹⁰ Digital verfügbar: www.e-theca.net/emiliopanella/governo/reg1451.htm (Zugriff am 1.4.2011).

⁹¹ Vgl. Luciano Gargan, *Lo Studio teologico e la biblioteca dei domenicani a Padova nel Tre e Quattrocento*, Contributi alla storia dell'università di Padova (Padua, 1971), SS. 16 u. 94-95.

Conv. soppr. 614).⁹² Darüber hinaus lässt sich Silvestro im Jahre 1443 auch als Besitzer eines heute in San Daniele del Friuli befindlichen Codex (Biblioteca civica Guarnieriana, ms. Guarn. 109) nachweisen, der Aristoteles' *De anima* sowie den diesbezüglichen Kommentar des Thomas von Aquin enthält.⁹³

4. Die extraliterarische Zielsetzung des Werkes

Bereits die Proportionen der einzelnen Teile verdeutlichen die Zielsetzung des Textes. Der Dialog ist — dem angekündigten Thema zum Trotz — keineswegs primär theologisch angelegt. Er ist nicht für die Ausbildung junger Dominikaner geschrieben, sondern zielt auf die politische Sphäre, wie insbesondere das dominante Lob Eugens IV. zeigt. Der Autor streicht dessen Bemühungen um eine Kirchenunion heraus und betont Eugens Wunsch nach einem Türkenfeldzug. Silvester hat offenbar gerade diesen Papst ausgewählt, um ihn dem amtierenden Pontifex Paul II. als politisches Vorbild zu präsentieren.

Die persönlichen Beziehungen stützen dieses politische Modell: Paul II. wurde in der Jugend von seinem Onkel massiv gefördert. Nach der Übertragung zahlreicher Ämter und Pfründen ernannte Eugen seinen Neffen Pietro Barbo 1440 zum Kardinaldiakon von Santa Maria Nuova und ebnete ihm den Weg zum apostolischen Stuhl. Paul war seinem Onkel somit zutiefst zu Dank verpflichtet.

Über diese persönlichen Beziehungen hinaus werden im Text auch die familiären Obliegenheiten betont. Hierzu lässt Silvester vor den Augen des Papstes Paul eine Reihe von Verwandten Revue passieren: Neben dem Onkel Eugen und dem Bruder Paolo Barbo treten der Vater Nicolò Barbo und die Mutter Polissena Condulmer sowie der Schwager Nicolò Zeno (und dessen namenlose Frau) auf, ferner Francesco, Cesarino und Giuliano Condulmer.

Schließlich spielt Silvester auch die landsmannschaftliche Karte aus, indem er immer wieder auf die Stadt Venedig und deren Interessen verweist. In diesen thematischen Zusammenhang gehört auch die zweite

⁹² Gargan, *Lo Studio teologico*, S. 95.

⁹³ Vgl. *Catalogo di manoscritti filosofici nelle biblioteche italiane*, 5: Cesena, Cremona, Lucca, S. Daniele del Friuli, Teramo, Terni, Trapani, Udine, ed. L. Casarsa u.a. (Florenz, 1985), SS. 176–178, Nr. 12. Es dürfte kein Zufall sein, dass dieser Codex heute an einem Ort liegt, der zur Zeit Silvestros zum venezianischen Machtbereich gehörte.

Figur des Dialogs: Mit der Wahl Paolo Barbos führt Silvester eine Person ein, die als ein Vertreter venezianischer Macht auftritt und mit den politischen und militärischen Problemen des Türkenkampfes bestens vertraut ist. Es dürfte kein Zufall sein, dass Silvester im letzten Teil seines Textes unter den theologischen Aspekten des Themas gerade die *pietas* besonders hervorhebt: Vaterlandsliebe ist eine heilige Pflicht! Der gebürtige Venezianer Pietro Barbo ist als guter Christ gehalten, sich an diese Pflicht zu erinnern.

Im Ergebnis greifen somit persönliche, familiäre, landsmannschaftliche, theologische, moralische und politische Aspekte ineinander. Dieses argumentative Geflecht unterbreitet der Autor einem Papst, der sich im Jahre 1470 recht unwillig und vielleicht auch unfähig zeigt, den Türkenkrieg zu führen.⁹⁴ Bei seiner Wahl im Jahr 1464 hatte sich Paul in einer Wahlkapitulation gegenüber den Kardinälen dazu verpflichtet, den Kampf gegen die Moslems wiederaufzunehmen und die Vereinigung mit den Griechen voranzutreiben. Doch nach seiner Krönung hatte er diese Kapitulation sogleich widerrufen. Der Kreuzzug wurde immer wieder verschoben.⁹⁵ Gleichsam im Auftrag des verstorbenen Paolo Barbo unternimmt es Silvester nun im letzten Teil seines Textes, den amtierenden Papst an diese heilige Pflicht zu erinnern. Das Lehrgespräch über den Heiligen Geist dient dem Autor dabei nur als Vorwand und Rahmen, um seine Argumentation wirkungsvoll anbringen zu können. Es liegt auf der Hand, dass ein Pontifex keiner Unterweisung *in rebus theologicis* bedarf. Tatsächlich ist die primäre Botschaft des Textes eine politische. Daher ist es auch nicht denkbar, dass hier gleichsam der 'Privatmann' Silvester seine persönlichen Ansichten äußert. Hinter der Figur des verstorbenen Bruders Paolo Barbo dürfte vielmehr die venezianische Signoria stehen, welche durch das Vordringen der Türken im östlichen Mittelmeer ihre ökonomischen und politischen Interessen massiv bedroht sieht.⁹⁶ Man darf vermuten, dass Silvester das literarische Sprachrohr der venezianischen

⁹⁴ Zum Hintergrund vgl. Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, II, 431-438 u. 446-447.

⁹⁵ Zusammenstellung des Archivmaterials bei Giuseppe Valentini, 'La sospensione della crociata nei primi anni di Paolo II (1464-1468)', *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*, 14 (1976), 71-101; vgl. auch Dietrich Kurze, 'Zeitgenossen über Krieg und Frieden', in Franz Josef Worstbrock (ed.), *Krieg und Frieden im Horizont des Renaissancehumanismus*, Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. Mitteilung XIII der Kommission für Humanismusforschung (Weinheim, 1986), SS. 69-103 (hier insbes. SS. 75-76).

⁹⁶ Seit dem Frühjahr 1470 hatte Venedig erhebliche propagandistische Anstrengungen unternommen, um auf die Bedrohung Italiens durch die Türken hinzuweisen. Nach dem Fall Negropontes wurden diese Bemühungen noch weiter intensiviert; vgl. Meserve,

Elite (und ihrer kurialen Vertreter) ist, welche ihren Landsmann Pietro Barbo an seine Pflichten zu erinnern sucht.⁹⁷ Allerdings werden die spezifischen Interessen Venedigs im Text durch übergeordnete Kalkulationen verbrämt, welche eines Papstes eher würdig erscheinen können. Im Rahmen der kirchenpolitischen Argumentation wird das Schicksal Negropontes mit dem Fall Konstantinopels verglichen: Die römische Kirche sei 1453 allzu passiv gewesen; dieser Fehler dürfe sich jetzt nicht wiederholen. Sechs Jahre nach der Wahl Pauls zum Oberhaupt der westlichen Kirche wird somit seitens einflussreicher Kreise ein erneuter Versuch unternommen, den amtierenden Pontifex zu einer aktiveren Rolle im Kampf gegen die vordrängenden Türken zu bewegen. Hierzu bedienen sich die Drahtzieher eines mit Venedig verbundenen Theologen und wortgewaltigen Predigers, welcher sich im engsten Umfeld des Papstes aufhält und die politische Botschaft in literarischer Form zu übermitteln bereit ist.

Dabei ist Silvesters Text jedoch kein isoliertes Dokument, sondern Teil eines literarischen Tsunamis, der durch den Fall Negropontes ausgelöst wird. Zahlreiche Augenzeugenberichte, Reden, Briefe, Chroniken, Klagelieder und Traktate widmen sich dem Thema in einer solchen Breite und Intensität, dass man von einem öffentlichen Diskurs sprechen darf, welcher über die politischen und diplomatischen Zirkel weit hinausgeht.⁹⁸ Es ist wenig überraschend, dass die Kurie hierbei nicht nur zu den Adressaten, sondern auch zu den Produzenten zählt: Die 1471 in Rom gedruckte *Lamentatio* des Paolo Marsi ist ebenfalls dem Papst Paul II. gewidmet; Giovanni Alvise Toscani verfasst 1470/71 an der Kurie seine *Declamationes in Turcum*; Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo richtet seine 1470 geschriebene *Epistola de expugnatione Nigropontis* an Kardinal Bessarion.⁹⁹ Anders als diese Texte ist das vorliegende Werk Silvesters jedoch offenbar nicht für die Öffentlichkeit bestimmt, sondern es wendet sich auf Bitten der venezianischen Hintermänner exklusiv und über einen gleichsam persönlichen Kanal an den Papst.

'News from Negroponte', SS. 452-453. Zu Venedigs Beziehungen zu Paul II. vgl. Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, II, 366-369.

⁹⁷ Immerhin hatte Barbo nach seiner Wahl zunächst den Papstnamen Marcus annehmen wollen. Die Kardinäle hatten Mühe, ihm diesen politisch so aufgeladenen Namen auszureden.

⁹⁸ Für die gedruckten Werke vgl. Meserve, 'News from Negroponte', SS. 440-480 (mit einer Zusammenstellung der Texte SS. 474-475).

⁹⁹ Vgl. *ibid.*, SS. 459-462 u. 466.

5. Die texttypologische Einordnung und die literarischen Quellen

Bereits das erste Wort des Textes (*Dormitanti*) verweist auf das Genre des literarischen Traums und der verschriftlichten Vision. Aufgrund des strukturierten Austauschs von Wortbeiträgen ist der Text ferner auch als Dialog anzusprechen. Darüber hinaus verleiht die Asymmetrie der Wortbeiträge dem Text den Charakter eines Lehrer-Schüler-Gespräches, in dem der Eine den primär gebenden, der Andere den primär rezipierenden Part übernimmt. Gerade aufgrund der längeren monologischen Abschnitte kann man außerdem von einer Vorlesung (*lectio*, wie es mehrfach im Text heißt) bzw. von einem lehrhaften Traktat (über den Heiligen Geist) sprechen. Schließlich ist der Text aufgrund seines politischen Zieles auch als Denkschrift einzuordnen.

Als Traum und Vision rekurriert der Text mehrfach und zum Teil auch explizit auf biblische Modelle.¹⁰⁰ Neben der Apokalypse des Johannes sind hier vor allem die prophetischen Bücher und jene Träume im Alten Testament zu nennen, in denen einigen auserwählten Menschen der Wille Gottes kundgetan wird. Zudem verweist Silvester ausdrücklich auf zwei nichtbiblische Vorbilder: Zum einen wird zweimal namentlich aus der — im Mittelalter breit rezipierten — *Consolatio Philosophiae* des Boethius zitiert (fol. 12v, 16r), welche die Vision eines trauernden Ich vorstellt. Zum anderen deutet der Autor gleich zu Beginn auf das — im hohen und späten Mittelalter ebenfalls weithin bekannte — *Somnium Scipionis* (d.h. auf Ciceros *De re publica*, Buch 6, und den dazugehörigen Macrobius-Kommentar):¹⁰¹ '(...) non ut de Africano legitur in libello De somnio Scipionis' (fol. 1v).¹⁰²

Da Macrobius seinen Kommentar als ein lehrhaftes Gespräch mit seinem Sohn Eusthatius gestaltet, zeigt sich bereits im Formalen eine Parallele zum Text des Silvester. Noch enger ist der formale wie inhaltliche Bezug zum *Somnium* selbst: Hier berichtet Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus, wie er seinen alten Freund Masinissa besucht und dieser ihm von seinem verstorbenen Großvater Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus erzählt. Als Publius einschläft, erscheint ihm sein Großvater im Traum und weissagt ihm, dass er einst Karthago bezwingen und andere

¹⁰⁰ Vgl. insbesondere fol. 62v-63r.

¹⁰¹ *Somnium und Kommentar* ediert von Iacobus Willis, *Ambrosii Theodosii Macrobii Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis* (Leipzig, 1970²).

¹⁰² Auch später wird aus diesem Werk zitiert.

ruhmvolle Taten vollbringen werde. Dann spricht er über die Liebe zum Vaterland (*pietas*): Alle, die ihre Heimat retteten und sich um sie verdient machten, erhielten dereinst einen Platz im Himmel. Nun führt der Großvater seinen Enkel dorthin und belehrt ihn über die Gestirne, die Himmelssphären, die Sphärenmusik, die irdischen Klimazonen und die Unsterblichkeit der Seele. Als Publius sodann nach seinem Vater Lucius Aemilius Paulus fragt, erscheint ihm auch dieser.

Es fällt auf der personalen Ebene nicht schwer, die literarischen Permutationen zu erkennen, welche Silvester vorgenommen hat: Papst Paul II. ist an die Stelle des Aemilianus getreten. Wie dieser von seinem ruhmreichen und vorbildlichen Großvater Africanus ermuntert wird, so soll sich Papst Paul an seinem Onkel Eugen IV. orientieren. Während jedoch bei Cicero die Belehrung auf direktem Wege vom Großvater zum Enkel verläuft, ist bei Silvester die Person des Paolo Barbo eingeschoben, welche die Botschaften und Lehren des Onkels an den Neffen übermittelt und erläutert. Zudem steht auch die Figur des Silvester aufgrund ihrer belehrenden Rolle in der Nachfolge des Africanus. Wichtig sind in beiden Texten die familiären Bezüge: Bei Cicero treten Großvater Africanus und Vater Lucius Aemilius Paulus (!) auf, bei Silvester sind es der Onkel Eugen, der Bruder Paolo sowie weitere Verwandte des Papstes Paul aus den Familien Barbo und Condulmer.

Die behandelten Themen sind ebenfalls vergleichbar: Während Africanus und Aemilianus für Rom und Italien kämpfen, müssen sich Eugen IV. und Paul II. für die Christenheit, für Italien und für Venedig einsetzen. *Pietas* dient in beiden Fällen als programmatischer Oberbegriff. Während bei Cicero der Kampf gegen Karthago propagiert wird, ist es bei Silvester der Kreuzzug gegen die Türken. Gemeinsam ist beiden Texten auch das Versprechen eines himmlischen Lohnes.

Über Boethius, Macrobius und die Bibel hinaus stützt sich Silvesters Vorlesung über den Heiligen Geist auf viele weitere Zitate aus antiken und mittelalterlichen Werken, die als Autoritäten angeführt werden. Unter den lateinischen Kirchenvätern sind dies Hieronymus (*Briefe*), Ambrosius (*Exameron*), Lactanz, Augustinus (*De trinitate*) und Gregor d.Gr., unter den griechischen Johannes Chrysostomus, Basilius d.Gr. (*Exameron*) und Athanasius von Alexandrien, ferner Dionysius Areopagita. Außerdem treten als Klassiker der mittelalterlichen Theologie Petrus Lombardus, Albertus Magnus, Bernhard von Clairvaux und Johannes Duns Scotus auf. Aus der Riege der antik-paganen Philosophen werden Aristoteles (*Metaphysik*, *Physik*, *Posteriora*, *Libri Meteororum*,

De proprietatibus elementorum), Platon (*Timaios*), Proklos (*De causis*) und Porphyrios zitiert, außerdem das *Corpus Hermeticum*.

Auch die antike und mittelalterliche Fachliteratur zur Astrologie und Medizin wird intensiv ausgewertet. Zitiert sind Claudius Ptolemaeus (*De iudiciis astrorum*), Celsus, Hippokrates (*Pronostica*), Galen und Isidor von Sevilla, ferner Beda, Avicenna, Abumasar und Mashallah ibn Athari (*Mesalech/Mesalach*). Aus der paganen Prosa werden außerdem Cicero (Rhetorik) und Livius zitiert, ferner wird Varro erwähnt.

An dieser umfangreichen Liste fallen zwei Defizite auf: Zum einen wird die zeitgenössische Literatur des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts mit keinem Wort erwähnt. Angesichts der zahlreichen Theologica, Philosophica und Astrologica, welche Silvester hätte nennen oder auswerten können, muss man sich über ein so ostentatives *silentium* wundern. Zum anderen wird die (antike und zeitgenössische) Poesie fast vollständig ignoriert. An einzelnen Stellen werden lediglich Vergil (*Aeneis*) und Lucan zitiert, ferner — etwas ausgiebiger — der *semipaganus* Persius. Wie oben erwähnt, kann die musisch inspirierte Poesie nach Silvesters Ansicht dem behandelten Thema nicht gerecht werden. Man darf vermuten, dass der Autor hier nicht zuletzt den Vorstellungen des Adressaten Paul II. zu entsprechen versucht. Immerhin hatte dieser offenbar wenig gebildete Papst im Jahre 1468 die von Pomponius Laetus gegründete *Accademia romana* des Paganismus bezichtigt und sie auflösen lassen, weshalb er unter den zeitgenössischen Literaten als Antihumanist galt.¹⁰³ Pomponius Laetus war zwar 1469 wieder aus dem Kerker der Engelsburg entlassen worden, dennoch war es aus Sicht Silvesters wohl sinnvoll, in seinem Traktat die heidnische Poesie konsequent auszublenden.¹⁰⁴ Nicht zu erklären ist allerdings, weshalb der Autor auch die — seitens der Römischen Kirche uneingeschränkt akzeptierte — christliche Dichtung der Spätantike, des Mittelalters und der Renaissance vollständig ignoriert, obwohl doch gerade sie den Heiligen Geist (immerhin das Thema des vorliegenden Dialogs) vielfach als Inspirationsquelle

¹⁰³ Zu Pauls Einstellung gegenüber der römischen Akademie vgl. Partner, *The Pope's Men*, SS. 127-131, und Weiss, *Un umanista veneziano*, SS. 19-21; ferner versucht Weiss (SS. 10-11), zu zeigen, dass Pauls Bildung nicht so gering gewesen sei, wie es seine Gegner dargestellt haben. Dennoch ist das Etikett des 'umanista', welches Weiss diesem Papst aufgrund seiner 'attività culturale' (S. 12) zubilligt und welches er von einem 'umanesimo a base estetico-antiquaria' (S. 30) ableitet, wohl deplaziert.

¹⁰⁴ Im Jahre 1468 erließ der Papst das Verbot, an den römischen Schulen die heidnischen Dichter zu lesen; vgl. hierzu Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, II, 338.

anführt.¹⁰⁵ Es ist denkbar, dass Silvester (und / oder Paul II.) jeder Art von Poesie abgeneigt gewesen ist.

Inwieweit das Memorandum den Papst in seinem Handeln beeinflusst hat, lässt sich nur schwer ermitteln. Dass Paul II. in der zweiten Hälfte des Jahres 1470 seine passive Haltung aufgab und sich um ein Bündnis gegen die Türken bemühte¹⁰⁶, dürfte jedenfalls nicht das ausschließliche oder primäre Verdienst Silvesters gewesen sein¹⁰⁷, sondern eher ein Ergebnis des breit gefächerten Diskurses, welcher durch den Fall Negropontes ausgelöst worden war. Den weiteren Gang der Geschichte konnte Paul II. allerdings nicht mehr beeinflussen. Er starb bereits am 26. Juli 1471. Aus literaturwissenschaftlicher wie aus historiographischer Perspektive stellt Silvesters Text gleichwohl ein außerordentlich kostbares Dokument dar. Es handelt sich — trotz der theologischen Fassade und persönlichen Ansprache — im Kern um eine politische Denkschrift, mit der ein kurialer Insider die Meinungsbildung des amtierenden Papstes Paul II. im venezianischen Sinne zu beeinflussen sucht.

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¹⁰⁵ Vgl. Paul Klopsch, *Einführung in die Dichtungslehren des lateinischen Mittelalters* (Darmstadt, 1980), SS. 26-33.

¹⁰⁶ Vgl. Meserve, 'News from Negroponte', SS. 453-454; Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, II, 355-364.

¹⁰⁷ Da die Florentiner Handschrift das Wappen der Familie Barbo enthält, dürfte sie dem Papst tatsächlich überreicht worden und in seinen Besitz übergegangen sein.

J. Christopher WARNER

QUICK ELOQUENCE IN THE LATE RENAISSANCE:
AGOSTINO DATI'S *ELEGANTIOLAE*

Here is presented a critical edition and annotated English translation of a little treatise that was by far the best-selling style manual of late Renaissance Europe: the *Elegantiolae*, as it was often titled, by Agostino Dati of Siena (1420-1478).

After circulating for some time in manuscript, the *Elegantiolae* may have been printed first in Cologne by Ulrich Zell, ca. 1470, together with three other brief tracts.¹ It was in any case first printed as an independent work by André Belfort of Ferrara, in March and again in October, 1471. Thereafter its popularity was unmatched by any other text of its type: in 1471-1472 there were multiple editions printed in Venice, plus one each in Mantua, Naples, and Paris, and by the end of the fifteenth century over a hundred more editions were produced in cities including Lyon, Toulouse, Saragosa, Mainz, Leipzig, Strasbourg, Vienna, Krakow, Deventer, Leuven, Amsterdam, and Basel — besides most every major and minor printing center in Italy. An edition issued in 1479 by the anonymous printer known as 'the Schoolmaster of St. Albans' distinguishes the *Elegantiolae* as the very first humanist book to be published in England.²

¹ These are: an anonymous *Praeceptorum summula*; the *Praecepta quaedam de ordine studendi* by Guarino di Verona; and the *Modus epistolandi* of Peter Luder. The title given to the whole is *De uariis loquendi regulis siue Poetarum praeceptis tractatulus*. This is entry no. 1301 in Lawrence D. Green and James J. Murphy, *Renaissance Rhetoric Short-Title Catalogue 1460-1700* (hereafter abbreviated *RR*), 2nd edn (Aldershot, England and Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate, 2006), and no. 8123 in Deutschen Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* (hereafter abbreviated *GW*; Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann, 1925-1938 – Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1978-).

² Though the popularity of Dati's *Elegantiolae* began to wane in the sixteenth century, there were approximately forty more editions up through 1608, many of them including the commentaries of Josse Clichtove (*alias* Jodocus Clichtoveus) and Josse Bade (*alias* Jodocus Badius Ascensius). For bibliographies see *RR*, 1283-1307 and *GW*, nos. 8032-8138.

At just under 12,000 words, Dati's manual offered its prospective buyers a compact, inexpensive alternative to Lorenzo Valla's *De Linguae Latinae Elegantia*, which appeared for the first time in print at the same time (three editions in 1471, at Paris, Venice and Rome).³ Till recently, it was still occasionally claimed that Dati's text is an epitome of Valla's, a misunderstanding that arose right from the start of its circulation in manuscript and was perpetuated by a closing statement in the first Ferrara edition: 'Expliciunt elegantiae minores Laurentii Valae poetae'. Dati himself testifies that prior to the *Elegantiolae*'s publication there were many who assumed that Valla was the book's author.⁴ Yet even if it were true that Dati was inspired by Valla's example, he did not draw on Valla's *Elegantia* for his precepts or for his illustrative excerpts from classical texts. Dati's aims and audience were different than Valla's, in that the *Elegantiolae* purports to offer a shortcut to eloquence (it has been called 'a kind of Cliffs Notes for sounding like Cicero'⁵). Originally the work was addressed to one of Dati's former students, Andreas Capacci, but once in print it was presumably marketed not only to other students (and teachers concerned to stay on top of these matters) but to all those ambitious young men who were eager to make a favorable impression among learned circles, in fashionable society, at the courts of the powerful, and with prospective patrons or employers.

For us, Dati's treatise is a significant document in the history of the cultivation of classical Latinity by Renaissance humanists, for it supplies modern scholars with concrete answers to the question: Which specific stylistic features in ancient Roman texts, which habits of usage, did humanist teachers and scholars notice, esteem, and subsequently recom-

³ The first printing of Varro's *De lingua latina*, at Rome by Georgius Lauer, also occurred in 1471.

⁴ The fifteenth-century manuscript of the *Elegantiolae* in the Folger Shakespeare Library (V.a.102), to which I refer in the textual apparatus, exemplifies this misunderstanding in its title: 'Laurentii Vallae uiri clariss. Latinae linguae elegantiarum compendium'. Dati took the confusion in good part, acknowledging that the 'nomen [...] Laurentii celebrius quam meum sit', and that Valla's 'doctrinam', after all, 'profecto fuit non mediocris'. These and Dati's other comments on the *Elegantiolae* are in a letter, 'Augustinus Dathus Senensis, Matheo Thomasio concui suo. S.P.D.', that was included in a number of the later editions (here I quote from *Augustini Dathi scribae Senensis Elegantie in pristinum statum redacte* [Venice, 1538], sig. A2r/v). The letter appears also in Dati's *Opera* edited by his son, Niccolò (Siena, 1503; 2nd edn [which I here and hereafter cite], Venice, 1516), sigs. CXIV-CXIIr.

⁵ In Christopher S. Celenza, 'Petarch, Latin, and Italian Renaissance Latinity', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 35 (2005), 509-536 (p. 519).

mend for imitation to their students and the wider Latin-using community? The *Elegantiole*'s testimony is uniquely valuable in this regard because its teachings were disseminated so widely and were so enthusiastically welcomed for such a long period, and because Dati's qualifications as a representative teacher and practitioner of Latin style are plain to see. He studied under Francesco Filelfo, was a teacher in much demand himself, and he went on to become a prolific writer and orator.⁶

In making this observation, I do not mean it to be interpreted that the *Elegantiole* is a neglected masterpiece or that Dati's other writings are such. Indeed, as his biographer Paolo Viti remarks, the strengths and weaknesses that he ascribes to Dati's most learned and ambitious philosophical work, *De immortalitate animae*, are also those of all Dati's other writings: wide learning and a polished rhetorical style are counterbalanced by 'weak construction' (meaning that Dati moves from point to point without any apparent principle of organization) and 'the lack of any original contribution of thought'.⁷ Yet nearly to the middle of the sixteenth century, Dati's writings were widely respected (Erasmus mentioned him approvingly), and in his own day he enjoyed an enviable career on the strength of his writing and speaking abilities. Over the course of his lifetime, Dati acquired a thorough grounding in the Latin classics and a respectable one in classical Greek literature, and his collective output testifies to an impressive acquaintance with biblical Greek

⁶ Filelfo was a professor at Siena from 1434 to 1438. Two of Dati's letters to him are in his *Opera*, sigs. CVIIIv-CIXr. After Filelfo's departure from Siena to the court at Milan, one must concede, there were almost no other humanists in Siena besides Dati, even at the university (on this circumstance see Paul F. Grendler, *The Universities of the Italian Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), pp. 226-227; cf. Peter Denley, *Teachers and Schools in Siena, 1357-1500* (Siena: Betti Editrice, 2007), esp. pp. 17-26). The fullest modern biography of Agostino Dati, with an assessment of his complete extant corpus, remains Paolo Viti's entry in the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960- [hereafter abbreviated *DBI*]), XXXIII, 15-21, upon which the following summary of Dati's career is based. A fuller and greatly more admiring account is by Giovanni Niccolò Bandiera, *De Augustino Dato* (Rome: J. Zempel, 1733). For Bandiera's treatment of the *Elegantiole* see pp. 233-38, 285-87. Both these authors depend much on Niccolò Dati's encomium to his father, 'De laudibus eloquentiae auctorisque', which prefaces Dati's *Opera*.

⁷ 'La caratteristica essenziale del *De immortalitate animae* consiste certamente nella vastità straordinaria delle conoscenze che in esso il D[ati] rivela [...] e tutto egli riesce ad esporre con studiata retorica. Ma l'opera è debole nella sua costruzione e, soprattutto, priva di un qualunque originale apporto di pensiero. Quanto si è detto sugli aspetti generali del *De immortalitate animae* può essere esteso, in sostanza, a tutti gli altri scritti del D[ati]' (*DBI*, XXXIII, 17).

and Hebrew, the Latin and Greek church fathers, medieval scholastic philosophy and theology, and the essential texts of the law. At age 23 he was invited by the duke of Urbino to become teacher of letters in that city. After two years he returned to teach in Siena, went briefly to Rome to serve as 'master of pontifical letters' at the invitation of Pope Nicholas V, and finally settled back in Siena where he opened a school of rhetoric and made himself available for public service, both civic and pious. Although Dati was not a member of the Church, Archbishop Todeschini-Piccolomini gave his sanction for Dati to expound on the scriptures, while according to Dati's son Niccolò, the citizens of Siena prized him for being ever ready to deliver an oration on whatever subject presented itself.⁸ The contents of Dati's *Opera* suggest that this was no exaggeration, for it contains the texts of about 300 orations sorted into seven books roughly according to theme and occasion: on learned subjects, mainly delivered before faculty, students, and citizens for ceremonial and inspirational purposes (e.g., speeches in praise of philosophy; on the study of civil law; on classical texts such as Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations*); for religious observances or treating points of doctrine ('In praise of St. Catherine of Siena', 'On the sacrament of the altar', etc.); on Siena and its government (e.g., 'On the dignity and excellence of the city of Siena and the correct institution of its civic government'); and to commemorate civic events (coronations, dignitaries' visits to the city, etc.), in addition to scores of orations delivered at funerals and marriages.

Starting in the 1450s, Dati was given several administrative and political appointments, some requiring travel to Rome and elsewhere (such as a brief ambassadorship to Pope Pius II); but it was in Dati's election to the office of Chancellor of the Republic, which he held for over twenty years, that Siena seems to have put his gifts to best use, for (again quoting Viti) this appointment did not involve Dati 'in the direct government of the State, but in the writing of political and official correspondence in good Latin style'.⁹ Thus his *Opera* includes many letters 'written in the name of the Sienese Republic' besides his 'familiar letters', and Dati was in a position of good authority to compile a history of Siena detailing the period 1447-1457, still valued for containing much unique and reliable

⁸ Viti, *DBI*, XXXIII, 16; *Opera*, sig. bb 5r.

⁹ 'Ma l'incarico pubblico più importante ricoperto fin dal 1452 dal D[ati] fu quello di cancelliere della Repubblica: un incarico non politico e che non si esplicava nel governo diretto dello Stato, ma nel curare in bello stile latino la corrispondenza politica e ufficiale' (*DBI*, XXXIII, 16).

information (despite its many 'digressioni del tutto inutili'¹⁰). In short, it may be that the *Elegantiolae*'s remarkable popularity is in part explained by the endorsement of its author's example: that is, as one in whom the promises of a humanist education were realized. Dati's apparent mastery of all subjects and authors, his undisputed proficiency in Latin eloquence, equipped him not only to write a body of works that would win him fame in the future; it qualified him too for public honors and accolades, positions of prestige and some authority, and, as one might also surmise and envy (especially if one lacked the Dati family's landholdings in the regions around Siena and Pienza), a not uncomfortable living.

As mentioned above, Dati dedicated his 'Isagogicum libellum' to his former student Andreas Capacci.¹¹ His aim, he professes at the outset, is to share the miscellaneous notes that he has kept while reading Cicero so that Andreas may study them diligently and thereby learn to write more eloquently than he otherwise could by following the precepts of the unlearned schoolmasters. This and Dati's subsequent jabs at the grammar-school teachers of his time offer periodic amusement for the *Elegantiolae*'s readers, to be sure, but as he admits himself, he must depend to some extent upon their terminology, and he readily enough cites their preeminent authority, Priscian.¹² Nor is Dati's teaching solely based on his own observations. A number of his points and examples are taken from Aulus Gellius's (2nd century) *Noctes Atticae* and Marcellus Nonius's (4th century) *De compendiosa doctrina*. Nevertheless, Dati did have grounds to boast of the 'novelty of [the *Elegantiolae*'s] precepts'¹³ and of the unique combination of illustrative sentences that it provides, many

¹⁰ Viti's assessment, *DBI*, XXXIII, 19.

¹¹ Different versions of the *Elegantiolae*'s title address the work to 'Andream ciuem Senensem' and 'Andream domini Christoferi filium', though several editions printed at Naples and Rome have it 'Antonium amicum suum carissimum'. (Also the Latin spelling of Andreas's surname in different places is variously Capaccius, Cappacius, and Capacius.) A letter from Dati to Capacci is in *Opera*, sigs. CIIIr-CIIIR.

¹² On the very little impact of the humanist movement on grammar school instruction, see Robert Black, *Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy: Tradition and Innovation in Latin Schools from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001). For Black's discussion of Dati's *Elegantiolae*, including comparisons to Niccolò Perotti's *Rudimenta grammatices* and Geoffrey of Vinsauf's *Poetria nova*, see pp. 359-64.

¹³ Dati's claim in 'Dathus, Matheo Thomasio suo', sig. A2v. It was on the basis of this novelty, Dati supposes on the same page, that 'certain religious men' were 'delighted' by his treatise and took away a copy to Venice, where the controversy over the author's name arose.

that he culled from classical authors (not just Cicero) and many that he wrote himself.

With this edition and translation of the *Elegantiolae*, I make the nature of Dati's instruction precisely evident by identifying Dati's sources and, wherever possible, cross-referencing Dati's lessons to a modern Latin grammar (*Allen and Greenough's*). As for the text of the *Elegantiolae*, I have necessarily made no effort to establish anything like an 'original' nor to delineate a genealogy of the hundreds of manuscript and printed copies that survive, given that they differ from each other in countless minor details. It is quite apparent that first the copyists and later the editors and printers of Dati's text valued the gist of his instruction but hardly accorded Dati's phrasing (or rather, the approximate versions of it in whichever source texts they were working from) the same degree of reverence that they did the classics.¹⁴ Hence, there is a high degree of consistency between the citations of classical authors from edition to edition of the *Elegantiolae*, but with every new scribal copy and printed edition, numerous little changes were made here and there to the rest of the text. Sometimes these are slight expansions for clarity (rarely more than an extra sentence); sometimes these are minor revisions to bring the text into conformity with Dati's own instruction (e.g., rearranging the subject, verb, and predicate of a sentence according to his admonition to follow the proper order after Cicero's example); and frequently Dati's own sample phrases and sentences are adjusted or supplemented. Of course, also along the way many scribal or typographical or other errors creep in, are corrected, reappear, are corrected again, and so on. A different kind of problem is posed by the only edition that has been reprinted in facsimile (that done at St. Albans, by Cambridge University Press in 1905). E. Gordon Duff once described the 'peculiarly delicate gothic letter' of this book's type as 'very graceful and clear,' but modern readers will generally find it much more difficult to decipher than the familiar roman fonts used for the Italian editions.¹⁵ My text mainly follows the first two Fer-

¹⁴ Though to be sure, such reverence was still only gradually manifesting itself in the careful collation and editing of classical texts during this period, a point nowhere better made than in John D'Amico, *Theory and Practice in Renaissance Textual Criticism: Beatus Rhenanus between Conjecture and History* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988).

¹⁵ Duff, *The English Provincial Printers, Stationers and Bookbinders to 1557* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1912), p. 35. Duff also discusses the unique copy of the St. Albans edition in *Fifteenth Century English Books: A Bibliography of Books and Documents Printed in England and of Books for the English Market Printed Abroad* (Oxford: Printed

rara editions printed by André Belfort (March and October, 1471), with many corrections and improvements imported from the manuscript of the *Elegantiolae* in the Folger Shakespeare Library¹⁶ and from nine of the earliest printed editions: that done at Cologne by Ulrich Zell, ca. 1470; the edition printed by Johann Wurster of Mantua, ca. 1471; an edition printed at Naples in 1472 by Arnold van Brussel; the first of two editions by Adam von Ammergau at Venice, ca. 1471-1472; an edition by an unknown Venetian printer, ca. 1472; the two editions printed in Venice by Florentius de Argentina (a.k.a. Florenz von Strassburg [GW]), ca. 1472; the text edited by Bono Accursio of Pisa¹⁷ that was printed in Milan by Filippo da Lavagna in 1475; and finally — for no other reason than my interest in the early history of printing in England and in making Dati's small but special place in this history more widely known — the 1479 St. Albans edition. On three occasions I accept readings that occur in later editions than the above, as noted in the apparatus. It will be understood that this apparatus does not register every difference between the various editions consulted, as there are almost countless minor variations between them in orthography, word order, and phrasing. Instead I have limited the notes only to those variants that warrant departures from the text of the March, 1471 Ferrara edition, except in a few places where it struck me that an alternative reading that I have not followed could be of potential interest to readers.¹⁸

for the Bibliographical Society by Oxford UP, 1917), p. 111. The *Elegantiolae* was the first book printed by the Schoolmaster of St. Albans, and the type that he used for it was abandoned afterwards. His edition also includes more abbreviations than the others I have cited. A number of editions of Dati's *Elegantiolae* have become available on the web (for links to these see the site maintained by Dana F. Sutton, www.philological.bham.ac.uk/bibliography) and in the microfiche collection *Incunabula: The Printing Revolution in Europe, 1455-1500* (Woodbridge, Connecticut: Research Publications, 1992-).

¹⁶ Mentioned previously in n. 4 above. Its relation to other fifteenth-century manuscripts of Dati's *Elegantiolae* has not been established, and indeed, it is entirely likely that it was based on an incunabular text other than those consulted for this edition.

¹⁷ This is the same Accursio whose frequently reprinted *Compendium Elegantiarum Laurentii Vallae* (first edition Milan: Philippus de Mantegatis, 1494) likely reduced the demand for Dati's *Elegantiolae* in the sixteenth century.

¹⁸ I will note here how I have dealt with *-e* for *-ae*, which was routine practice in medieval times but typically an inconsistent one in the incunabula period, as illustrated by every text consulted for this edition of the *Elegantiolae*. I have opted to make the distinction throughout, expanding many an *-e* in the Ferrara editions to *-ae*, but rather than doing so 'silently' I identify in the notes those editions that also have the latter rather than the former. In notes that concern other types of textual variance, however, I do not differentiate in the apparatus between words spelled either with *-e* or *-ae* (e.g., *letus/laetus*).

Finally, punctuation varies widely in these editions and has generally been replaced by my own according to modern usage. In both the text and translation I have used italics for Dati's sample phrases and sentences as well as to signal the words and phrases that he uses as words. In order to keep this use of italics clear and exclusive, I have not italicized Dati's references to titles of works in either the text or translation (e.g., 'Marcus Cicero primo Tusculanarum quaestionum [...]') is rendered 'Marcus Cicero in the first book of Tusculan disputations [...]'). Paragraphing is also idiosyncratic to each edition, so I have made the breaks in mine as I deemed fitting. To make possible an exact correspondence between the text and the facing page translation, the abbreviation '*par. cont.*' in brackets is used to signal that a paragraph continues on the facing pages that follow. The Cologne, Milan, and many later editions insert chapter headings. I do not include these partly because the headings differ somewhat between the editions that have them, but more so because they do little to make Dati's instruction more accessible. The arrangement of the text remains virtually random, and many of the chapter headings are misleading (for example: indicating that the subject of a paragraph is the usage of a particular word when it is rather a grammatical construction). I have instead provided my own index of Dati's topics after the text and translation, in addition to an index of Dati's classical sources.¹⁹

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¹⁹ I am grateful to Richard Kuhta, former Librarian of the Folger Shakespeare Library, and Daniel De Simone, Rosenwald Curator of the Rare Book and Special Collections Division at the Library of Congress, for kindly making it possible to examine the Folger manuscript of the *Elegantiae* side-by-side with the LC's copy of the second Ferrara edition. I also owe great thanks to three of my former teachers at the University of Washington for their help in improving my translation of Dati's text, most especially John M. Webster for patiently going through an early version of the manuscript, correcting many mistakes and suggesting ways to smooth what I had infelicitously rendered, and also Alain M. Gowing and James J. Clauss, who helped with a number of puzzling constructions. I am grateful as well to my colleague at Le Moyne, John M. McMahon, for his help with a few other sentences that stumped me. Finally, an anonymous referee for this journal meticulously checked my edited text and translation and improved both substantially, saving me from many an unfortunate decision and misunderstanding. I am deeply indebted to this referee's unusual generosity, but even more so will be my readers.

Abbreviations Used in Notes

I. Agostino Dati's *Elegantiolae*

- S *Laurentii Vallae* [sic] *uiri clariss. Latinae linguae elegantiarum compendium*, Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.a.102, copied by Cristoforo Schioppo of Verona, 15th century
- C *De uariis loquendi regulis siue Poetarum praeceptis tractatulus* (Cologne: Ulrich Zell, ca. 1470). Printed with *Praeceptorum summula* (anonymous); *Praecepta quaedam de ordine studendi* (Guarino di Verona); and *Modus orandi* [a.k.a. *Modus epistolandi*] (Peter Luder) (GW, 8123)
- Fa *De uariis loquendi figuris siue De modo dictandi ad Andream ciuem Senensem isagogicus libellus* (Ferrara: André Belfort, March 1471) (GW, 8032)
- Fb Belfort's second edition of the above by the same title, October 1471 (GW, 8035)
- F Readings common to the first and second editions printed by André Belfort of Ferrara
- Ma *Augustini Dati scribae Senensis Elegantiolae* (Mantua: Johann Wurster, ca. 1471) (GW, 8036)
- N *Augustini dati uiri disertissimi aliqua documenta diligentissime composita ad Antonium amicum suum carissimum* (Naples: Arnold van Brussel, 1472) (GW, 8041)
- V1 *Augustini Datti Liber* (Venice: Adam von Ammergau, ca. 1471-1472) (GW, 8034)
- V2 *Augustini Datti Scribae Senensis Elegantiolae*. Edition of unidentified printer in Venice, ca. 1472 (GW, 8038)
- V3a *Augustini Datti Scribae Senensis Elegantiolae* (Venice: Florentius de Argentina, ca. 1472) (GW, 8039)
- V3b *Augustini Dati Scribae Senensis Elegantiolae* (Venice: Florentius de Argentina, ca. 1472) (GW, 8040)
- V Readings common to all four of the above editions printed in Venice
- Mi *Augustini Dati Senensis Isagogicus libellus in eloquentiae praecepta ad Andream Christophori filium* (Milan: Filippo da Lavagna, 1475) (GW, 8047)

- A *Augustini Dacti Scribe super Tullianis eleganciis [sic!] et uerbis exoticis in sua facundissima Rethorica incipit perornate libellus* (St. Albans: Anonymous, 1479). Facsimile reprint, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1905 (GW, 8065)

II. Reference Works

- AG *Allen and Greenough's New Latin Grammar* (1903), revised edition by J. B. Greenough et al. Rpt. (New Rochelle, NY: Caratzas Bros., 1979)
- LS Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1879)

III. Classical Texts (as in LS)

B.G.	Caesar, <i>Bellum Gallicum</i>
R.R.	Cato, <i>De re rustica</i>
	Cicero
Fam.	<i>Ad familiares</i>
Off.	<i>De officiis</i>
De Or.	<i>De oratore</i>
Rep.	<i>De re publica</i>
Sen.	<i>De senectute</i>
Att.	<i>Epistulae ad Atticum</i>
Cat.	<i>Orationes in Catilinam</i>
Or.	<i>Orator ad M. Brutum</i>
Tusc.	<i>Tusculanae disputationes</i>
Don.	Donatus, <i>Ars grammatica</i>
Fest.	Festus, Sextus Pompeius, his epitome of <i>De verborum significatu</i> by Marcus Verrius Flaccus
Gell.	Gellius, Aulus, <i>Noctes Atticae</i>
Liv.	Livy, <i>Ab urbe condita</i>
Non.	Nonius Marcellus, <i>De compendiosa doctrina</i>
Ep.	Pliny, <i>Epistulae</i>
Prisc.	Priscian, <i>Institutiones grammaticae</i>
Quin.	Quintilian, <i>Institutio oratoria</i>
Auct. ad Her.	<i>Rhetorica ad Herennium (De ratione dicendi)</i>
Cat.	Sallust, <i>Catilina</i>
Ep.	Seneca, <i>Epistulae</i>
Serv.	Servius, commentary on Vergil

Terence

<i>And.</i>	<i>Andria</i>
<i>Eun.</i>	<i>Eunuchus</i>
<i>Heaut.</i>	<i>Heautontimorumenos</i>
<i>Phorm.</i>	<i>Phormio</i>

Vergil

<i>Aen.</i>	<i>Aeneis</i>
<i>Ecl.</i>	<i>Eclogae</i>

[A1r] Clarrissimi uiri ac praestantissimi philosophiae Doctoris Augustini Dathi Senensis de uariis loquendi figuris siue de modo dictandi: ad Andream ciuem Senensem isagogius libellus feliciter incipit

Credimus iamdudum a plerisque uiris²⁰ etiam disertissimis persuasum demum artem quempiam in dicendo non nullam adipisci si ueterum atque eruditorum sectatus uestigia optima sibi quisque semper ad imitandum proposuerit.²¹ Neque enim qui diutius in Ciceronis lectione uersatus sit non esse in dicendo et ornatus et copiosus poterit:²² nam et horridiora crebrius consecrati ipsi quoque horridi,²³ ieiuni et inculti fiant necesse est. Lectitanti igitur mihi Ciceronis uolumina, quem eloquentiae parentem merito appellauerim, pauca annotatione digna uisa sunt quibus si utemur uulgarium [A1v] sermonem aspernati ad eloquentium orationem²⁴ proximius accedemus. Sed tamen id in primis quisque admonendus²⁵ sit quod rhetor diligentissimus et insignis orator Fabius Quintilianus de orationis partibus dicere consuevit: neque enim leges sunt²⁶ oratorum quadam ueluti immutabili necessitate constitutae, nec rogationibus ut idem dicebat plebisue scitis facta sunt ista praecepta. [*par. cont.*]

²⁰ uiris] S, C, Fb, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; iuris Fa

²¹ proposuerit] S, C, Fb, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; proposuerint Fa

²² poterit] S, C, Fb, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; non poterit Fa

²³ horridi] Fa, V3a; arridi S, C, Fb, N, Mi, A; aridi Ma, V1, V2, V3b

²⁴ eloquentium orationem] V3a, N; eloquentium orationem F; eloquentem orationem Ma, V1, V2, V3b, A; eloquentiam S, C, Mi

²⁵ quisque admonendus] S, V, N, Mi, A; quisque ad monendus F; admouendum C

²⁶ sunt] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; not in F

On the various figures of speaking, or, on the method of composition, with examples: an introductory book for André, citizen of Siena, by the well known and most excellent doctor of philosophy Agostino Dati of Siena.

We believe, having long since been persuaded by numerous and indeed the most eloquent men, that at length one acquires some skill in speaking if, having followed the footsteps of the ancients and the learned, he should continually set forth for himself the best things for imitating. Nor could anyone who has spent time reading Cicero not be ornate and copious in speaking: while it is inevitable that those who have thoroughly imitated ruder things should also themselves become rude, feeble, and uncultivated. Therefore, as I was reading the volumes of Cicero, whom we might rightly call the father of eloquence, a few things seemed worth noting, which, if we put to use (having spurned the language of the vulgar), we will come nearer the speech of eloquent men. Yet everyone should especially remember what that most careful rhetor and distinguished orator, Fabius Quintilian, was inclined to say about the parts of a speech: no rules for orators have been fixed by a certain immutable necessity, as it were; nor, as he also said, have those same precepts been established by decrees or public ordinances.²⁷ [*par. cont.*]

²⁷ Quint., 2, 13, 1.

Sed uti in statu, picturis, poematis caeterisque, ita in exornanda quoque eloquentis uiri oratione plurimum semper decoris ac uenustatis habuit uarietas, atque quod dici solet cauendum tenendumque illud est ante omnia ne ars ulla dicendi si fieri potest esse uideatur. Haec²⁸ igitur lex prima sit commutationis uarietatisque quam eruditorum aures non difficile iudicent. Hoc igitur iacto fundamento perpauca deinceps scribam, amice suauissime,²⁹ quae si non semper, ut plurimum tamen his rationibus tibi seruanda erunt. Sed iam nostri instituti ita nascetur exordium.

Plerumque enim qui oratoriae artis floribus ac faleratis ut aiunt student uerbis, contra tritam uulgatamque grammaticorum consuetudinem, quod in calce [A2r] absolutae³⁰ orationis locari consuevit id potius coaptant initio. Quod omne tibi fiet manifestius exemplo. Scis plenam orationem constare³¹ tribus partibus, quod suppositum, ut eorum ipsorum uocabulis utar, quod uerbum, quod appositum uocant. Dicunt igitur grammatici: *Scipio Affricanus deleuit Carthaginem*. Ornatoris uero eloquii homines conuerso potius utantur ordine: *Carthaginem Scipio Affricanus deleuit*. Illi: *Marcus Cicero utitur familiariter Publio Lentulo*. Hi uero:³² *P. Lentulo Marcus Cicero familiariter utitur*. Quibus plane exemplis patere arbitror appositum primum in oratione, suppositum medium, nouissimum uero locum uerbum tenere. Sed et si quid pro grammaticorum more post appositum situm erit, id³³ initio orationis poni solet. [*par. cont.*]

²⁸ haec] S, Ma, V, Mi; Hec C, N, A; Nec F

²⁹ amice suauissime (addressing the dedicatee)] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; amicae suauissimae F

³⁰ absolutae] V2, V3ab, Mi; absolute S, C, F, Ma, V1, N, A

³¹ constare] S, C, Fb, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; costare Fa

³² hi uero] Ma, V, Mi; Hii uero C, F; Hos uero S; Nos uero N; not in A

³³ appositum situm erit id] S, Fb, Ma, V, N, Mi; appositionem si tum erit Fa; appositum erit id C, A

But just as in statuary, painting, poetry and other things, so too in embellishing the language of an eloquent man, variety has always possessed the most grace and charm, and it is also wont to be said that before all else one must be careful and on guard so that any art of speaking not seem to be art at all, if this can be done.³⁴ Let this, therefore, be the first criterion of alteration and variety, of which the ears of the experienced would make judgment without difficulty. With this foundation having been established, then, I shall set down in what follows, dearest friend, a few points that, if not always, at least for the most part should be observed by you in the following ways. But now the beginning of our instruction will thus proceed.

Very often, indeed, those who seek after words — the flowers and ornaments of the art of oratory, as they say — affix rather at the beginning that which has customarily been placed at the end of a complete sentence, contrary to the common and vulgar practice of the schoolmasters. This shall be made entirely clearer to you by example. You know that a complete sentence consists in three parts, which are called (to use the terms of those same men), the subject, the verb, and the predicate. The schoolmasters therefore say: *Scipio Affricanus deleuit Carthaginem* (Scipio Africanus destroyed Carthage). But men of more ornate eloquence rather employ a converted order: *Carthaginem Scipio Affricanus deleuit*. Those others say: *Marcus Cicero utitur familiariter Publio Lentulo* (Marcus Cicero was an intimate friend to Publius Lentulus). But these: *P. Lentulo Marcus Cicero familiariter utitur*. In these examples I think it is obvious that the predicate occupies the first place in the sentence, the subject the middle, and the verb the very last. But if, after the custom of the schoolmasters, anything else should be put after the predicate, that also is apt to be placed at the beginning of the sentence. [*par. cont.*]

³⁴ Cf. Quint., 1, 11, 3: 'Nam si qua in his ars est dicentium, ea prima est ne ars esse uideatur'.

Cuius exempla subnectam: *Scipio Emilianus euertit Numantiam urbem opulentissimam Hispaniae; Hispaniae opulentissimam urbem Numantiam Scipio Emilianus euertit. Non ignoras esse multa genera epistolarum; Epistolarum genera multa esse non ignoras. Lycurgus condidit sanctissimas leges Lacedaemoniis; [A2v] Lacedaemoniis leges sanctissimas Lycurgus condidit. Multaque consimili ratione. Appositum igitur plerumque principio ponitur, suppositum medio, fine uerbum, ut Ariopagum Solon Salaminus primus constituit. Caeterum diuersis et ordinibus et locis locandae partes sunt pro aurium iudicio, quod quidem solo usu comparabitur.*

Iam uero de aduerbiis, quae sunt ueluti adiectiua uerborum, dici potest passim ubi uis loci ponenda esse ubi demum aptius congruere uisa fuerint: modo in principio, modo in fine, modo interiecta inter utrumque. Qua in re diligenti est utendum consilio. Sed prope uerbum frequentius peruenustam reddunt orationem, ut *Fabius Maximus ante alios fortiter atque animose pugnabat. C. Laelius Scipione familiariter utebatur. Clauentissimus Caesar humaniter ignoscebat. Nunc uero ad reliqua.*

I will add examples of this: *Scipio Emilianus evertit Numantiam urbem opulentissimam Hispaniae* (Scipio Aemilianus overthrew Numantia, the most opulent city of Spain);³⁵ *Hispaniae opulentissimam urbem Numantiam Scipio Emilianus evertit*.³⁶ *Non ignoras esse multa genera epistolarum* (You are not unaware that there are many types of letters); *Epistolarum genera multa esse non ignoras*. *Lycurgus condidit sanctissimas leges Lacedaemoniis* (Lycurgus wrote the most sacred laws for the Spartans); *Lacedaemoniis leges sanctissimas Lycurgus condidit*. And many others in the same manner. Again, the predicate is most often placed at the beginning, the subject in the middle, the verb at the end, as in *Ariopagum Solon Salaminus primus constituit* (Solon of Salamis first founded Areopagus). However, the parts must be arranged in diverse orders and places according to the ears' judgment, which indeed will be cultivated by practice alone.

But now regarding adverbs, which are, as it were, adjectives of verbs, it may be said that they are placed at random where you wish — where, finally, they would seem to fit more aptly: now at the beginning, now at the end, at another time inserted between. For this reason one must use them with careful purpose. But near the verb they more frequently yield a very graceful sentence, as in *Fabius Maximus ante alios fortiter atque animose pugnabat* (Fabius Maximus more than all others fought strongly and spiritedly); *Gaius Laelius Scipione familiariter utebatur* (Gaius Laelius was intimately a friend to Scipio); *Claementissimus Caesar humaniter ignoscebat* (The most merciful Caesar humanely pardoned). Now to other things.

³⁵ I.e., with the denigrated subject-verb-predicate word order and the appositive *urbem opulentissimam Hispaniae* at the end, after the custom of the schoolmasters.

³⁶ I.e., with the same appositive now at the beginning and the recommended predicate-subject-verb word order. The subsequent 'before-and-after' examples illustrate similar conversions.

Praepositiones perpulchre inter substantiua atque adiectiua nomina interiiciantur: *feraci in agro; ornatissimo in loco; maximas ad res; hanc ob causam; iustis de causis*; [A3r] *aliaque*³⁷ huiuscemodi complura, nec praepositiones solum sed et alia praeterea huiusmodi. Nunc sumemus exempla: *maxima in republica diligentia; magna*³⁸ *in parentes pietas; incredibilis in omnes ciues obseruantia; summa in hostes liberalitas*. Atque etiam pulcherrimum inter duos casus, puta nominatiuos duos, aliquid continuo ponitur,³⁹ ut *omnia reipublicae*⁴⁰ *iura; constantes militum animi; immania sceleratorum flagitia*. Econuerso etiam constituta et transposita oratio plurimum exornat, ut *huius claritudo uiri; huius Quirites auctoritas loci*. Venuste etiam praecedat plerumque adiectiuum nomen substantiuum, ut *tua dignitas; optima uirtus; diuinum ingenium; exquisita doctrina*. Magni enim refert quo loco quaeque dictio sita sit.⁴¹ Quod testatur Boetius in his commentariis quos in Aristotelis librum⁴² conscripsit, ubi et Ciceronis et Virgilii etiam ponit exempla. Boetii autem ipsius haec uerba sunt: ‘Etenim quantum ad compositionem orationis spectat, maximum differt quo uerba et nomina praedicationis suae ordine proferantur. [*par. cont.*]

³⁷ *aliaque*] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; *aliasque* F

³⁸ *maxima (...) magna*] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; *magna (...) magna maxima* F

³⁹ *ponitur*] S, C, Ma, V, Mi, A; *ponere* F; *ponuntur* (with subject of revised sentence being duo genitiui rather than aliquid) N

⁴⁰ *reipublicae*] *rei publice* C, F; *rei pu.* S, V3a; *r. p.* Mi; *rei p.* Ma, V1, V2, V3b, N, A

⁴¹ *sita sit*] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; *sit sita* F

⁴² F alone inserts space for Greek title of Aristotle's *De interpretatione*

Prepositions are most beautifully placed between the substantive and adjectival nouns: *feraci in agro* (in the fertile field); *ornatissimo in loco* (in a most splendid place); *maximas ad res* (concerning the greatest matter); *hanc ob causam* (for this cause); *iustis de causis* (for good reasons); and many others in this manner, and not only prepositions, but also other words in this manner besides. Now we will take up examples: *maxima in republica diligentia* (the greatest diligence on behalf of the republic); *magna in parentes pietas* (great piety towards parents); *incredibilis in omnes ciues observantia* (extraordinary respect for all the citizens); *summa in hospites liberalitas* (the highest liberality toward strangers). And most beautiful, too, is something placed immediately between two words of the same case, for example two nominatives: as in, *omnia reipublicae iura* (all the laws of the republic); *constantes militum animi* (steadfast spirits of the soldiers); *immania sceleratorum flagitia* (the monstrous crimes of sinful men). A conversely arranged and transposed construction also embellishes very much,⁴³ as in *huius claritudo uiri* (the renown of this man); *huius Quirites auctoritas loci* (the authority of this place, O citizens). Often too an adjective gracefully precedes a noun, as in *tua dignitas* (your dignity); *optima uirtus* (highest virtue); *diuinum ingenium* (divine talent); *exquisita doctrina* (excellent doctrine). For it matters greatly in which position each word is placed. Boethius testifies to this in the comments that he wrote on the book of Aristotle, where he cites the examples of Cicero and Virgil besides. In Boethius's own words: 'The fact is, insomuch as one attends to the composition of a sentence, it makes the greatest difference in which order the verbs and nouns of one's utterance are produced. [*par. cont.*]

⁴³ I.e., the preceding phrases are nominative-genitive-nominative; the next two invert that pattern.

[A3v] Multum enim interest in eo quod ait Cicero, *ad hanc te amentiam natura peperit, uoluntas exercuit, fortuna seruauit*, ita dixisse ut dictum est, an ita: *ad hanc te amentiam peperit natura, exercuit uoluntas, seruauit fortuna*. Sic enim minor sententiae est magnitudo minusque in ea lucet id quod si sic⁴⁴ componatur eminet et sese nolentibus hominum auribus animisque patefacit. Rursus quum dicit Virgilius *pacique imponere morem*, potuisset seruare metrum si ita dixisset *moremque imponere paci*. Sed est debiliior sonus nec eo ictu uersus tam praeclare compositus ut nunc diceretur. Quod idem non est apud dialecticos.’ Haec uere⁴⁵ Boetius. Nunc ad reliqua.

Negatiua dictio apte in calce orationis ponitur, ut *praestantiorem te uidi neminem; Scipione clariorem in bellicis rebus inuenies neminem; tua erga me beniuolentia, tuo in me animo, gratius⁴⁶ est nihil; qui te ardentius amet habes neminem*. Sed et possessor ante possessionem ponitur: *optimi uiri diuitiae; praestantis uiri uirtus; prudentissimi hominis consilium*.

⁴⁴ si sic] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; si vel sic F

⁴⁵ haec uere] F; haec uero S, V1, Mi; haec V2, V3ab; hoc uero C; hec Ma, N, A

⁴⁶ animo gratius] Ma, V, Mi, A; animo accuratius F; amore carius C; this sentence not in S; the sentence abbreviated Tua in me beniuolentia N

For it makes a great deal of difference in that phrase which Cicero says, *ad hanc te amentiam natura peperit, uoluntas exercuit, fortuna seruauit* (nature bore you, desire exercised you, fortune preserved you for this madness),⁴⁷ to have said it as he did, or in this way: *ad hanc te amentiam peperit natura, exercuit uoluntas, seruauit fortuna*. Truly the excellence of the thought is inferior and less brilliant in this form, but if composed as it was it stands out and opens itself a way into the unwilling ears and hearts of men.⁴⁸ Again, when Virgil says *pacique imponere morem* (to add law to peace),⁴⁹ he would have been able to maintain the meter if he had instead said *moremque imponere paci*. But this sounds weaker, and the verse is not so beautifully composed in that measure as it is now. Logicians do not hold the same view'.⁵⁰ Thus Boethius rightly observed. Now to other things.

A negative word is aptly placed at the end of a sentence, as in *praestantiorum te uidi neminem* (I have seen no one more distinguished than you); *Scipione clariorem in bellicis rebus inuenies neminem* (You will find no one more glorious in warfare than Scipio); *tua erga me beniuolentia, tuo in me animo, gratius est nihil* (nothing is more pleasing than your good will towards me, than your attitude towards me); *qui te ardentius amet habes neminem* (you have no one who loves you more ardently). But yet the possessor is placed before the thing possessed: *optimi uiri diuitiae* (the wealth of the superior man); *praestantis uiri uirtus* (the virtue of the excellent man); *prudentissimi hominis consilium* (the counsel of the most prudent man).

⁴⁷ *Cat.*, 1, 25.

⁴⁸ I.e., Cicero's sentence has the verbs at the end of each parallel segment, as Dati recommends above, whereas the revised version typifies the preferred word order of the schoolmasters.

⁴⁹ *Aen.*, 6, 852.

⁵⁰ Boethius, *Commentarii in librum Aristotelis de interpretatione*, 5, 10.

[A4r] Quid uero pulchrius quam si pro gerundiis quae nomina appellant utemur gerundiis nominibus? Ut tritum est Prisciani exemplum: *ueni causa amandi uirtutem; ueni amandae*⁵¹ *uirtutis causa. Gratia gerendi bella; gerendorum bellorum gratia. Ad amplexandam uirtutem magis quam ad amplexandum uirtutem.* Quae una praeceptio optima est; crebra quoque eius apud Marcum Tullium aliosque eloquentes uiros fuit semper observatio. Nunc autem multa conficiam quae si diligenter aduerteris haud parum latino ornatoque conducent eloquio.

Sed in primis animaduertendum uidetur ut quum tria fuerint, antecedens, consequens et eorum medium relatiuum nomen, si proprium sit id consequens uel hominis uel rei cuiuspiam proprium nomen, tum relatiuum nomen consequenti semper congruat. Alioquin non latina oratio sit⁵² sed a doctissimorum hominum consuetudine aliena. Alias potest cum alterutro conuenire si non consequatur proprium nomen. Quam rem facile exempla declarant et priscorum auctoritates complures. [*par. cont.*]

⁵¹ amandae] V1, V2, V3b, Mi; amande S, C, F, Ma, V3a, N, A

⁵² sit] C, N, A; fit F, Ma, V, Mi; fiet S

Truly, what would be more beautiful than if for what they call gerund nouns we will use gerundive nouns?⁵³ A common example is Priscian's: not *ueni causa amandi uirtutem* but *ueni amandae uirtutis causa* (I came on account of loving virtue).⁵⁴ Not *gratia gerendi bella* but *gerendorum bellorum gratia* (for the purpose of waging wars). *Ad amplexandam uirtutem* (for cherishing virtue) rather than *ad amplexandum uirtutem*.⁵⁵ This is the one best formula: always there was frequent adherence to it in the works of Marcus Cicero and of other eloquent men. But now let me treat of many things that, if attended to diligently, will in no small way contribute to a correct⁵⁶ and ornate eloquence.

Now to begin with, it seems it should be observed that when there are three things — an antecedent, a consequent, and a relative pronoun between them — if that consequent is either the proper name of a man or of some thing, then the relative pronoun should always agree with the consequent. Otherwise the expression would not be proper Latin but be foreign to the usage of the most learned men. Elsewhere, if a proper name does not follow, it can agree with either the antecedent or consequent.⁵⁷ Many examples and ancient authorities readily attest to this. [*par. cont.*]

⁵³ For this preference see AG 503.

⁵⁴ Prisc., 8, 410; i.e., not with the genitive gerund *amandi* governing the accusative noun *uirtutem*, but with the gerundive and noun both in the genitive (*amandae uirtutis*). The following sentence exemplifies the same conversion.

⁵⁵ I.e., also the accusative gerundive, rather than the gerund, governs an accusative noun.

⁵⁶ Here and below, the adjective *latinus*, -a, -um and adverb *latine* are occasionally rendered 'proper/properly' or 'correct/correctly', conveying Dati's meaning of 'proper' or 'correct Latin' (cf. the translation of *latina* in the next paragraph).

⁵⁷ Cf. AG, 303-308, which articles are more precise on the use of the relative pronoun than these instructions but do not include any distinction based on proper names; nor does Lorenzo Valla in *De Linguae Latinae Elegantia*, ed. Santiago López Moreda, 2 vols (Cáceres: Universidad de Extremadura, 1999), in the chapter explaining that 'relatives frequently do not agree with antecedents' (3, 19), although Valla does illustrate the principle with examples that include the sentence from Sallust's *Cat.* cited by Dati below.

Marcus Cicero primo Tusculanarum quaestionum: *studio*⁵⁸ [A4v] *sapientiae, quae philosophia dicitur*. In sexto de republica: *consilia coetusque hominum iure sociati quae ciuitates appellantur*. Atque iterum: *ex illis sempiternis ignibus quae uos sydera et stellas nuncupatis*. Sallustii quoque illud tritum est: *Est locus in carcere quod Tullianum appellatur*. Innumerabilia in uetustis codicibus id genus inuenies. Nec id est⁵⁹ grammaticae artis uitium, quod quidam ignari litterarum arbitrantur. Sed et nos aliquid exemplorum afferamus: *Praeclarum est opus Ciceronis qui Cato maior dicitur*. Nam quod Cato maior dicitur non latine profertur. Consimilique modo: *urbis uisceribus consulendum est qui sunt ciues; perditui ex urbibus pellendi sunt quae est ciuitatum perniciēs et sentina decoris*. [par. cont.]

⁵⁸ studio] Ma, V2, V3ab, N, Mi, A, and modern editions of *Tusc.* (see note to translation); studium C; studia S, F, V1

⁵⁹ est] S, C, V1, N, Mi, A; not in F, Ma, V2, V3ab

Marcus Cicero in the first book of Tusculan disputations: *studio sapientiae, quae philosophia dicitur* (in the study of wisdom, which is called philosophy).⁶⁰ In book six on the republic: *consilia coetusque hominum iure sociati quae ciuitates appellantur* (councils and assemblies of men united in justice, which are called states).⁶¹ And again: *ex illis sempiternis ignibus quae uos sydera et stellas nuncupatis* (from these eternal fires which you call constellations and stars).⁶² It is the common practice of Sallust also: *Est locus in carcere quod Tullianum appellatur* (There is a place in the prison that is called Tullianum).⁶³ You will find this countless times in ancient books. It is not a crime against the art of grammar, as some men who are ignorant of letters think. But let us produce more examples: *Praeclarum est opus Ciceronis qui Cato maior dicitur* (Cicero's work that is called Cato the Elder⁶⁴ is excellent). For *quod Cato maior dicitur* is not good Latin.⁶⁵ In similar manner are these: *urbis uisceribus consulendum est qui sunt ciues* (one must take counsel for the inner organs of the city, which are the citizens); *perditi uiri ex urbibus pellendi sunt quae est ciuitatum perniciēs et sentina dedecoris* (the desperate men, who are the ruin of the state and the dregs of disgrace, must be driven from the cities⁶⁶). [*par. cont.*]

⁶⁰ *Tusc.*, 1, 1, 1, with *quae* agreeing in gender and number with *philosophia*, not the antecedent *studio*.

⁶¹ *Rep.*, 6, 13, with *quae* agreeing in gender and number with either the antecedent *consilia* (neuter plural) or *ciuitates* (feminine plural).

⁶² *Ibid.*, 6, 15, with *quae* agreeing in gender and number with both *sydera* (neuter plural) and *stellas* (feminine plural), not with the antecedent *ignibus*.

⁶³ *Cat.*, 55, 3, with *quod* agreeing in gender and number with *Tullianum* (neuter singular), not the antecedent *locus*; here Dati illustrates the rule that the relative pronoun must agree with a consequent proper noun.

⁶⁴ I.e., Cicero's *Sen.*

⁶⁵ I.e., *qui* in the prior sentence correctly agrees in gender and number with the consequent *Cato*, whereas *quod* agrees with the antecedent *opus*.

⁶⁶ In the first sentence, *qui* is in agreement with *ciues*, not the antecedent *uisceribus*, and in the second, *quae* is in agreement with *perniciēs*, not its antecedent *uiri*, after the model of the previous examples.

Plerumque relatiuum nomen cum eo concors est quod sequitur.

Illud quoque inspectandum est: nam cum tria existant quorum unum sit relatiuum nomen, frequentissime eorum duo in eiusdem casus exitu conueniunt. Nam exempli causa dicam aliquid. Si quis hunc sermonem protulerit, *liber in quo de uirtute agitur praeclarus est*, rectius atque ornatius [A5r] dixerit *in quo libro de uirtute agitur praeclarus est*, concordant namque eodem⁶⁷ casu ex tribus duo illa quae maiore uicinitate⁶⁸ iuncta sunt. Aliud item exemplum huic sermoni sit: *Quas misisti litteras ad me iucundae fuerunt. Sermonem quem audiistis*⁶⁹ *non est meus. Quam existimas Demosthenis orationem Eschinis est*. Atque huius sermonis crebrum inuenire poteris apud ueteres usum. M. Tullius officiorum primo: *quorum autem officiorum praecepta traduntur, ea quamquam pertinent*⁷⁰ *ad finem bonorum*. Virgilius Maro in Aeneide: *urbem quam statuo uestra est*. [par. cont.]

⁶⁷ eodem] C, N, Mi; eo S, F, Ma, V, A

⁶⁸ maiore uicinitate] Mi; maiori uicinitati F; maiori uicinitate S, C, A; maiore in ciuitate N; maiori concin(n)itate Ma, V1, V2, V3b; maiori concinitati V3a

⁶⁹ audiistis] syncopated to audistis S, C, Ma, V1, V3ab, N, Mi, A; audisti F; audstii V2

⁷⁰ pertinent] Ma, V, N, Mi, A, and modern editions of *Off.* (see note to translation); pertineant S, C, F

Generally the relative pronoun is in agreement with that which follows.

This must also be observed: when three things exist, one of which is a relative pronoun, very frequently two of them agree in the termination of the same case. Let me say something for the sake of example. If anyone should produce this phrase, *liber in quo de uirtute agitur praeclarus est* (excellent is the book in which virtue is treated), he would say more rightly and ornately *in quo libro de uirtute agitur praeclarus est*, for those two words of the three that are joined nearer to each other agree in the same case.⁷¹ Likewise let this be another example of such a sentence: *Quas misisti litteras ad me iucundae fuerunt* (The letter that you sent to me was delightful).⁷² *Sermonem quem audiistis non est meus* (The sentence you heard is not mine).⁷³ *Quam existimas Demosthenis orationem Eschinis est* (The speech you consider to be by Demosthenes is by Aeschines).⁷⁴ Also you will be able to find abundant use of this construction among the ancients. Marcus Tullius in the first book on duties: *quorum autem officiorum praecepta traduntur, ea quamquam pertinent ad finem bonorum* (but those duties of which precepts are established, although they aim toward the highest good, [...]).⁷⁵ Virgilius Maro in the *Aeneid*: *urbem quam statuo uestra est* (the city that I erect is yours).⁷⁶ [*par. cont.*]

⁷¹ I.e., despite *praeclarus est* requiring the nominative *liber*, it occurs in the ablative *libro* by attraction to *quo* and *uirtute* (on this phenomenon, the frequency of which in classical Latin is here overstated, see AG 306 a. n., where the same line from Virgil's *Aen.* supplied below is one of the illustrations).

⁷² I.e., the accusative *litteras* is used instead of the nominative *litterae* (singular 'letter' though in plural form) by attraction to *quas*.

⁷³ I.e., the accusative *sermonem* is used instead of the nominative *sermo* by attraction to *quem*.

⁷⁴ I.e., the accusative *orationem* is used instead of the nominative *oratio* by attraction to *quam*.

⁷⁵ *Off.*, 1, 3, 7, with *officiorum* in the genitive, rather than the nominative, by attraction to *quorum*.

⁷⁶ *Aen.* 1, 573, with *urbem* in the accusative, rather than the nominative, by attraction to *quam*.

Terentius in *Andria*: *posthac quas faciet de integro comoedias, spectandae an exigendae sint uobis*⁷⁷ *prius*. Idem: *populo ut placerent quas fecisset fabulas*. Idem: *quas credis esse has non sunt uerae*⁷⁸ *nuptiae*. Atque huiusmodi sermo plurimum exornat.

Id quoque annotatu dignissimum est ut, quum positiua uelimus augere nomina, his *per* praepositio accedat. Cicero in epistola ad Curionem: *cui charus aequae sis ac periucundus ac fuisti patri*. Idem de oratore primo: *perbeati Quinte frater illi uideri solent*. Terentius [A5v] in *Eunucho*: *perpulchra credo*⁷⁹ *dona haud nostris similia*. Nam *pergratum* ualde *gratum* significat et in oratione lepide personat. At superlatiuis *multo*, *longe*, et *quam* aduerbia praeponimus, idque saepenumero *perpulchrum* uideri solet, ut *longe amantissimus nostri*; *multo omnium fortunatissimus*; et *ago tibi quam maximas gratias*. [*par. cont.*]

⁷⁷ uobis] S, C, Fb, V1, Mi, and modern editions of *And.* (see note to translation); nobis Fa, Ma, V2, V3ab, N, A

⁷⁸ uerae] V1, V2, V3b, Mi and modern editions of *And.* (see note to translation); uere S, C, F, Ma, V3a, N, A

⁷⁹ credo] S, C, Fb, N, Mi, and modern editions of *And.* (see note to translation); uero Fa, Ma, V, A

Terence in the Woman of Andros: *posthac quas faciet de integro comoedias, spectandae an exigendae sint uobis prius* (the new comedies that he will make in future, whether they should be seen or banished by you beforehand).⁸⁰ In the same place: *populo ut placerent quas fecisset fabulas* (plays that he had made in order to please the people).⁸¹ Again: *quas credis esse has non sunt uerae nuptiae* (the wedding that you believe to be real is not).⁸² Speech of this sort adorns greatly.

It is also most worthy of notice how, when we wish to intensify positive nouns, the preposition *per* may be attached to them. Cicero in his letter to Curio: *cui charus aequae sis ac periucundus ac fuisti patri* (to whom you are equally beloved and cherished, as you were to your father).⁸³ The same author in the first book on oratory: *perbeati Quinte frater illi uideri solent* (those men, brother Quintus, always seem most fortunate).⁸⁴ Terence in the Eunuch: *perpulchra credo dona haud nostris similia* (most beautiful gifts, scarcely similar to ours I believe).⁸⁵ For *pergratum* means *ualde gratum* (strongly pleasing), and in speech it resonates delightfully. But the adverbs *multo*, *longe*, and *quam* we place before superlatives, and very often this is apt to seem very beautiful, as in *longe amantissimus nostri* (by far the most fond of us); *multo omnium fortunatissimus* (much the most fortunate of all); *et ago tibi quam maximas gratias* (I give you as great thanks as possible). [*par. cont.*]

⁸⁰ *And.*, 26-27, with *comoedias* in the accusative, rather than the nominative, by attraction to *quas*.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 3, with *fabulas* in the accusative, rather than the nominative, by attraction to *quas*.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 47, with *has* in the accusative, rather than nominative, by attraction to *quas*.

⁸³ *Fam.*, 2, 2.

⁸⁴ *De Or.*, 1, 1.

⁸⁵ *Eun.*, 468.

Comparatiuis uero uel *multo* uel *longe* praeponi solet, ut *iustitia multo praeclarior est caeteris uirtutibus* et *Socrates longe aliis philosophis praestantior*.

Illud nequaquam omiserimus. Quum enim nomina quaequam sunt perfecta a graecis tertiae flexionis et obliquos casus habentia qui rectum superent, latini oratores frequentissime litteris illorum quibusdam immutatis fingunt aliarum declinationum nomina et genus⁸⁶ seruant. Qualia *poematum*, *enthymematum*, *delphinus*, *elephantus*, et *lampada* existunt,⁸⁷ quae a plerisque tertia flexione proferuntur *poema -tis*, *enthymema -tis*, *delphin*, *elephas*, *lampas*. Hanc tu obseruationem diligenter commenda memoriae.

Quum autem uolumus nobis ostendere aliquid [A6r] iucundum, honestum, utile esse, tum datiuus cum uerbo utimur *sum*, *es*, *est*, substantiuorum quorum illa adiectiua sunt. Nam ne ab exemplis discedam, quid aliud significat: *haec res mihi iucunditati est*, quam *haec res est mihi iucunda*? Idemque ipsum *tuae mihi litterae fuerunt*⁸⁸ *gaudio*, quod est ad gaudium uel gaudium mihi attulerunt.⁸⁹ [*par. cont.*]

⁸⁶ et genus] C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; aegenus F; genus S

⁸⁷ existunt] C, Ma, V, Mi, N, A; ex hiis sunt S, F

⁸⁸ litterae fuerunt] Ma, V; littere fuerunt, C, Mi, A; fuerunt littere S, N; fuere litterae F

⁸⁹ uel gaudium mihi attulerunt] C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; ut gaudio S; not in F

Moreover, either *multo* or *longe* is wont to be placed before comparatives, as in *iustitia multo praeclarius est caeteris uirtutibus* (justice is much more splendid than the other virtues) and *Socrates longe aliis philosophis praestantior* (Socrates is far more distinguished than other philosophers).

This too we should not pass over. Where there are certain nouns derived from Greek ones of the third declension that also have oblique cases longer than the nominative,⁹⁰ Latin orators, having changed some letters of those words, frequently create nouns of other declensions and preserve the gender. Of this sort are *poematum* (poem), *enthymematum* (enthymeme), *delphinus* (dolphin), *elephantus* (elephant), and *lampada* (lamp),⁹¹ which are formed by most people in the third declension: *poema -tis*, *enthymema -tis*,⁹² *delphin*, *elephas*, *lampas*. Entrust this observation diligently to memory.

When indeed we wish to indicate that something is delightful, worthy, or useful to us, then we use datives of the substantives of these words that are adjectives with the verb *sum*, *es*, *est*.⁹³ But lest I retreat from examples, what else does this sentence mean, *haec res mihi iucunditati est* (this matter is a pleasure to me), than *haec res est mihi iucunda* (this matter is pleasing to me)?⁹⁴ And this phrase, *tuae mihi litterae fuerunt gaudio* (your letters were a joy to me), is the same as *ad gaudium or gaudium mihi attulerunt* (they led to joy or they brought joy to me). [*par. cont.*]

⁹⁰ I.e., the *rectus casus* (nominative (or vocative) case) in contrast to the *obliquos casus*.

⁹¹ *Poematum* and *enthymematum* are second declension neuter; *delphinus* and *elephantus* are second declension masculine; *lampada* is first declension feminine. These are rare forms of the nouns listed by Dati next.

⁹² Dati supplies the genitive endings of *poema* and *enthymema* to prevent his readers confusing these words with feminine nouns in the first declension (ending *-a -ae*).

⁹³ I.e., 'delight' in the dative with forms of 'to be' rather than the adjective 'delightful,' etc. In this paragraph Dati recommends the use of the double dative (see AG, 382, 1).

⁹⁴ I.e., with the dative of the noun *iucunditas* rather than the nominative of the adjective *iucundus*, *-a*, *-um*. In the following examples, the nouns *gaudio*, *decori*, and *dedecori* are likewise dative.

Praeclara urbis aedificia ciuibus decori sunt; id est decus pariunt ciuibus.⁹⁵ *Vitia dedecori sunt uiris*, id est dedecus⁹⁶ pariunt hominibus, deque caeteris simili ratione.

Verbum *afficio* et pulchrum est et late patet. Nam *afficio te honore* est *te honoro* et *tibi facio honorem*. *Afficio te laudibus* est *te laudo*. *Afficio te probro* est *te uitupero*. *Afficio te commodis* est *tibi commoda facio*. *Afficio corpora sepultura*⁹⁷ est *cadauera sepelio*. *Afficio inimicos iniuria* est *facio iniuriam inimicis*. Atque similiter *afficior dolore* idem est quod *doleo*. *Afficior gaudio*; id est *gaudeo*. *Afficior uerecundia*; idest⁹⁸ *verecundor*. Latissima est huius uerbi usurpatio, nec tamen lateat *afficere* significare *disponere*. Hinc est Plinii⁹⁹ illud: *uiua uox magis afficit*. Neque enim sine optimis causis tam [A6v] *lata*¹⁰⁰ tamque diffusa sit¹⁰¹ eius uerbi significatio. Sed de hoc satis.

⁹⁵ id est decus pariunt ciuibus] Ma, V, Mi, A; not in S, C, F, N

⁹⁶ dedecori (...) dedecus] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; decori (...) decus F

⁹⁷ sepultura] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; sepulta F

⁹⁸ idest] S, C, V1, Mi; idem est quod Ma, V2, V3ab, N, A; not in F

⁹⁹ Plinii] C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A (correctly; see note to translation); Plauti S, F

¹⁰⁰ lata] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; laeta F

¹⁰¹ diffusa sit] S, Ma, V, Mi, A; fit diffusa F; diffusa est C, N

Praeclara urbis aedificia ciuibus decori sunt (The gleaming buildings of the city are an honor to the citizens); that is, they produce honor for the citizens. *Vitia dedecori sunt uiris* (Faults are a blemish to men), that is, they produce blemishes in men — and other sentences similarly.

The verb *afficio* (do something to someone; affect someone) is both beautiful and has a wide range of meaning. For *afficio te honore* (I bestow honor on you) is *te honoro* (I honor you) and *tibi facio honorem* (I do you honor). *Afficio te laudibus* (I bestow praises on you) is *te laudo* (I praise you). *Afficio te probro* (I heap insult on you) is *te uitupero* (I revile you). *Afficio te commodis* (I provide you with advantages) is *tibi commoda facio* (I do you favors). *Afficio corpora sepultura* (I give burial to the body) is *cadauera sepelio* (I bury the corpse). *Afficio inimicos iniuria* (I heap injury on enemies) is *facio iniuriam inimicis* (I do injury to enemies). And similarly, *afficior dolore* (I bear grief) is the same as *doleo* (I grieve). *Afficior gaudio* (I have joy); that is *gaudeo* (I rejoice). *Afficior uerecundia* (I bear shame); that is *verecundor* (I am ashamed). The use of this verb *afficio* is most wide-ranging, yet let it not escape notice that *afficere* means *disponere* (to dispose; to array). This is as in Pliny: *uiua uox magis afficit* (spoken words have more effect).¹⁰² Indeed, not without the best reasons is the meaning of this verb so broad and inclusive. But enough about this.

¹⁰² *Ep.*, 2, 3, 9.

Non est autem ignorandum quod si duo aut plura duobus, quod perraro usu euenit, si illa pariter se habuerint, utrique *tum* dictionem praeponeamus, quod liqueat exemplo. Par est in C. Laelio doctrinae uirtus;¹⁰³ quantaque est¹⁰⁴ eius uiri probitas, tanta quoque est eius scientia. Tunc splendide ac recte dixerim *C. Laelius uir tum doctus est tum sapiens*. Itidemque *magna inest C. Laelio tum uirtus tum etiam doctrina*. Idemque *C. Laelius plurimum tum laude rerum tum scientia ualeat*. Aliud item exemplum: *Themistocles tum consilio pollet*¹⁰⁵ *in urbanis rebus tum in bellicis negotiis*¹⁰⁶ *uiribus atque animi magnitudine floret*. Sic enim ostendi tantum¹⁰⁷ esse in rebus urbanis consilium¹⁰⁸ quantam in bellicis magnitudinem animi quod *tum* geminatum est positum.

Sed eandem quoque uim habet geminata *et* coniunctiua. Aeneas est *et terris iactatus et alto*. Idem profecto significat *Aeneas tum pelagi tum terrarum labores perpessus est*. *Aphricanus item et singularis uir et imperator*. Idem sibi uult [A7r] *Aphricanus tum magnus uir extitit*¹⁰⁹ *tum imperator*. [*par. cont.*]

¹⁰³ doctrinae uirtus] C, F, V1; doctrine uirtus S, Ma, V3ab, N; doctrina et uirtus V2; doctrina ac uirtus Mi, A

¹⁰⁴ est] S, C, Ma, V, Mi, A; sit F; not in N

¹⁰⁵ tum consilio pollet] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; consiliis placet tum F

¹⁰⁶ negotiis] S, Ma, V1, Mi; negociis C, F, V2, V3ab, N, A

¹⁰⁷ tantum] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; tantam F

¹⁰⁸ consilium] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; not in F

¹⁰⁹ extitit] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; exitit F

It indeed must not be passed over that if there are two or, as very rarely occurs in practice, more than two things, if these should be equal, then we will place the word *tum* before both, which may be made clear by example. In Gaius Laelius, virtue is equal to learning: the virtue of this man is as great as is his knowledge. Thus we should say nobly and rightly *C. Laelius uir tum doctus est tum sapiens* (Gaius Laelius is both a learned and wise man). In the same manner, *magna inest C. Laelio tum uirtus tum etiam doctrina* (both great virtue and also learning belong to Gaius Laelius). Likewise, *C. Laelius plurimum tum laude rerum tum scientia ualet* (Gaius Laelius abounds both in knowledge and acclaim for his deeds). Similarly another example: *Themistocles tum consilio pollet in urbanis rebus tum in bellicis negotiis uiribus atque animi magnitudine floret* (Themistocles both has power in civic affairs because of his judgment, and he is eminent in military affairs because of his strength and greatness of spirit). Thus indeed I have shown his judgment in civil matters to be equal to the greatness of his spirit in warfare because of the paired *tum* construction.

But also the conjunctive *et* has the same force when paired. Aeneas is *et terris iactatus et alto* (tossed on land and on the deep).¹¹⁰ Truly, this means the same as *Aeneas tum pelagi tum terrarum labores perpessus est* (Aeneas has endured the labors both of sea and land). Similarly, *Aphricanus et singularis uir et imperator* (Africanus, a remarkable man and commander). This means the same as *Aphricanus tum magnus uir extitit tum imperator* (Africanus was both a great man and commander).
[*par. cont.*]

¹¹⁰ *Aen.*, 1, 3.

Si duo contraria nequaquam paria sint, sed alterum minus complectitur alterum uero maius, ita faciendum est ut quod leuius existat locemus prius atque ei *cum* dictionem praeponamus, quod autem grauius ualidiusque id posterius positum *tum* dictio praecedat, quod patefaciamus exemplis. C. Laelius amat Scipionem, propterea quod eum doctum cognouit hominem et ipsum uirum optimum, quod postremum ad amorem uehementer impellit. Quare est ita oratio instituenda: *C. Laelius amat Scipionem cum ob doctrinam eius, tum propter uirtutem*. Ita uirtus in hac beniuolentia plus momenti habet. Atque idem ita si dixerim: *Cum omnes fortunati sunt qui bene uiuunt, tum perbeati qui omnia deserunt et uirtutem solam complectuntur*. Hos namque posteriores multo beatiores esse constat, si quis superius modo allatam¹¹¹ praeceptionem intellexerit. Hoc M. Cicero in primis frequenter usurpat. Ex quo illud: *Cum omnibus consulendum est, tum his qui armis positis ad imperatorum fidem*¹¹² *confugiunt*. Significat enim fugientibus [A7v] ad imperatores et se dedentibus multo magis consulendum esse. Atque in Catone maiore, mirari sese etiam aiebat Scipio¹¹³ Marci Catonis *cum caeterarum perfectam sapientiam, tum quod numquam fuerit illi senectus grauis*. Sed de hac re satis.

¹¹¹ allatam] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; allata in F

¹¹² imperatorum fidem] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, and modern editions of *Off.* (see note to translation); imperatorem fidelem F; imperatore fidem A

¹¹³ Scipio] my emendation of Sc[a]euola in S, C, F, Ma, V, N, Mi, A. Presumably the confusion of Q. Mucius Scaevola (either the son-in-law or the nephew of Laelius) for Scipio is a result of Scaevola being a speaker with Laelius in Cicero's *Am.*, the companion dialogue to *Sen.*

If there should be two contrary things not in any way equal, but one represents less and the other more, it must be so done that we place what is lesser first and put the word *cum* before it, while that which is more important and stronger is placed after and the word *tum* precedes it, which we may demonstrate with examples. Gaius Laelius loves Scipio because he knows him to be a learned man and a good man, which last quality strongly impels toward love. For that reason the sentence is constructed thus: *C. Laelius amat Scipionem cum ob doctrinam eius, tum propter uirtutem* (Gaius Laelius loves Scipio both for his learning and for his virtue). Thus virtue has more importance in this feeling of love. And likewise if I should say thus: *Cum omnes fortunati sunt qui bene uiuunt, tum perbeati qui omnia deserunt et uirtutem solam complectuntur* (Not only are all those who live well fortunate, but they who abandon everything and embrace only virtue are blessed). For it is clear that these latter are much happier, if anyone would understand the precept just given above. Marcus Cicero especially makes use of this often — from whom is this: *Cum omnibus consulendum est, tum his qui armis positis ad imperatorum fidem confugiunt* (Not only must everyone else be looked after, but also those who, having laid down their arms, give themselves over to the good faith of the generals).¹¹⁴ For he means that those fleeing to and surrendering themselves to generals must be looked after much more. And in Cato the Elder, Scipio said of Marcus Cato that he indeed marveled to himself *cum caeterarum perfectam sapientiam, tum quod numquam fuerit illi senectus grauis* (not only at his complete understanding of things generally but that age was never grievous to him).¹¹⁵ But enough about this.

¹¹⁴ *Off.*, 1, 11, 35.

¹¹⁵ *Sen.* (full title *Cato maior de senectute*, after its principal speaker), 2, 4.

Iam uero explicandum est qua ratione quampiam personam aut laudari aut uituperari oportet, quod ad decorem sermonis pertineat. Nam id trifariam posse fieri comperimus ex monumentis litterarum,¹¹⁶ ut si uelim ostendere M. Catonem habere magnam uirtutem cum uerbo *sum, es, est*, ita commodissime fiet: *Marcus Cato uir est magnus uirtute; M. Cato uir est magnae uirtutis; M. Cato uir est magna uirtute*.¹¹⁷ *Plato philosophus fuit praestans ingenio, uel praestantis ingenii, uel praestanti ingenio. Mulier est clara moribus, clarorum morum, claris moribus. Vir egregius laude, egregiae laudis, egregia laude*. Sed illud prius magis est poetarum, postremum uero et splendidissimum et perpolitum. *Aristoteles*¹¹⁸ *scientiae copia, philosophus exquisita doctrina, uir acerrimo ingenio*, quod quidem, ut disertissimus [A8r] Priscianus inquit, significat Aristotelem habentem scientiae copiam et qui habet exquisitam doctrinam. Caeteraque consimili ratione, quod quidem A. Gellius in Noctibus Atticis sentire uidetur; est enim defectio quaedam. Sed ea trita usurpataque ab eloquentissimis uiris et clarissimis oratoribus qua et nobis quoque¹¹⁹ utendum est.

¹¹⁶ monumentis litterarum] S, Ma, V, Mi, A; monimentis litterarum C; momentis litterarum N; momentis littere F

¹¹⁷ magnus uirtute (...) magnae uirtutis (...) magna uirtute] magnae uirtutis (...) magnus uirtute (...) magna uirtute F; magna uirtute (...) magnae uirtutis (...) magnus uirtute S, C, Mi; magnae uirtutis (...) magna uirtute (...) magnus uirtute Ma, V; magne uirtutis (...) magna uirtute (...) magnus uirtute N. My reordering makes this first example consistent with the rest that follow (see note to translation).

¹¹⁸ Aristoteles] S, C, Ma, V, A; Aristotelis F; Aristotiles N, Mi

¹¹⁹ quoque] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; not in F

But now it must be explained how one should either praise or condemn some person, which may affect the decorum of an utterance. For we discover from books of literature that it can be done in three different ways, so that if I should wish to show that Marcus Cato has great virtue with the verb *sum, es, est*, it will be done most fittingly thus: *Marcus Cato uir est magnus uirtute*; *M. Cato uir est magnae uirtutis*; *M. Cato uir est magna uirtute* (Marcus Cato is a man great in virtue; Marcus Cato is a man of great virtue; Marcus Cato is a man with great virtue).¹²⁰ *Plato philosophus fuit praestans ingenio* (Plato was a philosopher pre-eminent in genius), or *praestantis ingenii* (of pre-eminent genius), or *praestanti ingenio* (with pre-eminent genius). *Mulier est clara moribus, clarorum morum, claris moribus* (She is a woman illustrious for morals, of illustrious morals, with illustrious morals). *Vir egregius laude, egregiae laudis, egregia laude* (a man great in fame, of great fame, with great fame). But the first method is more common of poets. The last is truly the most splendid and polished. *Aristoteles scientiae copia, philosophus exquisita doctrina, uir accerrimo ingenio* (Aristotle in the copia of his knowledge was a philosopher with excellent learning, a man with the most penetrating genius), which indeed, as the most eloquent Priscian says, means that Aristotle, having an abundance of knowledge, is also one who has excellent learning.¹²¹ And the other instances in the same way: that is precisely how Aulus Gellius in the *Attic Nights* sees it; it is indeed a kind of ellipsis.¹²² Yet it is common and widely used by the most eloquent and famous orators, and so we should use it also.

¹²⁰ In these examples Dati illustrates, respectively (but see textual note), the use of the ablative of specification or respect (AG, 418); the genitive of quality (AG, 345); and the ablative of quality (AG, 415).

¹²¹ I do not find this example in Prisc., but cf. Cicero *Tusc.*, 1, 4, 7 (cited in AG, 415): '(...) Aristoteles, uir summo ingenio, scientia, copia (...)'; and Priscian's reference to 'figuram ellipseos, id est defectionis' (18, 48), which reflects the meaning of *defectio* in Gell. cited by Dati in the next sentence and in LS (*defectio* II.d).

¹²² Gell., 5, 8, 3-7.

Atqui participium tum accusatiui casus saepe tum ablatiui locum tenet infiniti uerbi. Hinc Sallustianum illud: *Nam et priusquam incipias consulto et ubi consulueris mature facto opus est*. Et Terentiana Misis Glycerium alloquens amicam Pamphili, *Iam Iam* inquit *inuentum tibi curabo et adductum tuum Pamphilum*. Omnia namque illa *consulto, facto, inuentum, adductum, consulere, facere, inuenire, adducere*, designant. Verum frequenter oratores his rationibus¹²³ ablatiuorum casuum utuntur, accusatiuorum perraro.

Et quoniam de nomine quod est *opus* attulimus mentionem, intelligendum est *opus est mihi hac re* significat *me egere hac re*. Sed id uariis casibus adiungi solet. Nam etiam *opus est mihi tua opera* nominatiui [A8v] casus, et *tuae operae* et *tuam operam* et *tua opera*. Sed hoc postremum ornatus est¹²⁴ et totum oratorium. Caeteris orationibus poetae historicique utuntur. Nos autem quaedam praecipimus ut cognoscamus a ueteribus usurpata eisdemque utamur, quaedam uero ut cognoscamus solum. Nam *opus est mihi hanc rem* numquam orator dicit.

¹²³ oratores his rationibus] C, Mi, A; oratores hiis rationibus N; orationibus his oratores Ma, V2, V3ab; his rationibus S, F; oratoresibus rationibus V1

¹²⁴ est] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; not in F

But furthermore, sometimes a participle in the accusative case, and often in the ablative, holds the place of an infinitive verb.¹²⁵ Hence this in Sallust: *Nam et priusquam incipias consulto et ubi consulueris mature facto opus est* (For before you begin, consultation is necessary, and once you have consulted, timely action).¹²⁶ And Terence's Mysis, speaking to Pamphilus's friend Glycerium, says *Iam Iam inuentum tibi curabo et adductum tuum Pamphilum* (I will now take care to find your Pamphilus for you and bring him back).¹²⁷ For indeed, all these — *consulto, facto, inuentum, adductum* — denote *consulere, facere, inuenire, adducere* (to consult, to act, to find, to bring to). Orators very frequently make use of these types of ablatives, very seldom the accusatives.

And because we make mention of the noun *opus*, it must be understood that *opus est mihi hac re* means *me egere hac re* (this matter is necessary to me). But it is customarily joined with various cases. For besides *opus est mihi tua opera* (your service is necessary to me) in the nominative case, also *tuae operae* (there is a need to me of your service), and *tuam operam* (I need your service), and *tua opera* (there is a need to me for your service).¹²⁸ But this last is the more ornate and wholly oratorical. Poets and historians use the other styles. We, however, set down certain principles so that we understand that they were used by the ancients and so that we too may use them, but certain others, so that we understand them only. For an orator never says *opus est mihi hanc rem* (I need this thing).¹²⁹

¹²⁵ See AG, 497, esp. d.

¹²⁶ *Cat.*, 1, 6; see AG 411 on *opus* with the ablative (frequently of the perfect participle, as here). Dati returns to this word in the next paragraph.

¹²⁷ *And.*, 683-684.

¹²⁸ With 'your service' in the genitive, accusative, and ablative of thing needed, respectively.

¹²⁹ I.e., with *hanc rem* in the accusative.

Quid? Illud nonne pulcherrimum est ut quum duo nomina, quorum alterum adiectiuum, alterum substantiuum, eodemque casus exitu proferri debeant, saepe creberrimeque quodammodo tertiam adiectiui nominis uocem, quae est neutra, in uim substantiuam transferamus, et substantiuum id prius genitiuo casu locemus? Quod ut frequens est eruditis ac disertis uiris, ita quoque erit exemplo manifestum. Nam quum *multam uirtutem* dicturus sum, si *multum uirtutis* loco eius orationis posuero, multo protulerim uenustius. *Multum pecuniae* enim significat *multam pecuniam*; *plurimum uirium* *plurimas uires*; *quid animi* *quis animus*; *quid rei* *quae res*; *quid causae* *quae causa*; aliaque item permulta. Sed animaduertendum est: nam si genitiuus casus [B1r] ille fuerit singularis, totam item orationem singulariter exponere debemus, si pluralis pluraliter. Nam exempli causa: *multum pecuniae multa pecunia* singulari numero significat, ac contra *multum pecuniarum multas pecunias*. Similisque est aliorum ratio ut *multum roboris* singularem, *plurimum uirium* autem pluralem habet significationem. Et aduerbia quoque non nulla uim eandem retinent, praesertim uero duo haec: *parum* et *satis*. Nam *parum sapientiae* est *parua sapientia*; *satis uirium sufficientes uires*. Et nihil quoque siue nomen siue aduerbium sit: in eandem saepe obseruantiam¹³⁰ cadit. Haec igitur hactenus.

¹³⁰ eandem saepe obseruantiam] C, V, N, Mi, A; eadem saepe obseruantiam S; eadem saepe obseruantia F, Ma

What, is it not but most beautiful, that when there are two nominatives, one of them an adjective and the other a substantive, the cases should also be made in the same termination? And yet extremely often we transfer the third voice, so to speak, of an adjective, which is neuter, into a substantive, and we place that substantive before a genitive case.¹³¹ Because this is common among erudite and learned men, it will thus also be clear by example. For when I am about to say *multam uirtutem* (much virtue), if I should say *multum uirtutis* in place of this phrase, I will have spoken much more charmingly. For *multum pecuniae* means *multam pecuniam* (much wealth); *plurimum uirium* is *plurimas uires* (much strength); *quid animi* is *quis animus* (what spirit); *quid rei* is *quae res* (what matter); *quid causae* is *quae causa* (what cause); and likewise many others. But one must be mindful, for if the word in the genitive case should be singular, we ought likewise to put the whole utterance in the singular, and if plural, then in the plural. So by way of example: *multum pecuniae* signifies in singular number *multa pecunia* (much wealth), and in contrast, *multum pecuniarum* is *multas pecunias*. And the method with others is similar, so that *multum roboris* (much strength) is singular; but it indeed has the plural meaning *plurimum uirium*. And also quite a few adverbs maintain the same force, but especially these two: *parum* (too little) and *satis* (enough). For *parum sapientiae* is *parua sapientia* (little wisdom). *Satis uirium* is *sufficientes uires* (sufficient strength). And likewise *nihil*, which may be either a noun or an adverb: one comes across it often either way. So much of this then.

¹³¹ See AG, 343 (on the possessive genitive), c. N. 1, and 346 (on the partitive genitive) a-b.

Quoniam autem singula haec fere inuestigamus, id quoque dignum cognitione est ut quum duo inuenerimus substantiua nomina, quorum utrique idem epitheton adiciendum est, ut adiectiuum ipsum in principio collocemus cum sequentibus substantiuis, uel *tum* geminatum uel duplicatum *et* praepoamus. Exempli uero causa afferantur Ciceronis uerba: *Aphricanus singularis et uir et imperator*; quod [B1v] est Aphricanus singularis uir et singularis imperator. *Propter magnam et doctoris auctoritatem et urbis*; quod est propter magnam auctoritatem doctoris et propter magnam auctoritatem urbis. *Praeclarus et miles et ciuis; illustris tum uir tum philosophus; optimus tum patriae defensor tum gubernator; iustus et rex et iudex*; consimiliaque eodem modo se habent. Sed et saepe numero contra eodem ordine uni substantiuo praeposito duo adiectiua aut plura deseruiunt. Exempla sunt quae nunc constituam: *Vir tum bonus tum etiam temperans; imperator et callidus et fortis; iudex integer et sollers; ornamenta ciuitatis tum multa tum praeclara*. Alia tu ipse coniecta.

But because we are looking into these points pretty much one by one, it is also worth knowing that when we come up with two substantive nouns, to either of which the same adjective is to be added, then we place that adjective in the beginning with the substantives following, and either we place before them double *tums* or repeated *ets*. But for the sake of example let the words of Cicero be produced: *Aphricanus singularis et uir et imperator* (Africanus, a remarkable man and commander);¹³² that is, Africanus is a remarkable man and a remarkable commander. *Propter magnam et doctoris auctoritatem et urbis* (on account of the great authority of the teacher and the town);¹³³ that is, on account of the great authority of the teacher and on account of the great authority of the town. *Praeclarus et miles et ciuis* (illustrious soldier and citizen); *illustris tum uir tum philosophus* (a famous man and philosopher); *optimus tum patriae defensor tum gubernator* (the best defender of the fatherland and ruler); *iustus et rex et iudex* (a just king and judge); and there are others similar in the same manner. But also, in contrast, very often in the same order two or more adjectives are governed by one substantive placed beforehand. These are the examples I would now set forth: *Vir tum bonus tum etiam temperans* (a man not only good but also temperate); *imperator et callidus et fortis* (a commander both crafty and valiant); *iudex integer et sollers* (a judge both honest and clever); *ornamenta ciuitatis tum multa tum praeclara* (ornaments of the state not only abundant but illustrious). You think of others yourself.

¹³² *Off.*, 1, 22, 76.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 1, 1, 1.

Non nunquam et duo substantiua ita¹³⁴ se habent ut alterum uim suam ubique conseruet ac tueatur, alterum quasi quendam¹³⁵ obtineat adiectiui¹³⁶ nominis locum et eius fungatur officio. Quale est Virgilianum illud in primo aeneidos: *Molemque et montes insuper altos imposuit*, ac si dicat *molestos montes imposuit* aut *molem montosam*.¹³⁷ *Cauendum est ne ab honestate naturaue discedamus*; perinde ac dixerit [B2r] *cauendum est ne a naturali honestate discedamus*. Sed nota tibi haec sint.¹³⁸ Et ne quasi historiam texens dicendorum seriem nectam.¹³⁹ Itaque patefecerim ut sese mihi forte¹⁴⁰ quaedam obtulerint.

Ceterum non ignoras, ut ipse arbitror, extrema supina plerumque perornate ac peruenuste significare gerundia accusatiui casus *ad* adiectione praeposita, ut *res difficiles creditu*, idest *ad credendum*, *iucunda auditu ad audiendum*, *suauis gustu ad gustandum*. Permultaque similia ac pari modo se habent.¹⁴¹

¹³⁴ ita] S, C, Ma, N, Mi, A; in F; this phrase not in V

¹³⁵ quendam] C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; querelam S, F

¹³⁶ adiectiui] C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; ac alii S; ac alius F

¹³⁷ aut molem montosam] C; not in S, F, Ma, V, N, Mi, A

¹³⁸ sed nota tibi haec sint] C, Mi; haec tibi satis sint S; sed tibi haec sunt F; sed tibi hec nota sunt N; sat haec sunt tibi nota Ma, V, A

¹³⁹ et ne (...) nectam] C, Mi; ne nectam S; nec (...) nectas Fa; nec (...) nectans Fb; sed ne (...) nectam Ma, N, V, A

¹⁴⁰ forte] C, Ma, V1, V3ab, N, Mi; sorte S, F, V2, A

¹⁴¹ habent] S, C, Fb, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; babent Fa

Often too, two nouns are used in such a way that one maintains and preserves its meaning wherever it may be, while the other plays the role of an adjective and performs its function.¹⁴² Such is that Virgilian line in the first book of the *Aeneid*: *Molemque et montes insuper altos imposuit* (literally, and he placed over them a mass and high mountains),¹⁴³ as if to say *molestos montes imposuit* (he placed massive mountains) or *molem montosam* (a mountainous mass). *Cauendum est ne ab honestate naturaue discedamus* (there must be care taken lest we depart from honesty and nature); this is just as one would say, *cauendum est ne a naturali honestate discedamus* (there must be care taken lest we depart from natural honesty). But let these things be known to you. And let me not string together a succession of modes of expression as if weaving a story. I should make these things clear as various points fortuitously offer themselves to me.

Moreover, you are not ignorant, as I suppose, that supine endings often most ornately and charmingly signify gerunds of the accusative case with *ad* joined beforehand,¹⁴⁴ as in *res difficiles creditu* (a matter difficult to believe), that is *ad credendum*; *iucunda auditu* (pleasant to hear) is *ad audiendum*; *suaui gustu* (sweet to taste) is *ad gustandum*. And there are many similar and equivalent ones made in this manner.

¹⁴² I.e., Dati is recommending the use of hendiadis, in which two nouns joined by 'and' serve in place of a noun and modifier.

¹⁴³ *Aen.*, 1, 61-2.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. AG, 506, 510.

Nec id te, amice, lateat ut quum fuerit superlatiuum quodpiam durius et asperius, et superlatiue significandum sit, ut pro superlatiuo positiuum afferamus et ei superlatiuum aptumque ponamus aduerbium. Nam *maxime memorabile facinus est memorabilissimum facinus. Maxime rarum genus hominum est rarissimum genus hominum. Sed admodum et inprimis positiuis adiuncta uim ferme eandem retinent.*

Id nequaquam praeterierim ut si quem qui uirtutem habeat uelim mediocriter laudare, dicam exempli causa: *Pericles uirtute [B2v] praestans princeps erat Athenis, uel quod multa praeclara gesserit. Themistocles rebus gestis floruit.* Sin uelim uehementer ac plurimum laudare, adiciam *gloriam* siue *laudem* et causam laudationis in genitiuo casu constituam. *Pericles* (ut eiusdem exigam) *uirtutis gloria praestans Athenis claruit. Themistocles gestarum rerum laude emicuit.* Sicque *Marcus Antonius qui praestabat eloquentia* mediocriter laudatur ac fere exiliter. *Lutius Crassus eloquentiae gloria excelluit uehementissime laudatur.* Sed tu caetera pro tui ingenii bonitate deducito.

Nor, friend, let it escape your notice that when any superlative would be too harsh or rough, and yet it still must be expressed in the superlative, then we may supply a positive for the superlative and with it we may place a fitting and superlative adverb. Thus *maxime memorabile facinus* (most memorable deed) is *memorabilissimum facinus*. *Maxime rarum genus hominum* (Most rare race of men) is *rarissimum genus hominum*. But *admodum* (absolutely) and *inprimis* (especially) joined with positives have almost the same meaning.

Nor should I omit that if I wanted to praise someone modestly for his virtue, I would say for example: *Pericles uirtute praestans princeps erat Athenis* (Pericles, distinguished by his virtue, was leading citizen at Athens), or if you would rather, *quod multa praeclara gesserit* (because he accomplished many noble things). *Themistocles rebus gestis floruit* (Themistocles was renowned for his deeds). If I should wish to praise strongly and greatly, I may add *gloria* (fame, glory) or *laus* (praise, glory) and put the cause of the praising in the genitive case. *Pericles* — as I shall treat of the same — *uirtutis gloria praestans Athenis claruit* (Pericles, distinguished by the renown of his virtue, won fame in Athens). *Themistocles gestarum rerum laude emicuit* (Themistocles shone forth with the glory of his deeds). And thus, *Marcus Antonius qui praestabat eloquentia* (Marcus Antonius¹⁴⁵ who stood out for eloquence) is praised moderately and almost thinly. *Lutius Crassus eloquentiae gloria excelluit* (Lucius Crassus excelled in the glory of eloquence) is praised most strongly. But you devise others according to the quality of your talent.

¹⁴⁵ The orator (d. 87 BC) whom Cicero makes a principal speaker, with Crassus who is mentioned in the next example, in *De Or.*

Quotiens nomina, quod ipse quoque testatur grammaticus Seruius, et pluralis et singularis numeri¹⁴⁶ connectuntur, respondemus uiciniori. Virgilius primo Aeneidos: *Hic illius arma hic currus fuit, non autem fuerunt*. Terentius in Andria: *Amantium*¹⁴⁷ *irae reintegratio est amoris*. Xenophon: *Delitiae meae sunt hostes eorumque exercitus properabat*. Atque ita frequentius observatur quod idem fit in diuersis generibus. Nam siue masculinum siue¹⁴⁸ femininum est, uiciniori respondemus: ut *uir et mulier optima ad me uenit*. Intelligitur [B3r] enim *optimum* esse uirum et *optimam* mulierem quae uenerit. Verum si plurali numero uelimus uti ad masculinum transire necesse est: ut *uir et mulier laeti properant*. *Alexander et Olympias clari extiterunt*.

*Operaepretium*¹⁴⁹ *est, quod peruenustum est*. Significat modo *utile est*, modo *necessarium*, modo *iucundum*. Atque his significationibus id nominis ueteres usurpabant.

¹⁴⁶ numeri] C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; not in S; numerus F

¹⁴⁷ amantium] S, Ma, V, N, Mi, A, and modern editions of *And.* (see note to translation); amancium C; amantum F

¹⁴⁸ siue] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; sit siue F

¹⁴⁹ operaepretium] V2, V3ab, Mi; operepretium V1; opere pretium N; opereprecium S, C, Ma, A; opere praecium F

Whenever nouns of plural and singular number are joined, as the grammarian Servius himself also attests, we respond to the nearer one.¹⁵⁰ Virgil in the first book of the *Aeneid*: *Hic illius arma hic currus fuit* (Here was her chariot, here her arms),¹⁵¹ not *fuere* (were). Terence in the *Andria*: *Amantium irae reintegratio est amoris* (The rages of lovers is the renewal of love).¹⁵² Xenophon: *Delitiae meae sunt hostes eorumque exercitus properabat* (It pleases me that my enemy with their army was in flight).¹⁵³ And likewise it is more frequently observed that the same is done in different genders. For whether it be masculine or feminine, we respond to the nearer: as in *uir et mulier optima ad me uenit* (the noble woman and man came to me).¹⁵⁴ It is of course understood that the man who came is *optimum* and the woman *optimam*. But if we should wish to use the plural number, it is necessary to change over to masculine: as in *uir et mulier laeti properant* (the happy man and woman are hastening),¹⁵⁵ *Alexander and Olympias clari extiterunt* (Alexander and Olympias stood out as illustrious).¹⁵⁶

Operae pretium est (it is worthwhile), which is most charming. Sometimes it signifies *utile est* (it is useful), sometimes *necessarium* ([it is] necessary), sometimes *iucundum* ([it is] delightful). And with these meanings the ancients employed it as a noun.

¹⁵⁰ I.e., we make our verb agree in number with the nearer noun.

¹⁵¹ *Aen.*, 1, 16-17, with *fuit* 'corresponding' to the nearer, singular *currus*. Dati cites Servius's commentary *ad loc.*

¹⁵² *And.*, 555 (approximate wording: cf. 'amantium irae amoris integratio'), with *est* in agreement with *reintegratio*.

¹⁵³ Literally 'enemies', but with singular *properabat* in agreement with *exercitus*. As Xenophon wrote in Greek, one must presume that Dati cites the Latin translation of a sentence either written by or attributed to the Athenian chronicler. However, I have not found the apparent original in Xenophon's works or in Dati's usual second-hand sources.

¹⁵⁴ The actual order of the Latin is 'man and woman', but 'noble' (*optima*) agrees with the latter (*mulier*; cf. *quae uenerit* in the following sentence), just as *uenit* is singular rather than plural according to the instruction above.

¹⁵⁵ The word 'happy' (*laeti*), applying to both the man and the woman, is masculine plural.

¹⁵⁶ The word 'illustrious' (*clari*), applying to both Alexander and Olympias (the latter consort of Philip of Macedon and mother to Alexander the Great), is masculine plural.

Frui quapiam re est fructum siue utilitatem uel uoluptatem percipere ex ea re, ut quum dixerit quis *ocio fruor*.

Ferre prae se aliquid est uerbis aut indiciis quibusdam id ostendere et quodammodo confiteri: ut *Marcus Cato prae se fert grauitatem; hilaritatem prae se fert Laelius*.

Rationem habere est *respectum habere*. Sed ut planius exponam, *habere rationem alicuius rei* est rem consyderare, ut *habere rationem temporis personarum et loci* est ea omnia ratione complecti et consydere.

Hanc rem mente animoue complector: id est hanc rem consydero et uoluto.

In animo est significat *in animo habeo* et *animus est mihi* et *uolo*.

[B3v] *Certum est mihi*: deliberaui et decreui idem est.¹⁵⁷

Prosequor te honore est te honoro. *Prosequor te laude* est te laudo. *Prosequor te probro* est te uitupero. *Prosequor te amore* est te amo. *Prosequor te odio* est te odio habeo.

Benemeritus sum de republica est beneficium in illam contuli. *Bemereri de amicis* est conferre in amicos beneficia.

¹⁵⁷ deliberaui et decreui idem est] C; est deliberaui et decreui Ma, V1, V2, V3b; deliberaui et decreui V3a, N, Mi, A; deliberaui decreui idem est S; deliberaui decreui F

Frui (to enjoy) anything is to obtain profit or use or delight from that thing, such as when someone would say, *ocio fruor* (I enjoy leisure).

Ferre prae se aliquid (to bear something before one) is to reveal a thing by words or certain signs and in some manner to make it manifest: as in, *Marcus Cato prae se fert grauitatem* (Marcus Cato exhibits his gravity); *hilaritatem prae se fert Laelius* (Laelius shows his good cheer).

Rationem habere (to have regard for) is *respectum habere* (to have consideration of). But if I might explain more plainly, *habere rationem alicuius rei* (to have regard for some matter) is to consider the matter, such that *habere rationem temporis personarum et loci* (to have regard for the time, people and place) is to consider and comprehend all these things by means of reason.

Hanc rem mente animoue complector (I comprehend this matter in mind or heart): that is, I consider and think over this matter.

In animo est (it is in mind) means *in animo habeo* (I have in mind) and both *animus est mihi* (it is in my mind) and *uolo* (I want).

Certum est mihi (it is certain to me): I deliberated and decided.

Prosequor te honore (I bestow honor on you) means I honor you. *Prosequor te laude* (I bestow praise on you) means I praise you. *Prosequor te probro* (I bestow censure on you) means I censure you. *Prosequor te amore* (I bestow love on you) means I love you. *Prosequor te odio* (I bestow hatred on you) means I regard you with hatred.

Benemeritus sum de republica (I deserved well of the republic) means I brought benefit to it. *Benemereri de amicis* (to deserve well of friends) is to bring benefits to friends.

Aeque pro ita uel ac atque pro ut uel quam ornatissime ponuntur. Exemplum est Aeque te laudo atque Ciceronem; idest sicut Ciceronem.

Haud pro non, secus pro aliter in eadem oratione uenuste ac concinne se habent,¹⁵⁸ ut haud secus sentio atque tu; idest ita sentio ut tu.

Non nunquam et perpulchre¹⁵⁹ comparatiua pro positiuis ponuntur, ut Alexander Macedo habet corpus imbecillius, quod imbecillum significat. Satyri in scelera uehementius inuehuntur, quod est uehementer.

Do hanc rem uitio est uitupero tibi hanc rem. Te de hac re do crimini est te criminor de hac re. Te do laudi est te laudo.

Sed ne illud quidem negligendum est, quod subiunctiuus modus pro indicatiuo et illius tempora pro huius temporibus interdum haud illepide ponuntur, ut uelim [B4r] pro uolo et gererem pro gerebam; dilexerim pro dilexi; fecissem pro feceram; gratum fuerit pro gratum erit; feceris pro facies. [par. cont.]

¹⁵⁸ haud pro non secus pro aliter in eadem oratione uenuste ac concin(n)e se habent] V2, Mi, A; idem but with comteque following concinne C; idem but with cum following non V1, V3ab; idem but with cum following non and ac dropped after uenuste Ma; idem but with et instead of ac N; haud pro non in eadem oratione uenuste ac concinne se habet. secus pro aliter S, Fa; as in S, Fa but ending habet secus. secus pro aliter Fb

¹⁵⁹ perpulchre] S, C, Fb, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; perpulcre Fa

Aequ for *ita* (just as) and *ac/atque* for *ut* (as) or *quam* (than) are used to great effect. An example is *Aequ te laudo atque Ciceronem* (I praise you just as I do Cicero); that is, in the same way I praise Cicero.

Haud for *non* (not), *secus* for *aliter* (otherwise), abide gracefully and elegantly in the same sentence, as in *haud secus sentio atque tu* (I think not otherwise than you); that is, I think the same as you.

Frequently and beautifully comparatives¹⁶⁰ are put in for positives, as in, *Alexander Macedo habet corpus imbecillius* — which signifies *imbecillum* (Alexander of Macedon has a feeble body). *Satiri in scelera uehementius* — which is *uehementer* — *inuehuntur* (The satyrs are brought eagerly into wickedness).

Do hanc rem uitio (I ascribe this matter to error) means I rebuke you for this thing. *Te de hac re do crimini* (I give you reproaches regarding this matter) means I accuse you of this matter. *Te do laudi* (I give you praises) means I praise you.

But not even this is to be neglected: that the subjunctive mood and its tenses are sometimes substituted not at all inelegantly for the indicative and its tenses, as in *uelim* for *uolo* (I wish) and *gererem* for *gerebam* (I was carrying); *dilexerim* for *dilexi* (I chose); *fecissem* for *feceram* (I had made); *gratum fuerit* for *gratum erit*¹⁶¹ (it will be pleasing); *feceris* for *facies* (you will do). [*par. cont.*]

¹⁶⁰ The adjectives with the *-ius* endings in the following examples.

¹⁶¹ In this example and the next, Dati recommends the perfect subjunctive (which, depending on context, can refer either to the future or the past) for the future indicative.

Id omnium multo ornatissimum si opportunis¹⁶² locis agatur. Quod ubi faciendum sit et peritorum aures facile censebunt. Quam ob rem exercitatio adhibenda est non mediocris, quae omnium magistrorum praecepta facile superat. Quod si quis nouerit grecas litteras, ei quod modo explicauimus non difficile persuadetur.

Partim hominum uenerunt persaepe dicitur. Et A. Gelio teste est idem quod *pars hominum uenit*, idest quidam homines. Nam *partim* hoc in loco aduerbium est neque inclinatur in casus: sicut *cum partim hominum* dici potest, idest *cum quibusdam hominibus* et *cum quadam* quasi *parte hominum*. Sed tamen hoc splendidius est¹⁶³ quum in oratione iterum fuerit additum.¹⁶⁴ Vt est illud M. Tullii in epistolis: *Nam qui isthinc ueniunt partim superbum te esse dicunt quod nihil respondeas, partim contumeliosum quod male respondeas*. Et qui in ciuitatibus praesunt: *partim nobiles sunt, partim populares*; quod est, *aliqui nobiles sunt, aliqui populares*.

¹⁶² opportunis] S, V2, V3ab, Mi, A; oportunis C, F, Ma, V1, N

¹⁶³ est] S, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; not in F, C

¹⁶⁴ additum] S, Ma, V, N, Mi; aditum F, adiectum C

This is most ornate of all if effected at opportune places. Where that would be done, again the ears of experts will easily judge. For this reason practice must be assiduous, for it readily supercedes the precepts of all the pedagogues. Anyone who knows Greek will be persuaded of what we have just said without difficulty.

Partim hominum uenerunt (some of the men came) is often said. And it is attested by Aulus Gellius that this is the same as *pars hominum uenit* (part of the men came), that is, certain men.¹⁶⁵ For *partim* in this place is an adverb and is not declined in cases: so for instance it is possible to say *cum partim hominum* (with some of the men), that is, *cum quibusdam hominibus* (with certain men) and, as it were, *cum quadam parte hominum* (with a certain part of the men). But it is more splendid when in a sentence it is added a second time. Such is that instance in the letters of Marcus Tullius: *Nam qui isthinc ueniunt partim superbum te esse dicunt quod nihil respondeas, partim contumeliosum quod male respondeas* (For some who come here say that you are proud because you do not respond; some others say that you are insolent because you respond badly).¹⁶⁶ And those who govern states: *partim nobiles sunt, partim populares* (part are noble, part are common); that is, *aliqui nobiles sunt, aliqui populares* (some are noble, some are common).

¹⁶⁵ Gell., 10, 13.

¹⁶⁶ *Fam.*, 1, 10.

[B4v] Id est etiam optimum cognitu¹⁶⁷ quod decimus quisque est unus ex numero denario, sicut millesimus quisque est unus ex numero millenario. Hinc est illud C. Caesaris in commentariis: *Cognoscit non decimum quemque esse reliquum militem sine uulnere*. Quo exemplo uti pulchrum est.

Quotus quisque homo, idest *quot homines*; *quotus quisque miles*, idest *quot milites*.

Perquam una dictio dumtaxat pulcherrime positiuis iungitur nominibus, ut *perquam doctus philosophus*; *perquam charus amicus*.

Quid illud: nunquid non laepidissime usurpamus, ut in oratione eadem iterum *alias* usurpatum locum obtineat¹⁶⁸ modo aduerbii? Quale esset si quis dicat, *Omnes homines eodem ferme sunt nati ingenio: alias quidem rident alias uero lachrymantur. Omnes item ciues alias boni alias mali, nusquam eisdem sunt moribus*.

Marcus Antonius iuit in castra; multifarie dicitur. *Marcus Antonius castra petiuit; in castra profectus est; se ad castra contulit*; [par. cont.]

¹⁶⁷ cognitu] S, C, Fb, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; eognitu Fa

¹⁶⁸ obtineat] S, V3a, N, Mi; optineat C, F, V2, A; not in Ma, V1, V3b

It is also best to know that each tenth (*decimus*) is one from the number ten, just as each thousandth (*millesimus*) is one from the number thousand. Hence there is this passage in the commentaries of Julius Caesar: *Cognoscit non decimum quemque esse reliquum militem sine uulnere* (He learns that not one tenth of all the remaining soldiers are unwounded).¹⁶⁹ It is beautiful to follow this example.

Quotus quisque homo; that is, *quot homines* (how many men?). *Quotus quisque miles*; that is, *quot milites* (how many soldiers?).

The word *perquam* (extremely) is only joined beautifully with positive nouns, as in *perquam doctus philosophus* (extremely learned philosopher); *perquam charus amicus* (extremely dear friend).

What about this: do we not speak most attractively when in the same sentence *alias* used a second time has a place in the manner of an adverb? Such would it be if one were to say, *Omnes homines eodem ferme sunt nati ingenio: alias quidem rident alias uero lachrymantur* (All men are born with nearly the same nature: at times indeed they laugh, yet at other times they weep). Similarly, *Omnes ciues alias boni alias mali, nusquam eisdem sunt moribus* (All citizens are sometimes good, sometimes bad, never of the same character).

Marcus Antonius iuit in castra (Marc Antony went to the military camp). This is said variously: *Marcus Antonius castra petiuit* (Marc Antony sought the camp); *in castra profectus est* (he advanced to the camp); *se ad castra contulit* (he betook himself to the camp); [*par. cont.*]

¹⁶⁹ *B.G.*, 5, 52.

se in castra recepit; se in castra perduxit.

Hic habet uiginti annos: quod ueterum consuetudine dicitur, contra pedagogicam [B5r] opinionem. Aliis quoque rationibus dicitur: *hic uigesimum annum agit; degit uigesimum aetatis annum; est uiginti annos natus.* Sed hoc postremum magis oratori conuenit.¹⁷⁰

Cicero laborat in eloquentia. Cicero in eloquentia operam ponit. Dat eloquentiae operam. Aetatem in eloquentia conterit. In studium incumbit eloquentiae. Et alia deduc pro tuo iudicio.

*Habeo hanc rem in memoria non minus usitate dicitur quam*¹⁷¹ *habeo siue teneo hanc rem memoriae uel teneo hanc rem*¹⁷² *memoria;*¹⁷³ *huius rei memoriam habeo.*

Obliiscor uoluptatis uel cuiuscunque alterius rei: uoluptatis me capit obliuio; amicorum me capit obliuio. Et sic idem uerbum cum caeteris nominibus iunctum diuersa significat consimili ordine, ut *capit me sacietas ciuitatis; capit me odium*¹⁷⁴ *hominum.*

¹⁷⁰ conuenit] S, C, Fb; couenit Fa; congruit Ma, V1, V3ab, N, Mi, A; congruit V2

¹⁷¹ quam] C, Mi; sed S, F, Ma, V, N, A

¹⁷² teneo hanc rem] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; not in F

¹⁷³ memoriae (...) memoria] V, Mi; memoria (...) memoria N; memorie (...) memoria S, C, F, Ma; memoria (...) memorie A

¹⁷⁴ odium] S, C, Fb, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; odiun Fa

se in castra recepit (he retreated to the camp); *se in castra perduxit* (he conducted himself to the camp).

Hic habet uiginti annos (he is twenty years old): this is said according to the custom of ancient writers, contrary to received educational opinion. It is also said in other ways: *hic uigesimum annum agit* (he is in his twentieth year); *degit uigesimum aetatis annum* (he passes the twentieth year of age); *est uiginti annos natus* (twenty years [ago] he was born). But this last is better suited to the orator.

Cicero laborat in eloquentia (Cicero labors at eloquence). *Cicero in eloquentia operam ponit* (Cicero puts effort into eloquence). *Dat eloquentiae operam* (he applies himself to eloquence). *Aetatem in eloquentia conterit* (he employs his time in eloquence). *In studium incumbit eloquentiae* (he inclines to the study of eloquence). Compose still others according to your judgment.

Habeo hanc rem in memoria (I have this matter in memory) is said no less commonly than *habeo* or *teneo* (I hold) *hanc rem memoriae*¹⁷⁵ or *teneo hanc rem memoria*; *huius rei memoriam habeo* (I have memory of this).

Obliuiscor uoluptatis uel cuiuscunque alterius rei (I forget pleasure or some other thing): *uoluptatis me capit obliuio* (forgetfulness of pleasure occupies me); *amicorum me capit obliuio* (forgetfulness of friends occupies me). And thus the same word joined with other words in similar order means different things, as in *capit me sacietas ciuitatis* (loathing of the city possesses me); *capit me odium hominum* (hatred of men possesses me).

¹⁷⁵ I.e., *memoriae* in dative case as well as the ablative *memoria*.

*Virgilius rus incolit; ciuitatem habet.*¹⁷⁶ Hoc perpulchre dicitur per *contineo* siue *teneo*. *Virgilius urbi se se continet; tenet sese in urbe.*

Si quis vellet ostentare aliquam rem aliam antecellere et ultra illam ualere, uenuste dicitur uel per accusatiuum praeposita *praeter* uel cum [B5v] *prae* ablatiuo praeposita. Vt *C. Caesar ultra alios pollebat rebus bellicis pulcherrime dicitur*¹⁷⁷ *Caesar praeter caeteros rebus bellicis pollebat* uel *prae caeteris pollebat*.

Laelius habet faciles mores uel facilem naturam. Ornatus dicitur *Laelius est leni*¹⁷⁸ *ingenio natus, facili natus ingenio*, uel *facillimis*¹⁷⁹ *morbis*. *Scipio natus est tristi ingenio*. Et de reliquis consimiliter.

Valeo et polleo uerba splendida sunt et latissime patent, et ablatiuo casui iunguntur hoc pacto: *Aurelius Augustinus plurimum ingenio ualuit; Milo corporis uiribus plurimum ualuit, Hippocrates ingenii bonitate, Mitridates memoria; M. Cato in ciuitate plurimum pollebat auctoritate*. Et *clareo* et *floreo* uerba eadem ferme ratione se habent. [*par. cont.*]

¹⁷⁶ habet] S, C, F, Ma, V1, V3b, N, Mi; habitat V2, V3a, A

¹⁷⁷ pulcherrime dicitur] S, C, Ma, V2, V3ab, N, Mi, A; not in F, V1 (in the latter, the two examples in this sentence are conflated)

¹⁷⁸ leni] S, Ma, V, A; laeni F; leui C, N, Mi

¹⁷⁹ facillimis] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; facillimus F

Virgilius rus incolit (Virgil dwells in the country); *ciuitatem habet* (he inhabits the city). This is said beautifully by means of *contineo* (confine) or *teneo* (keep): *Virgilius urbi se se continet* (Virgil confines himself to town); *tenet se se in urbe* (he keeps himself in town).

If one should wish to show that something surpasses another thing and has power beyond that thing, it is gracefully said either by means of *praeter* put before the accusative or with *prae* put before the ablative. For example, *C. Caesar ultra alios pollebat rebus bellicis* (Julius Caesar more than others was powerful in military affairs) is beautifully stated *Caesar praeter caeteros rebus bellicis pollebat* or *prae caeteris pollebat* (Caesar beyond others was powerful in military affairs).

Laelius habet faciles mores (Laelius has a gentle character) or *facilem naturam* (a gentle nature). It is said more ornately *Laelius est leni ingenio natus* (Laelius was born with a mild disposition), *facili natus ingenio* (born with a gentle disposition) or *facillimis moribus* (with the gentlest character). *Scipio natus est tristi ingenio* (Scipio was born with an unhappy disposition). And similarly of the rest.

The verbs *ualeo* (have strength) and *polleo* (be powerful) are splendid and have a very wide range of meaning, and they are joined with the ablative case in this manner: *Aurelius Augustinus plurimum ingenio ualuit* (Aurelius Augustine was most strong in genius); *Milo corporis uiribus plurimum ualuit*, *Hippocrates ingenii bonitate*, *Mitridates memoria* (Milo was most strong in bodily strength, Hippocrates in goodness of nature, Mithridates in memory); *M. Cato in ciuitate plurimum pollebat auctoritate* (Marcus Cato was most powerful in civic authority). Also the verbs *clareo* (shine forth) and *floreo* (flourish) function in nearly the same way. [*par. cont.*]

*Ego uel apud diuum Caesarem multum*¹⁸⁰ siue possum siue ualeo ornate ac splendide dicitur *apud diuum Caesarem plurimum mea ualet auctoritas. Hortensius plurimum ualet in senatu*; ornatius *multum Hortensii in senatu ualet auctoritas*, quae potissimum significat eam opinionem quae est apud homines de alicuius uiri praestantia, quae uulgo et detrita consuetudine *reputatio* [B6r] nuncupatur.

Ceterum id perbellum est: *est mihi apud te fides*; idest *tu adhibes mihi fidem*, quod accuratius aduertendum est. Nam plurimum solet *sum es est* uerbum datiuo iunctum significare habere et quodammodo¹⁸¹ possidere, ut *est mihi pecunia*; *Caesari est magna potestas*. Illud designat me pecuniam habere, hoc uero habere Caesarem magnam potestatem. Cuius constructionis crebra apud priscos et disertos uiros obseruatio est.

Ego recordor hanc rem potius quam huius rei, ac idem dicitur *huius rei subit me recordatio*, *haec res mihi in mentem uenit*. Sed magis proprie *in mentem uenit* quam *mihi occurrit* uel *mihi succurrit*, quod postremum minus usitate dicitur.

¹⁸⁰ multum] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; not in F

¹⁸¹ habere et quodammodo] Ma, V, N, Mi; habere quodammodo et S, C, A; habere et quodammodo et F

Ego apud diuum Caesarem multum siue possum siue ualeo (I have weight or I avail much with the divine Caesar) is ornately and splendidly said *apud diuum Caesarem plurimum mea ualet auctoritas* (my authority is very strong in the sight of the divine Caesar). *Hortensius plurimum ualet in senatu* (Hortensius carries much weight in the senate); more ornately, *multum Hortensii in senatu ualet auctoritas* (very strong in the senate is Hortensius's authority) — that last word principally referring to the opinion that there is a preeminence of some one man among men, which according to common and long-used custom is called *reputatio*.¹⁸²

This besides is very beautiful: *est mihi apud te fides* (in you there is faith in me); that is, *tu adhibes mihi fidem* (you hold faith in me), which must be noted very carefully. For it is mostly the custom that the verb *sum, es, est* joined with the dative in some manner means to have and to possess, as in *est mihi pecunia* (for me there is money); *Caesari est magna potestas* (for Caesar there is great power).¹⁸³ The former means that I have money, and the latter that Caesar has great power. This construction is frequently observed among ancient and eloquent men.

Ego recordor hanc rem (I recollect this matter) rather than *huius rei*,¹⁸⁴ and the same thing is said *huius rei subit me recordatio* (the recollection of this matter comes to me), *haec res mihi in mentem uenit* (this matter comes to my mind). But *in mentem uenit* more properly than *mihi occurrit* or *mihi succurrit* (it occurs to me), which last is said less commonly.

¹⁸² Cf. Valla's objection to this post-classical use of *reputatio* in *Opera omnia*, 2 vols (Turin: Bottega d'Erasmus, 1962), I, 422, 41.

¹⁸³ Dati here treats the dative of possession (AG, 373) to point out the ambiguity of his prior example (*est mihi apud te fides*, which according to the customary usage that he has just mentioned would mean the opposite of *tu adhibes mihi fidem*, i.e., not 'you have faith in me' but 'there is in me faith in you', i.e. 'I have faith in you').

¹⁸⁴ I.e., the accusative rather than genitive case.

Praesto et antecello: quae uenuste personant uerba aliquando datiuo, aliquando accusatiuo. Pulcherrime iunguntur cum accessione ablatiuorum eius rei cuius est praestantia, ut *praesto tibi*¹⁸⁵ *ingenii acumine*.

Saepe numero uerba quae¹⁸⁶ frequentatiua appellant primitiuorum uerborum a quibus originem traxerunt significationem retinent, praesertim si prima illa asperiora fuerint, ut [B6v] *coniecto* pro *coniicio*, *imperito* pro *impero*, *amplexor* pro *amplector*, et alia item pene innumerabilia, si quando uerbi asperitas ulla contingat; quod eruditorum iudicio relinquimus.¹⁸⁷

De uerbis, adiecta praepositio persaepe contrariam significationem mutat; ut *praecor deprecor* contraria sunt.

Non nunquam *dis* efficit idem, ut *suadeo dissuadeo*, quamuis in iisdem uerbis non nunquam auget. *Per* potius auget quam commutet.

Ex et *de* compositae uehementer¹⁸⁸ amplificant; ut *exoro* quod ab *ex* et *oro* deductum est¹⁸⁹ significat *impetro*. Terentius in andria: *Gnatam ut det oro uixque exoro*.¹⁹⁰ Sicque *suadeo* significat oratoris officium, quod est *benedico*; [*par. cont.*]

¹⁸⁵ ut *praesto tibi*] Ma, V, Mi, A; ut *antecello tibi* N; not in S, C, F

¹⁸⁶ quae] V, Mi; que S, C, F, Ma, N, A

¹⁸⁷ relinquimus] C, Mi, relinquinus F; derelinquimus S, Ma, V, N, A

¹⁸⁸ uehementer] S, C, Ma, V, N, A; uehemententer F; uehementer Mi

¹⁸⁹ deductum est] Ma, V, N, Mi, A; deductum C, F; not in S

¹⁹⁰ exoro] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; ex oro F

Praesto and *antecello* (surpass): these verbs resound charmingly sometimes with the dative, sometimes with the accusative. They are joined beautifully with the addition of ablatives of that thing which is superior, as in *praesto tibi acumine ingenii* (I surpass you in keenness of talent).¹⁹¹

Very often the verbs that are called frequentives retain the meaning of the primitive verbs from which they originate,¹⁹² especially if the first ones are harsher, such as *coniecto* for *coniicio* (conjecture), *imperito* for *impero* (command), *amplexor* for *amplector* (cherish), and similarly almost innumerable others, if ever any harshness should defile a word — which matter we leave to the judgment of the learned.

As for verbs, an added preposition very often brings about a contrary meaning; for example, *praecor* (pray for) and *deprecor* (pray against) are contraries.

Often *dis* accomplishes the same thing, as in *suadeo* (advise) and *dis-suadeo* (advise against), although frequently in certain verbs it intensifies. *Per* more often intensifies than converts.

Ex and *de* having been added amplify powerfully; for example, *exoro* (obtain by entreaty), which is derived from *ex* and *oro*, means *impetro* (gain by request). Terence in the *Andria*: *Gnatam ut det oro, uixque exoro* (I ask that he give his daughter, and with difficulty I persuade him).¹⁹³ And thus *suadeo* (advise) refers to the office of an orator, which is *benedico* (speak well of something); [*par. cont.*]

¹⁹¹ I.e., *praesto* with the dative *tibi* joined with the ablative *acumine*.

¹⁹² Frequentive verbs, also called intensives or iteratives, are formed from the supine stem ending in *-to* or *-ito*, denoting forcible or repeated action (see AG, 263, 2). Originally primitive verbs referred to those inherited by Latin from the parent language (see AG, 256), but by the late classical period the term usually just means 'simple'.

¹⁹³ *And.*, 592.

atque *persuadeo benedixisse* significat, qui est oratoris finis, id est *impetro* atque *obtineo*. Vnde et¹⁹⁴ crebro non solum *suadeo* et *persuadeo*, sed *facio* et *perfacio* explorata sunt.

Plurimum etiam sermonem et orationem exornat aduersatio¹⁹⁵ modo. *Quamquam* aduersatiua indicatiuo coniungitur; quod ubique Cicero obseruauit aliique doctissimi. Sed huius exemplum sit: *quamquam antehac te diligebam, nunc tamen ob singularem tuam uirtutem* [B7r] *uehementer*¹⁹⁶ *admiror*. Nam tria sunt quae quodam sibi inuicem ordine iunguntur: quorum prius est et leuius *diligere*, postremum *admiror*, quod uehemens et praecipuum est, et eorum medium *obseruo*, quod est *uereor* et *colo*, ex quo *obseruantia reuerentiam*¹⁹⁷ significat. Sed iterum aliud exemplum: *quamquam mihi sunt omnium amicorum iucundae litterae, tuae tamen iucundissimae fuere*. Sed *antehac* et *quamuis* collocamus raro: ut *quamuis*¹⁹⁸ *mihi antehac charus eras, sed nunc profecto charissimus es*.

Ad hoc illa duo orationem peruenustam reddunt inuicem correspondentia:¹⁹⁹ quorum alterum est *non solum* siue *non modo* seu²⁰⁰ *non tantum*; alterum est *sed etiam*, *uerum etiam*, uel loco *etiam* posita *quoque*²⁰¹ et aliquibus interiectis. [*par. cont.*]

¹⁹⁴ et] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; ut F

¹⁹⁵ aduersatio] C, Ma, V2, V3ab, A; aduersatio V1; aduersatiua S, F, Mi; aduersatiuo N

¹⁹⁶ uehementer] S, C, Ma, N, V, A; uehementer Fa; uehaementer Fb; uaeheementer Mi

¹⁹⁷ reuerentiam] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; reuerentia F

¹⁹⁸ quamuis] Ma, V, Mi, A; quamquam S, C, F, N

¹⁹⁹ correspondentia] C; respondentia S, F, Ma, V, N, Mi, A

²⁰⁰ seu] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; et F

²⁰¹ quoque] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; quoquae F

and *persuadeo* (persuade) means *benedixisse* (to have spoken well of something), which is the aim of the orator, that is, *impetro* (gain by request) and *obtineo* (obtain). Whence not only *suadeo* and *persuadeo* but *facio* and *perfacio* are also frequently seen.

Very often opposition alone adorns expression. The adversative²⁰² *quamquam* is joined with the indicative; Cicero and other very learned men everywhere observe this. But let the following be an example: *quamquam antehac te diligebam, nunc tamen ob singularem tuam uirtutem uehementer admior* (although earlier I loved you, now however I strongly admire you on account of your remarkable virtue). For there are three words which are mutually connected to each other in a certain order: of which *diligere* (to love) is the former and the weaker, last is *admior* (admire), which is forceful and special, and *obseruo* (regard) is in the middle of these, which means *uereor* (revere) and *colo* (honor), from which *obseruantia* (regard) means *reuerentiam* (reverence). But again another example: *quamquam mihi sunt omnium amicorum iucundae litterae, tuae tamen iucundissimae fuere* (although all my friends' letters are pleasing to me, yours however were the most pleasing). But rarely do we use *antehac* and *quamuis*, as in *quamuis mihi antehac charus eras, sed nunc profecto charissimus es* (although you were dear to me before, yet now you are truly most dear).

In addition, these two corresponding phrases render a sentence most beautiful: one of which is *non solum* or *non modo* or *non tantum* (not only); the other is *sed etiam*, *uerum etiam*, or *quoque* in the place of *etiam* (but also), and with other words interjected. [*par. cont.*]

²⁰² A conjunction implying a contrast in thought, such as *sed* and (in the examples following) *quamquam* and *tamen*; see AG, 223 a.2, 224 b.

Quorum omnium exempla subnectam: *Haec mihi res non solum grata est,*²⁰³ *sed etiam iucunda; Marcus Antonius non modo Ciceronis inimicus erat, uerum etiam hostis patriae; M. Cato non tantum ingenio ualebat, sed uirtute quoque florebat plurimum; Alexander non solum reliquum orbem subegit, uerum etiam quoque ipsum Romanum imperium cogitabat attingere.*

[B7v] Et sic *tam* et *quam*, quum sibi respondeant, ut *tam chara mihi patria quam iucunda est uita*. Sed facile hoc per te intelliges.

Pro eo autem quod caeteri exprimere consueuerunt pronominebus addentes uel *te* uel *met* syllabicas dictiones, Cicero idem efficit hoc pronomine²⁰⁴ *ipse ipsa ipsum*, et illarum fere adiectionum²⁰⁵ locum obtinet: ut *ego ipse* magis quam *egomet*; *tu ipse* uel *ille ipse*, *nos ipsi*, *uos ipsi*, ut nunquam secus dicendum sit.²⁰⁶

²⁰³ est] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; not in F

²⁰⁴ pronomine] S, C, Ma, V, Mi, A; pronomine N; pronomen F

²⁰⁵ adiectionum] S, C, Ma, V, Mi, A; adiectionem N; dictionum F

²⁰⁶ dicendum sit] Ma, V, N, Mi, A; dictum est C; dictum sit S, F

Let me supply examples of all these: *Haec mihi res non solum grata est sed etiam iucunda* (This matter is not only welcome to me but also delightful); *Marcus Antonius non modo Ciceronis inimicus erat uerum etiam hostis patriae* (Marc Antony was not only the foe of Cicero but also an enemy of the country); *M. Cato non tantum ingenio ualebat, sed uirtute quoque florebat plurimum* (Marcus Cato was not only vigorous in talent, but he also flourished much in virtue); *Alexander non solum reliquum orbem subegit, uerum etiam quoque ipsum Romanum imperium cogitabat attingere* (Alexander not only subdued the rest of the world, but he also considered encroaching upon the Roman empire itself).

And likewise *tam* (so) and *quam* (as), when they correspond with each other, as in *tam chara mihi patria quam iucunda est uita* (my country is as dear to me as life is delightful). But you will easily understand this on your own.

But as for that which others are wont to express by adding the syllabic words *te* or *met* to pronouns,²⁰⁷ Cicero achieves the same thing with this pronoun *ipse ipsa ipsum*, and usually it takes the place of those suffixes: for example, *ego ipse* (I myself) rather than *egomet*; *tu ipse* (you yourself) or *ille ipse* (he himself), *nos ipsi* (we ourselves), *uos ipsi* (you yourselves), with the result that it should never be said otherwise.

²⁰⁷ I.e., the emphatic enclitics *-te* and *-me*; see AG, 143 d.

Tu mihi familiaris es: ego te amico utor. Tu mihi magister es: ornatius ego te magistro utor. Ego tecum frequenter uersor: frequens mihi tecum est consuetudo (quae saepe conuersationem significat). *Habeo tecum magnam amicitiam: magna mihi tecum est amicitia* — et alia permulta, ut *sunt mihi cum omnibus uiris malis inimicitiae*; nam rectius diximus *inimicitias* plurali numero quam singulari.

Sed neutra uox ac potissimum in comparatiuis nominibus tum femininam tum masculinam reddit, ut *nihil est hoc melius homine*; fere²⁰⁸ est idem quod *nullus est homo hoc homine melior*. *Nihil*²⁰⁹ *hac uirgine formosius est*; quasi idem est²¹⁰ *nulla uirgo hac est*²¹¹ [B8r] *uirgine formosior*, et in caeteris aliquando consimiliter.

Munus pro officio ornatissime dicitur: ut *hoc amici munus* idest *amici officium*; *fungor boni uiri munere* idest *facio officium boni uiri*. Sed et *partes* in plurali numero consimilem habent significationem, ut *meae partes sunt*, uel *officium meum est*, uel *pertinet ad me*.

²⁰⁸ fere] S, C, Fb, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; ferre Fa

²⁰⁹ nihil] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; vt nihil F

²¹⁰ quasi idem est] est quasi S; quasi idem F, V2, N, A; id est C; idest V3a; quasi idest Ma, V1, V3b, Mi

²¹¹ est] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; not in F

Tu mihi familiaris es (you are intimate to me): *ego te amico utor* (I enjoy you as a friend). *Tu mihi magister es* (you are a tutor to me): more ornately, *ego te magistro utor* (I enjoy you as a tutor). *Ego tecum frequenter uersor* (I am frequently engaged with you): *frequens mihi tecum est consuetudo* — which last word often means *conuersationem* (there is for me frequent conversation with you).²¹² *Habeo tecum magnam amicitiam* (I have great fellowship with you); *magna mihi tecum est amicitia* (there is for me great fellowship with you) — and countless others, as in *sunt mihi cum omnibus uiris malis inimicitiae* (there is in me enmity against all bad men); for we say more rightly *inimicitias* in plural number than in singular.

But the neuter form, and most strongly in comparative nouns, renders both the feminine and masculine, as in *nihil est hoc melius homine* (nothing is better than this man); this is about the same as *nullus est homo hoc homine melior* (no man is better than this man). *Nihil hac uirgine formosius est* (Nothing is more beautiful than this girl); this is just the same as *nulla uirgo hac est uirgine formosior* (no girl is more beautiful than this girl), and so on in similar other cases.

Munus is an eloquent substitute for *officium* (duty, office): for example, *hoc amici munus* (this duty of a friend), that is *amici officium*; *fungor boni uiri munere* (I perform the office of a good man), that is *facio officium boni uiri* (I do the office of a good man). But also *partes* (role, office) in plural number has similar meaning, as in *meae partes sunt* (this is my role), or *officium meum est* (this is my office), or *pertinet ad me* (it belongs to me).

²¹² In this and the remaining examples Dati again illustrates the dative of possession (AG, 373 and p. 129 above).

Caueo uerbum etsi saepe significat *prouideo*, ut *cautum ita est lege*, perornate accusatiuo iunctum pro *uito* et *fugio* usurpant eloquentes, ut *turpes uiri ingenii cauent mores*.

Atque *memini* rectius atque usitatius accusatiuo iungitur quam genitiuo, ut *memini Platonis sententiam*, ut Virgilius in bucolicis: *memini numeros si uerba tenerem*. Nec mirum si in his quae sunt solutae orationis Virgilii Maronis afferam testimonium, quem²¹³ non solum poetam egregie eruditum sed etiam rhetoricae²¹⁴ artis ubique obseruantissimum fuisse²¹⁵ constat.

Poenitet me:²¹⁶ quid significet notissimum est, sed pro *parum*²¹⁷ uideatur usurpant oratores et praestantes doctrina uiri.

Sed idem *uaco*²¹⁸ saepe uerbum [B8v] uariis constructionibus positum haud eandem retinet²¹⁹ significationis uim. *Vaco huic rei est attendo huic rei*. *Vaco hac re est hac re*²²⁰ *sum uacuuus*, et id quidem ornatissimum est: ut *boni uiri dant operam ut perturbationibus uacent*, idest liberi et uacui sint.

²¹³ quem] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; que F

²¹⁴ rhetoricae] V, Mi; rhetorice S, C, F, Ma, N, A

²¹⁵ fuisse] S, C, V, N, Mi, A; not in F

²¹⁶ me] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; not in F

²¹⁷ sed pro *parum*] S, C, Mi; sed *parum* F; sed et pro *parum* V2, V3a, A; sed et *parum* Ma, V1, V3b, N

²¹⁸ uaco] C, V2, V3ab, A; not in F, Ma, V1, N, Mi; this sentence not in S

²¹⁹ haud eandem retinet] C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; habet eandem F; this sentence not in S

²²⁰ est hac re] S, V2, Mi, A; idest hac re C, Ma, V1, V3ab, N; not in F

Although the verb *caueo* (take care of) often means *prouideo* (provide for), as in *cautum ita est lege* (thus it is provided for by law), eloquent speakers ornately employ it joined with the accusative for *uito* (shun) and *fugio* (flee), as in *turpes uiri ingenii cauent mores* (men of genius shun dishonorable habits).

And *memini* (remember) is more rightly and commonly joined with the accusative than with the genitive, as in *memini Platonis sententiam* (I remember the opinion of Plato), and as in the Eclogues of Virgil: *memini numeros si uerba tenerem* (I remember the measure, if I could but retain the words).²²¹ It is no surprise if, in treating these matters which pertain to prose style,²²² I should bring forward the testimony of Virgilius Maro, whom it is agreed was not only a surpassingly erudite poet, but was everywhere most mindful of the art of rhetoric.

*Poenitet*²²³ *me* (it grieves me; it makes me to repent): what this means is most well known, but orators and men distinguished for learning use it in place of *parum videtur* (it doesn't seem good).

But often the same word *uaco* put in different constructions does not retain the same force of meaning. *Vaco huic rei* (I have leisure for this matter) means *attendo huic rei* (I attend to this matter). *Vaco hac re* (I have leisure from this matter) means *hac re sum uacuuus* (I am free from this matter), and this is certainly the most ornate: for example, *boni uiri dant operam ut perturbationibus uacent* (good men take pains that they may be free from perturbations), that is, that they may be free and undisturbed.

²²¹ *Ecl.*, 9, 45.

²²² Literally, 'in these which are of unfettered speech' (i.e. prose vs. verse; see LS, *solutus* B. 11).

²²³ More correctly (LS), *paenitet*.

*Animaduerto id est fere id uideo et quodammodo intelligo. At*²²⁴ *animaduerto cum accusatiuo constructum*²²⁵ *in praeposita idem sibi uult quod punio: ut Speusippus animaduertit in seruum Platonis est punit Platonis seruum. Exquo animaduersio* punctionem quandam significat non nunquam.

Atque idem *refero tibi hanc rem est tibi narro hanc rem, sed refero ad senatum, refero ad populum hanc rem*, est pono hanc rem in consultationem uel populi uel senatus, qui usus uerbi huius apud historiarum scriptores frequentissimus²²⁶ est.

Quid uarii quoque casus eidem uerbo saepe iuncti, nonne²²⁷ magnam ac longe diuersam uim habent? Quale sit *do Bibaculo ad Caesarem litteras*, nam dantur Bibaculo deferenti ut Caesari reddat, ad quem mittuntur litterae.²²⁸ Eas igitur leget Caesar. Bibaculus uelut tabellarius quidam defert, nam qui [C1r] refert litteras consueuit *tabellarius* appellari. Verum nequid huius nunc ignores: *dare litteras* significat *scribere* seu *mittere litteras*.

²²⁴ at] Ma, V, Mi, A; et S, C, F, N

²²⁵ cum accusatiuo constructum] C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; cum accusatiuo structum S; constructum accusatiuo F

²²⁶ frequentissimus] C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; frequentissime S, F

²²⁷ nonne] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; numne F

²²⁸ litterae] V1, V2, V3b, Mi; littere S, C, F, Ma, V3a, N

Animaduerto id (I observe it) is approximately *id uideo* (I see it) and to a certain extent *intelligo* (I understand). But *animaduerto* constructed with the accusative with *in* put before it means the same thing as *punio* (punish):²²⁹ for example, *Speusippus animaduertit in seruum Platonis* (Speusippus punishes the servant of Plato) is *punit Platonis seruum*. From which case, *animaduersionis* often means a certain punishment.

And in the same way, *refero tibi hanc rem* (I report this matter to you) means *tibi narro hanc rem* (I tell this matter to you), but *refero ad senatum* (I make a motion to the senate), *refero ad populum hanc rem* (I bring this matter to the people), that means I put this matter to the deliberation of the senate or people, which is the most frequent use of this verb among the writers of histories.

Also, the different cases that are often joined with the same verb — do these not have very greatly diverse meaning? Of such a sort is *do Bibaculo ad Caesarem litteras* (I give to Bibaculus letters to Caesar), for the letters are given to Bibaculus as bearer so that he may convey them to Caesar, to whom they are sent. Thus Caesar will read them. Bibaculus bears them just as a courier (*tabellarius*), for it is the custom that he who carries letters be called *tabellarius*. But now let you not neglect any part of this: *dare litteras* (to give letters) means *scribere* (to write) or *mittere* (to send) letters.

²²⁹ See LS II. C, constr. with *in aliquem*.

Nec te fugiat quod pro *epistola* dicimus *litteras* plurali numero. Nec obstat poetarum consuetudo, et pro *una epistola* dicimus *unas litteras*, nam id nomen cum his quae pluraliter solum inflectuntur pluralem quoque retinet numerum, ut *unae nuptiae*, *unae bigae*, *una moenia*. Sed²³⁰ ut ad propositum redeam, pro *duabus epistolis* dicimus *binas litteras*, non autem *duas*; pro *tribus trinas*, non autem *tres*; pro *quattuor quaternas*; et quae deinceps sunt consimili ratione.

Infinita oratio pro coniunctiua perquam pulchra est, ut *uolo te ad me scribere*; *cupio te athenas proficisci*; et illud Terentianum, *quid facere in hac re te uelim*, significat enim *quid uelim quod*²³¹ *tu mihi hac re facias*. *Velim ciues omnes unanimes esse*; idest *uelim quod unanimes sint et concordēs*. Sed hoc tibi sit concinnius²³² ubi nullum sit ambigui sermonis discrimen. Neque enim omnino rectum sit si quis dicat *uolo te amare*, quamuis plerumque id suppositionis locum habeat [C1v] quod infinitum uerbum praecesserit immediatius,²³³ ut *puto Pyrrhum romanos uincere posse*; idest *credo quod romani Pyrrhum possint uincere*. [par. cont.]

²³⁰ sed] Ma, V, N, Mi, A; et S, C, F

²³¹ quod] C, V, N, Mi, A; quid F; not in S (where this and the next sentence are conflated), Ma

²³² sed hoc tibi sit concin(n)ius] V1, V2, N, Mi, A; sed hoc sibi concinnius S, C, F; sed hoc sit V3a; sed hoc tibi fit confinnius Ma, V3b

²³³ praecesserit immediatius] C; immediatius precesserit N; immediate praecesserit V2, A; prius praecesserit S, F; immediate post praecesserit Ma, V1, V3a; immediate post praecesserit V3b; immediatius post praecesserit Mi

Nor let it escape you that for *epistola* (letter) we say *litteras* in the plural. The practice of the poets is no obstacle to this, and we say *unas litteras* for *una epistola*, for this word²³⁴ also retains plural number with those words that are only inflected in the plural, as in *unae nuptiae* (one marriage), *unae bigae* (one two-horsed chariot), *una moenia* (*nt. pl.* one city wall). But that I may return to the point, we say *binas litteras* for *duabus epistolis*, but not *duas*; *trinas* for *tribus*, but not *tres*; *quaternas* for *quattuor*; and those thereafter in a similar way.

The infinitive phrase for the subjunctive is extremely lovely, as in *uolo te ad me scribere* (I wish you to write to me); *cupio te athenas proficisci* (I want you to proceed to Athens); and that line in Terence, *quid facere in hac re te uelim* (what I wish you to do in this matter),²³⁵ for it means *quid uelim quod tu mihi hac re facias* (that which I wish you would do for me in this matter).²³⁶ *Velim ciues omnes unanimes esse* (I wish all the citizens to be in accord); that is, *uelim quod unanimes sint et concordēs* (I wish that they would be in agreement and accord). But let this be more elegant in your judgment where there is no risk of ambiguity. For it would be utterly improper if anyone were to say *uolo te amare* (I wish to love you [*alternatively*, I wish you to love]), although generally the word that more immediately precedes the infinitive verb holds the position of the subject: for example, *puto Pyrrhum romanos uincere posse* (I think the Romans are able to conquer Pyrrhus [*more likely than the possible alternative*, I think Pyrrhus is able to conquer the Romans]); this is *credo quod romani Pyrrhum possint uincere* (I believe that the Romans are able to conquer Pyrrhus). [*par. cont.*]

²³⁴ I.e., *unus*, -a, -um.

²³⁵ *And.*, 50.

²³⁶ See AG, 563 b. on 'verbs of wishing' taking either the infinitive or the subjunctive (the former more commonly).

Sed id pro uiribus caueat orator quod modo praeceptum erat de coniunctiua atque infinitiua oratione, praecipue in absolutis uerbis uel ubi alteri casui fuerit adiecta praepositio, seruandum sit.

Ex uel *e* pro *ab* uel *a* et saepe ornate ponuntur, ut *audiui ex maioribus nostris* pro *a maioribus*; *accepi ex tuo patre* uel *e tuo patre*; *quaero ex te*, idest *a te*, quod est *consulo* et *te interrogo*. Quod²³⁷ aduerte atque usui trade.

Pro ornate ponitur loco *in* et *secundum* praepositionem: ut *pro rostris* idest *in rostris*; *pro tribunali* idest *in tribunali*; et alia *pro uiribus tuis* idest *secundum tuas uires*; *pro tui ingenii bonitate*, *pro uirili tua* et similia.

Sub composita aut *clam* aut diminutionem significat: ut *submouit me* pro *mouit me*²³⁸ *clam* et *occulte*; *subirascor tibi* idest paululum irascor.

Morem gerere perornatum uerbum *complacere* significat atque *obsequi*. Inde *moriger*, *-a -um* quod a *moroso* quod *difficile* [C2r] significat; a *morato*²³⁹ quod *institutum* plurimum differt.

²³⁷ quod] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; quod est F

²³⁸ pro mouit me] Mi; promouit me N; permaneo C; parmeno idest F; parmeno S, V2, A; idest parum mouit Ma, V3a; parum monuit V1; idest parum monuit V3b

²³⁹ a morato] Ma, V2, V3ab, A; amorato C, F, V1, Mi; moratum N; not in S

But to the best of his ability let the orator take care that the precept just laid down pertaining to the subjunctive and the infinitive phrase be observed, especially in regard to absolute verbs²⁴⁰ or where a preposition is added to another case.

Ex or *e* for *ab* or *a* are often ornately placed as well, as in *audiui ex maioribus nostris* (I heard from our elders) for *a maioribus*; *accepi ex tuo patre* (I received from your father) or *e tuo patre*; *quaero ex te* (I ask of you), that is *a te*, which is *consulo* (I consult) and *te interrogo* (I question you). Attend to this and commit it to use.

Pro is put ornately in the place of *in* and the preposition *secundum* (according to): for example, *pro rostris* (on the rostrum), that is *in rostris*; *pro tribunali* (on the platform), that is *in tribunali*; and also *pro uiribus tuis* (according to your strength), that is *secundum tuas uires*; *pro tui ingenii bonitate* (according to the goodness of your nature), *pro uirili tua* (according to your powers), and similar others.

Sub having been compounded with a verb signifies either *clam* (hidden) or a diminution: for example, *submouit me* (he removed me) in place of *mouit me clam* and *occulte* (he moved me secretly); *subirascor tibi* (I am somewhat angry with you), this means I am a little angry.

The very ornate verb *morem gerere* (to obey; to do the will) signifies *complacere* (to please) and *obsequi* (to gratify). Thence is *moriger -a -um* (compliant), which is from *morosus*, which means *difficilem* (morose, intractable); it very much differs from *moratus* (constituted), which means *institutum* (established).

²⁴⁰ I.e., a transitive verb 'used *absolutely*, i.e. without any object expressed' (AG, 273.2 n. 2).

Consequor pro *exprimo* pulcherrimum est: *Non possum igitur uerbis consequi* idest *uerbis exprimere*; *litteris consequi* idest *per litteras explicare*.

Metuo ac *timeo* uerba aliquando multis casibus iunguntur, ut *metuit Cicero a P. Clodio sibi extremum periculum*; *timeo mihi abs te mortem*. Non nunquam absolute ponitur *datiuo* sibi solum coniuncto, ut *metuo Pamphilo* idest *Pamphili uitae*²⁴¹ *timeo*. Sed hic est potius poeticus usus.

Euado pro *fio* et *efficior* ornatum usitatumque est, ut *Cicero euasit eloquentissimus*, *Aristoteles euasit summus philosophus*, *Caesar uero inclytus imperator*, et de aliis quoque similiter.

Fore futuram habet significationem et est idem quod *futurum esse*. M. Cicero de oratore tertio loquens de Hortensio, *quem quidem confido omnibus istis laudibus quas tu oratione complexus es excellentiorem fore*. Et Crassus, *fore dicis*, inquit, *ego uero esse iam iudico*.

²⁴¹ uitae] V, Mi; uite S, C, F, Ma, N, A

Consequor (in the sense achieve; bring about) for *exprimo* (express) is most beautiful. Thus, *non possum uerbis consequi* (I am not able to accomplish in words), that is *uerbis exprimere* (to express in words); *litteris consequi* (to achieve in letters) is *per litteras explicare* (to explain by means of letters).

The verbs *metuo* and *timeo* are sometimes joined with many cases,²⁴² as in *metuit Cicero a P. Clodio sibi extremum periculum* (Cicero feared extreme danger to himself from Publius Clodius); *timeo mihi abs te mortem* (I fear my death by you). Often it is used absolutely, with only the dative joined to it, as in *metuo Pamphilo* (I fear for Pamphilus), that is *Pamphili uitae timeo* (I fear for the life of Pamphilus). But this is rather a poetical use.

Euado (in the sense I turn out; I prove) for *fio* and *efficio* (I become) is common and ornate, as in *Cicero euasit eloquentissimus, Aristoteles euasit summus philosophus, Caesar uero inclytus imperator* (Cicero proved the most eloquent man, Aristotle the greatest philosopher, yet Caesar a renowned general), and also others similarly.

Fore has a future meaning and is the same as *futurum esse*.²⁴³ Marcus Cicero in book three on oratory says about Hortensius, *quem quidem confido omnibus istis laudibus quas tu oratione complexus es excellentiorem fore. Et Crassus fore dicis inquit, ego uero esse iam iudico* (he, I trust, will become even more distinguished for all those glories which you have alluded to in your speech. And Crassus said, you say he will be, yet I think he already is).²⁴⁴

²⁴² These verbs may be used transitively with the accusative or intransitively with the dative (AG, 367 c).

²⁴³ I.e., the future infinitive of *esse*; see AG, 170 a.

²⁴⁴ *De Or.*, 3, 61, 228-229 (approximate wording).

Quid *dimidium* et *dimidiatum* intersit [C2v] nosse perutile est. Quum enim *dimidiatum* sit quasi duas in partes diuisum, nisi aliquid diuisum sit, *dimidiatum* dici non potest. *Dimidium* uero appellatur non quod ipsum diuisum sit, sed quae²⁴⁵ ex *dimidiato* pars altera est. Non igitur recte quis dixerit, pro scientia M. Varronis (ut ait A. Gelius in noctibus atticis), *dimidium librum legi, dimidiam fabulam audiui*, sed²⁴⁶ *dimidiatum librum* et *dimidiatam fabulam* recte quis dixerit. Et *dimidiatum* quidem exempli gratia *digitum* appellamus, sed alterutram partem *dimidium*, quod est²⁴⁷ accurate diligenterque inspiciendum.

Plurimum autem conducit nobis intelligere quae sunt nominum differentiae ac uerborum²⁴⁸ discrimina. Nam ea quoque res mirum in modum orationem ornabit: ut si quis nouerit differentiam, quid *praesum* et *inter-sum* inter se se uerba habeant,²⁴⁹ pulcherrime quis dicat *M. Cicero publicis negociis non interfuit solum sed praefuit*, quorum illud significat comitem fuisse alicuius rei, hoc uero ducem. Ego non solum *confiteor* quod est per uim, sed etiam *profiteor* quod est sponte. [*par. cont.*]

²⁴⁵ quae] S, F, Ma, V, N and modern editions of Gell. (see note to translation); quod C, Mi, A

²⁴⁶ sed] C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; et F; this sentence not in S

²⁴⁷ est] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; not in F

²⁴⁸ uerborum] S, C, Fb, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; ueborum Fa

²⁴⁹ differentiam (...) uerba habeant] C; differantiam (...) uerba S, F; differant (...) uerba Ma, V, Mi, A; not in N (where this sentence is conflated with the next)

What the difference is between *dimidium* (half) and *dimidiatum* (having been halved) is most useful to know. Since that which is halved is as if divided in two parts, unless something is divided, *dimidiatum* is not able to be said. Yet that thing is not called *dimidium* which is divided itself, but the part which is divided from the other. Therefore, according to the expert knowledge of Marcus Varro (as Aulus Gellius says in *Attic Nights*), one will not have said rightly *dimidium librum legi*, *dimidiam fabulam audiui* (if one's purpose is to say I read half a book, I heard half a tale), but he will have said rightly *dimidiatum librum* (literally, a halved book; half of a book) and *dimidiatam fabulam* (a halved tale; half of a tale).²⁵⁰ And indeed for the sake of example we say *dimiditatum digitum* (a halved finger; half a finger),²⁵¹ but either part is *dimidium* (a half), which distinction must be meticulously and diligently observed.

Indeed it is most profitable for us to understand the differences between nouns and the distinctions between verbs. For discriminating usage will also adorn speech in a wonderful manner: for example, if one should know the difference between *praesum* (be in control of, take charge of) and *intersum* (be in the midst of, take part in), he would say beautifully, *M. Cicero publicis negotiis non interfuit solum sed praefuit* (Marcus Cicero not only took part in public affairs but took charge of them), of which the one means he was an occupier of some office, and the other he was leader. *Ego non solum confiteor* (Not only do I confess), which is by way of force, *sed etiam profiteor* (but I volunteer it besides), which is freely. [*par. cont.*]

²⁵⁰ Gell., 3, 14, 1-9 (Varro fragment 423 1, 3 in *Grammaticae Romanae Fragmenta*). Varro's distinction is also cited in LS under *dimidiatum*.

²⁵¹ Cato, *R.R.*, 151, extracted from a fuller citation of the passage in Gell., 3, 17-18.

Et apud M. Tullium persaepe *tibi* [C3r] *gratulor, mihi gaudeo*. Nam gaudemus nobis; gratulamur aliis. Et *tibi ago gratias*, quod quidem est uerbis. *Refero gratiam*, quod est re ac factis. *Habeo gratias*, quod est in animo. *Debeo gratias tibi*; aliqua obligationis uis²⁵² cernitur. Et alias.

Item optimum est non ignorare nominum²⁵³ differentias ut et uberior et ornatior nostra reddatur oratio. *Haec res mihi conducit* est idem et *mihi haec res utilis est*. Et quod caeteri plerunque dicunt *dono tibi hanc rem*, pulchrius dicitur ac splendidius *dono te hac*²⁵⁴ *re*, ut²⁵⁵ *miles nauali corona donatus est*; *Sabinos romani ciuitate donarunt*, quod est ciues fecerunt, quod item dicunt *Sabinos romani in ciuitatem acceperunt*.

Interdum uero et praepositio, quae nomini ac casui praeponitur, pulchrius uenustiusque uerbum praecesserit in quibusdam²⁵⁶ uerbis. Quale est si quis dicat *eo ad te* ac dicat potius *adeo te*. Et *loquor ad te*: potius *alloquor te*. *Cedit de uita: decedit uita*.²⁵⁷ *Cedit ex humanis rebus: rebus excedit humanis*, et in aliis quibusdam consimili pacto.

²⁵² uis] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; ius F

²⁵³ nominum] C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; omnium S, F

²⁵⁴ hac] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; ac F

²⁵⁵ ut] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; not in F

²⁵⁶ quibusdam] C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; quibus S, F

²⁵⁷ decedit] S, C, Ma, V, N, A; decaedit Mi; decedit F.

And in the works of Marcus Tullius, very often *tibi gratulor* (I congratulate you; I rejoice in you), but *mihi gaudeo* (I am glad for myself, I rejoice for myself). For we are glad (*gaudemus*) for ourselves; we rejoice (*gratulamur*) in others. And *tibi ago gratias* (I thank you; I do you grace), which of course is by means of words. *Refero gratiam* (I render you favor), which is by means of matter and deeds. *Habeo gratias* (I have thankfulness), which is in the mind. *Debeo gratias tibi* (I owe thanks to you); some sense of obligation is recognized. And in other situations.

Likewise it is best not to be ignorant of the differences between nouns, that our speech may be rendered the more copious and ornate. *Haec res mihi conducit* (This matter is of use to me) is the same as *mihi haec res utilis est* (this matter is useful to me). And for the most part what others say *dono tibi hanc rem* (I present this thing to you), this is said more beautifully and splendidly *dono te hac re* (I present you with this thing), as in *miles nauali corona donatus est* (the soldier was presented with the naval crown); *Sabinos romani ciuitate donarunt* (the Romans bestowed the Sabines with citizenship), that is, they made them citizens, which they likewise say *Sabinos romani in ciuitatem acceperunt* (the Romans accepted the Sabines into citizenry).

Sometimes also a preposition, which is placed before a noun in a case, more beautifully and gracefully should — with certain verbs — precede the verb. Such is the method if one were to say *eo ad te* (I go to you) and say better *adeo te* (I approach you). Also, *loquor ad te* (I speak to you): preferably, *alloquor te* (I address you). *Cedit de uita: decedit uita* (he departs from life). *Cedit ex humanis rebus: rebus excedit humanis* (he withdraws from human affairs), and certain others by similar manner.

[C3v] *Minus* aduerbium quamquam saepe significat *non*, non nunquam cum positiuo coniunctum contrariae significationis comparatiuum demonstrat, ut Terentianum illud Phaedria, *nemo fuit minus ineptus pro prudentior*. Et sic *nemo te minus formosus* idest *deformior*, et de reliquis.

Quotiens *multos* aut *dies* aut *annos* dicimus,²⁵⁸ per accusatiuum casum iungi²⁵⁹ intelligimus temporis curriculum et fere continuum. Sed per ablatiui significatur annorum aliquot siue dierum interiectio intermissioque, quare, ut ait Marcellus, optantes rectius accusatiui uti debent si quid ad secundam fortunam attineat. Interest igitur si quis ita dixerit *decem annos in re militari uersatus sum* an ita *decem annis dedi rebus bellicis operam*.

Cordi homo etiam flexibiliter *cordi hominis cordi homini*, ut Priscianus inquit, significat *iucundus* -*di* -*doque* sicut et *frugi*. Sed satius mea sententia Marcellus opinatus est. Dicit enim *cordi est, animo sedet*. Nam *haec res mihi cordi est*, idest²⁶⁰ *placet*. Terentius in Andria: *tibi hae nuptiae sunt cordi*. [*par. cont.*]

²⁵⁸ annos dicimus] S, Ma, V, Mi, A; dicimus annos F, N; annos C

²⁵⁹ iungi] V2, A; iunge S, Mi;ingere Fa; iungere Fb, Ma, V1, V3b, N; not in C, V3a

²⁶⁰ idest] C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; not in S, F

Although the adverb *minus* (less; not quite) often means *non*, sometimes when conjoined with a positive it represents the comparative of a contrary meaning, such as that line of Phaedria's in Terence, *nemo fuit minus ineptus* (no one was less foolish),²⁶¹ meaning *prudentialior* (more intelligent). And thus *nemo te minus formosus* (no one is less beautiful than you), that is *deformior* (more ugly), and so on.

Whenever we say *multos dies* or *annos* (many days or years), we understand that the course and generally a continuum of time is connected through use of the accusative case. But some interjection or intermission of years or days is signified by the ablative, wherefore, as Marcellus Nonius says, those wishing to be more correct ought to use the accusative if anything should relate to a favorable course of events.²⁶² Thus it makes a difference if one were to say *decem annos in re militari uersatus sum* (I have been occupied in military affairs for ten years) or *decem annis dedi rebus bellicis operam* (I applied myself to military affairs for a ten-year period).²⁶³

Cordi homo (a man dear to one's heart), and alternatively also *cordi hominis* or *cordi homini* (in a man's heart), as Priscian says, means *iucundus* -di and -do (pleasant) and, as it were, *frugi* (useful).²⁶⁴ But in my opinion, Nonius judged better. For he says *cordi est* means *animo sedet* (it lies at the heart; it is a pleasure).²⁶⁵ So *haec res mihi cordi est* (this matter to me is a pleasure) — that is, *placet* (it is pleasing). Terence in the *Andria*: *tibi hae nuptiae sunt cordi* (these nuptials are a pleasure to you).²⁶⁶ [*par. cont.*]

²⁶¹ *Eun.*, 226.

²⁶² *Non.*, 525.

²⁶³ I.e., the former sentence (with 'ten years' in the accusative) indicates that the speaker views the experience favorably, whereas the latter sentence (with 'ten years' in the ablative, indicating time within which) implies the opposite.

²⁶⁴ *Prisc.*, 5, 6, 4.

²⁶⁵ *Non.*, 89.

²⁶⁶ *And.*, 328.

M. Cicero de perfecto oratore: *flumen* [C4r] *aliis uerborum uolubilitasque*²⁶⁷ *cordi est*. Et Lucilius probe declarat quum inquit, *et quod tibi magnopere cordi est mihi uehementer displicet*.

Tantisper quasi est *tam diu*: orname post se deposcit *dum*, quod ferme est *donec*. Et illud Terentianum in heuton timorumenon:²⁶⁸ *tantisper te dici meum uolo dum quod te dignum est facias*. Ego *tantisper magna uoluptate afficior dum apud te uiuo*.

Tu mihi charus es: ego te amo. *Tu mihi iucundus es: ego te delector*. Sed *delecto* et *oblecto* non similiter construuntur. Nam dicimus *delectat me haec res*, sed *oblecto me hac re*, ut *delectabat Socratem uitae integritas*; *Pyttacus*²⁶⁹ *se se uirtute et doctrina oblectabat*; ego *me oblecto ruri*.

²⁶⁷ uolubilitasque] V2, N and modern editions of *Or.* (see note to translation); uobilitasque A; nobilitasque C, Ma, V1, V3ab, Mi; nobilitas quid S, F

²⁶⁸ heuton timorumenon] heutontim. V2, A; eatantumerumeron N; eautontimerumenon Mi; eunucho S, C, F; andria Ma, V1, V3ab

²⁶⁹ Pyttacus] V, Mi, A; pitacus S; Pittacus Ma; blank space for scribal entry of Greek text in F; Pythagoras C; Pittagoras N

Marcus Cicero on the perfect orator: *flumen aliis uerborum uolubilitasque cordi est* (a flow and volubility of words is pleasing to others).²⁷⁰ And Lucilius proves it well when he says, *et quod tibi magnopere cordi est mihi uehementer displicet* (and that which is greatly pleasing to you is strongly displeasing to me).²⁷¹

Tantisper is the same as *tam diu* (for so long as): it ornately requires after it *dum*, which approximately means *donec* (as long as). And this is as Terence in the Self-Tormentor: *tantisper te dici meum uolo dum quod te dignum est facias* (I wish you to be called my own so long as you do that which is worthy of you).²⁷² *Ego tantisper magna uoluptate afficior dum apud te uiuo* (I am moved with great pleasure so long as I live with you).

Tu mihi charus es (you are dear to me): *ego te amo* (I love you). *Tu mihi iucundus es* (you are a pleasure to me): *ego te delector* (I delight in you). Yet *delecto* and *oblecto* (delight) are not constructed similarly. For we say *delectat me haec res* (this matter delights me), but *oblecto me hac re* (as for me I delight in this matter), as in *delectabat Socratem uitae integritas* (blamelessness in life delighted Socrates); *Pyttacus se se uirtute et doctrina oblectabat* (Pyttacus delighted in virtue and learning); *ego me oblecto ruri* (as for me I delight in the country).

²⁷⁰ *Or.*, 16, 53.

²⁷¹ *Luc. ap. Non.*, 88 = fragment no. 629 in F. Marx, *C. Lucili Carminum Reliquiae*, 2 vols (Leipzig: Teubner, 1904-1905).

²⁷² *Heaut.*, 106-7.

Fero hanc rem patienter seu patienti animo. Splendidius dicitur haec ego hanc rem facile patior, modeste fero, et moderate et aequo animo, et contra significantia aduerbia grauiter, acerbe, moleste, aegre, et iniquo animo. Haec mihi iucunda res est: haec res mihi placet. Et econtra, haec re mihi molesta [C4v] est: displicet.

Affero communissimum uerbum est et quo multis locis uti possumus, ut *secunda fortuna affert mihi uoluptatem; est me delectat.*²⁷³ *Aduersa fortuna affert mihi dolorem; idest dolet mihi.* Nam dicimus *haec res mihi dolet et doleo hanc rem.* Sed redeo unde digressus sum: *litterae tuae afferunt mihi admirationem; idest efficiunt ut admirer. Afferens testimonium; idest testificaris.* Et item dispersa est et uaga huius uerbi obseruatio.

Perinde ornatissime postulat post se uel *ac* uel *atque*, et totum simul *perinde ac* uel *atque* habet eandem uim quam²⁷⁴ *tanquam*: ut *Camillus perinde atque omnium sapientissimus* et *Chaerea perinde ac foret eunuchus*. Sed de hac re satis haec dicta sunt hactenus.

²⁷³ delectat] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; loectat F

²⁷⁴ quam] Mi, A; et S, F, N; quam et Ma, V2, V3ab; et tantum ualet sicut C; not in V1

Fero hanc rem patienter (I endure this matter patiently) or *patienti animo* (with a patient spirit). This is more splendidly said *ego hanc rem facile patior* (I bear this matter easily), *modeste fero* (I endure it mildly), and *moderate et aequo animo* (with a sober and tranquil spirit), and the adverbs with contrary meaning are *grauiter* (heavily), *acerbe* (sharply), *moleste* (troublesomely), *aegre* (grievously), and *iniquo animo* (with an unfavorable spirit). *Haec mihi iucunda res est* (This matter is a pleasure to me); *haec res mihi placet* (this matter is pleasing to me). And contrarily, *haec re mihi molesta est* (this matter is troublesome to me): *displicet* (it displeases).

Affero (bring to; produce) is a most common verb, and thereby we are able to use it in many places, as in *secunda fortuna affert mihi uoluptatem* (favorable fortune brings pleasure to me); this is *me delectat* (it delights me). *Aduersa fortuna affert mihi dolorem* (Adverse fortune brings sorrow to me); this is *dolet mihi* (it grieves me). For we say *haec res mihi dolet* (this matter grieves me) and *doleo hanc rem* (I grieve at this matter). But I return whence I digressed: *litterae tuae afferunt mihi admirationem* (your letters bring wonder to me); this is *efficiunt ut admirer* (they bring it about that I wonder). *Affers testimonium* (You bear testimony); this is *testificaris* (you testify). The usage of this verb is also similarly wide and scattered.

Perinde (just as) most ornately requires after it either *ac* or *atque*, and together *perinde ac* or *atque* have the same force as *tanquam* (just as; just as if): for example, *Camillus perinde atque omnium sapientissimus* (Camillus, just as if the wisest man of all) and *Chaerea perinde ac foret eunuchus* (Chaerea was just as if a eunuch). But of this matter, these many words are sufficient.

Coeo non solum absolutum, sed non numquam peruenuste casum habet accusatiuum absque praepositione, ut *coeo societatem tecum*. Et hinc est illud A. Gellii in noctibus atticis de pythagora deque eius consorte, *quod quisque familiae pecuniaeque habebant*²⁷⁵ *in medium dabant*²⁷⁶ *et coibatur societas inseparabilis*. Sed et²⁷⁷ eodem Cicero pacto est aliquando eo uerbo usus.

[C5r] *Mille hominum* numero singulari significat *mille homines*. *Mille hominum* interiit; hoc est *mille homines interierunt*. *Mille militum uulneratum est*; idest *mille uulnerati sunt milites*. Idque ornatum usitatumque est.

Primus significat ordinem, quod nomen consequuntur²⁷⁸ *secundus tertius* et deinceps alia eiusdem ordinis nomina. Tamen multotiens significat *principalem*, ut *hic est nostrae ciuitatis unus omnium primus*. Persaepe significat *optimum*, sed hoc postremum in raro est oratorum usu.

²⁷⁵ habebant] S, F; habebat C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A, and modern editions of Gell. (see following note)

²⁷⁶ dabant] S, F, Ma, V, Mi, A; dabat C, N and modern editions of Gell. (see note to translation)

²⁷⁷ et] C, N; not in S, F, Ma, V, Mi, A

²⁷⁸ consequuntur] Ma, V, A; sequitur S, F; consequitur C, N, Mi

Coeo (bring together, assemble) is not only an absolute²⁷⁹ but often very charmingly takes the accusative case without a preposition, as in *coeo societatem tecum* (I join in fellowship with you). And hence there is this sentence in the Attic Nights of Aulus Gellius about Pythagoras and his society, *quod quisque familiae pecuniaeque habebant in medium dabant et coibatur societas inseparabilis* (that whatever they had of household goods and money they gave for mutual use, and an inseparable fellowship was formed).²⁸⁰ But also Cicero sometimes used this verb in the same manner.

Mille hominum (a thousand of men) in singular number²⁸¹ means *mille homines* (a thousand men). *Mille hominum interiit* (a thousand of men perished); this is *mille homines interierunt* (a thousand men perished). *Mille militum uulneratum est* (A thousand of the soldiers were wounded); this is *mille uulnerati sunt milites* (a thousand soldiers were wounded). This is ornate and familiar.

Primus (the first) signifies an order, which noun *secundus*, *tertius*, and other nouns of the same order follow in succession. Yet many times it means *principalis* (principal; the foremost), as in *hic est nostrae ciuitatis unus omnium primus* (he is foremost of all our citizens). Often it means *optimum* (the best), but this last is rare in the usage of orators.

²⁷⁹ I.e., 'verbum absolutum (...) that has no case with it' (LS, citing Prisc., 8, 27).

²⁸⁰ Gell., 1, 9, 12.

²⁸¹ I.e., the singular *mille* with the plural partitive genitive *hominum* requiring a verb in the singular (in the examples following, *interiit* and *uulneratum est* [translated as plural]).

Interdico tibi hac re et non hanc rem, ut interdico tibi aqua et igni. Plinius secundus in epistolis: *carent togae iure quibus aqua et igni interdictum est.*

Nunc uero ad reliqua. Neque enim nisi inuitus omiserim quod quae nomina ad numerum spectant, in eorum pluralibus²⁸² genitiuis syncopam efficimus. Idque cum usitatum est, tum ad exornandam [C5v] orationem pertinet: ut *mille nummum* potius quam *nummorum*; *mille denarium* potius quam *denariorum*.²⁸³ *Mille aureum, tot millia argenteum*; et ita de reliquis. Et id in genitiuis omnium nominum secundae declinationis frequenter efficiunt.

Sed prosam scribentes et solutam orationem in nominibus solum numeros et mensuras²⁸⁴ significantibus atque²⁸⁵ in numerorum nominibus, eam plerumque seruamus consuetudinem,²⁸⁶ ut citra centenarium numerum si quando post uigenarium, duo numeri numerandi sunt, ut eorum minor praecedat, maior sequatur: ut *hic est unum et uiginti annos natus*; *duos et triginta annos uiximus*; *tres et quadraginta dies nauigauimus*; *quatuor et quinquaginta annorum consumpsi aetatem*. Sed ultra centenarium et citra uigenarium, tritum et uulgarem seruamus sermonem. [*par. cont.*]

²⁸² pluralibus] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; pluribus F

²⁸³ potius quam denariorum] C; not in S, F, Ma, V, N, Mi, A

²⁸⁴ mensuras] S, F, N; mensuram C, Ma, V, Mi, A

²⁸⁵ atque] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; at F.

²⁸⁶ consuetudinem] S, C, Fb, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; consuetudenem Fa

Interdico tibi hac re (I forbid this thing to you) and not *hanc rem*, as in *interdico tibi aqua et igni* (I forbid water and fire to you). Pliny the Younger in his epistles: *carent togae iure quibus aqua et igni interdictum est* (those to whom water and fire are forbidden lose the right of a toga).²⁸⁷

But now to further matters. And indeed I would only unwillingly omit that we effect a syncope in the genitive plurals of those nouns that relate to number. Not only is this common but it also belongs to adorned speech: for example, *mille nummum* rather than *nummorum* (a thousand coins); *mille denarium* rather than *denariorum* (a thousand denarii); *mille aureum*, *tot millia argenteum* (a thousand pieces of gold, so many thousands of pieces of silver); and others likewise. Frequently speakers do this also in the genitive of all second declension nouns.

But when writing prose and in unmetrical speech, with nouns that merely signify quantities and measures and with nouns that are numbers, we generally observe the custom that, if two numbers are enumerated within the number of a hundred but beyond twenty, then the lesser of these precedes, the greater follows: for example, *hic est unum et uiginti annos natus* (he is one and twenty years old); *duos et triginta annos uiximus* (we lived two and thirty years); *tres et quadraginta dies nauigavi* (I sailed three and forty days); *quatuor et quinquaginta annorum consumpsi aetatem* (I used up a period of four and fifty years). But beyond the number of hundred and within twenty, we observe the common and vulgar style. [*par. cont.*]

²⁸⁷ *Ep.*, 4, 11.

Quod autem sicut *duo de uiginti* non numquam dicimus et *duo de triginta*, ita *duo de uigesimum diem* et *duo de trigesimum* manifestum est. Sed non quidem quod sit in frequenti oratorum usu.

Quid *indies*: nonne pulcherrimus sermo est? Ac significat *per singulos dies* et *quotidie*, sed cum quodam incremento, ut *tua indies crescit uirtus*; *indies homines sapiunt*; *stultorum hominum indies crescit insania*.

In uerbis tam actionem quam passionem significantibus,²⁸⁸ consyderare debemus uarias uocum inflexiones atque exitus, et modo his, modo²⁸⁹ [C6r] illis uti pro aurium iudicio: ut *fuere* pro *fuere*; *amarunt* pro *amauerunt*; *uidere* pro *uideris*; *norim* pro *nouerim*; *triumpharat* pro *triumphauerat*; et de aliis quoque eodem modo. Sed nequid fiat contra grammaticae artis praeceptores ac iura prouidendum est.

Quin particula quomodo uel increpet uel exhortetur, quomodo item confirmet²⁹⁰ et quomodo interroget, satis exploratum est. [*par. cont.*]

²⁸⁸ significantibus] S, C, Ma, V1, V2, V3b, N; significantionibus F, V3a, Mi, A

²⁸⁹ his modo] S, V2, N; hiis modo C, A; iis modo V1, Mi; et modo V3ab; hiis et modo Ma; not in F

²⁹⁰ confirmet] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; conformetur F

As for which, just as we often say *duo de uiginti* (two from twenty; eighteen) and *duo de triginta* (two from thirty; twenty-eight), so *duo de uigesimum diem* (the eighteenth day) and *duo de trigesimum* (the twenty-eighth) is seen. But this would certainly not be in frequent use among orators.

What about *indies* (from day to day): is it not a very polished expression? And it means *per singulos dies* (for each day) and *quotidie* (daily), but with a certain sense of augmenting, as in *tua indies crescit uirtus* (your virtue grows from day to day); *indies homines sapiunt* (men grow wiser from day to day); *stultorum hominum indies crescit insania* (the madness of foolish men grows from day to day).

In verbs with both active and passive meaning, we ought to consider the various inflections of voice and their termination, and at one time to use these and at other time those²⁹¹ according to ears' judgment: for example, *fuere* for *fuere* (they were); *amarunt* for *amauerunt* (they loved); *uidere* for *uideris* (you seem); *norim* for *nouerim* (*perf. subj.* I knew); *triumpharat* for *triumphauerat* (he had triumphed); and also others by the same method. But one must take care that nothing be counter to the rules and preceptors of the art of grammar.

The particle *quin* — in what manner it either protests or exhorts, similarly in what manner it confirms and in what manner it questions — is satisfactorily known.²⁹² [*par. cont.*]

²⁹¹ I.e. (as the following examples illustrate), to use sometimes the syncopated forms of these verbs and other times not.

²⁹² In this sentence Dati refers to the use of *quin* as an interrogative particle meaning *why not?* (frequently with the force of an imperative; AG, 449 b), a relative particle meaning *indeed, verily* (LS, *quin*, II.C), and a conjunction in a result clause with its verb in the subjunctive, meaning *but, but that* (AG, 558; LS, *quin*, II.A). He recommends the last in the following examples.

Sed nos ea pulcherrime utimur cum dicimus²⁹³ *non possum quin admirer, non possum quin gestiam, non possum quin doleam*. Significat enim fere *non possum me continere ut non admirer, non possum me continere ut non gestiam, non possum me continere ut non doleam*. Et de ceteris similiter.

Quid illud, numne praeclarum est usu *locus est huic rei? Multum loci est gaudio; plurimum loci est tranquillitati*; et Terentianus Dauus, *nihil loci est segnitiae*. Significant enim haec omnia uel oportere nos laetari, uel tranquillos esse, uel uoluptate affici, uel non²⁹⁴ negligentes esse. Et sic in aliis huiusmodi.

Non numquam uero duo nomina, siue praepositione addita siue non, unius aduerbii uim retinent, ut *magnopere pro ualde; maximopere* [C6v] pro *plurimum*; *maiolem inmodum pro maxime; mirum inmodum pro mirabiliter*, et item *mirandum in modum*.

²⁹³ cum dicimus] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; not in F

²⁹⁴ non] S, C, Ma, V, Mi, A; not in F, N

But we use it most beautifully when we say *non possum quin admirer* (I cannot but admire), *non possum quin gestiam* (I cannot but be joyful), *non possum quin doleam* (I cannot but grieve). For it means approximately *non possum me continere ut non admirer* (I cannot keep myself from admiring), *non possum me continere ut non gestiam* (I cannot keep myself from being joyful), *non possum me continere ut non doleam* (I cannot keep myself from grieving). Also others similarly.

Is not this usage, *locus est huic rei* (there is room for this matter), most beautiful? *Multum loci est gaudio* (There is much room for joy); *plurimum loci est tranquillitati* (there is very much room for tranquility); and says Terence's Davus, *nihil loci est segnitiae* (there is no room for sluggishness).²⁹⁵ For these all mean that it is proper that we be joyful, that we be tranquil or moved by pleasure, or that we not be negligent. And thus with others in such manner.

Yet often two nouns, either with a preposition added or not, possess the force of one adverb, as in *magnopere*²⁹⁶ for *ualde* (strongly); *maximopere*²⁹⁷ for *plurimum* (exceedingly); *maiolem in modum* (great in manner) for *maxime* (greatly); *mirum in modum* (wonderful in manner) for *mirabiliter* (wonderfully), and likewise *mirandum in modum* (in a wondrous manner).

²⁹⁵ *And.*, 206.

²⁹⁶ Formed from *magnus* and *opus*.

²⁹⁷ Formed from *maximus* and *opus*.

Sed ablatiui casus, siue cum commertio praepositionis siue sine, uim habent aduerbii, ut *in primis*, significat enim *praecipue* ac *praesertim*, et id graeci dicunt ἐν πρώτοις.²⁹⁸ Atque aduerbium ipsum, si ita appellandum est, perornate nominibus iungitur: ut *in primis sapiens* et *in primis eruditus*. Sed ne a proposito digrediar, *paucis* interdum pro *paucum*, *multis* pro *multum* utimur. Hoc alio loco oportunius.²⁹⁹

Ille etiam modus optimus est ut si quis dicturus sit quempiam habere aliquem honorem seu magistratum seu imperium, ex³⁰⁰ nomine honoris eiusmodi et *gero*, *geris* uerbo³⁰¹ constituat pulcherrimam orationem, hoc pacto: *hic est Romae consul, Romae consulem gerit; imperatorem gerit; principem gerit; praetorem gerit; et alia item consimiliter*. Ad hosce enim uiros rerum cura atque administratio pertinet.

Vsitata et pulchra est sermonis oratio ut gerundiorum accusatiuis praeposita *inter* significet tempus imperfectum indicatiui uel [C7r] subiunctiui modi uel alterius et *dum* particulam: ut *inter ambulandum hostes offendi*; hoc est *dum ambulare*. *Inter legendum ridebam*; id est *dum legerem*. [par. cont.]

²⁹⁸ ἐν πρώτοις] Supplied according to a copy of V3b in the British Library (shelf no. IA.19970) which has this scribal entry of the appropriate Greek text written in the space provided for it by the printers of F, V, Mi, A. The space is left blank in all other copies of these editions examined. The space is deleted in S, Ma (although a paragraph break immediately after supplies sufficient space to write the word after the period), N and other printed editions consulted; space and subsequent 'atque' deleted (thereby combining the two sentences) in C and several other editions consulted; many late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century editions avoid the issue altogether by altering 'et id graeci dicunt' to 'ut grammatici dicunt'.

²⁹⁹ This sentence, with occasional minor variations (e.g., verum haec for hoc), in S and all printed editions consulted. It is perhaps a commentarial notation (Dati's or someone else's) that has become part of the text.

³⁰⁰ ex] C, Ma, V2, V3ab, A; ut ex F, V1, N, Mi; ut S

³⁰¹ uerbo] Ma, V2, V3ab, A; uerbi S, F; uerbum V1, N, Mi; hiis uerbis C

But ablative cases, with or without the accompaniment of a preposition, have the force of an adverb, such as *in primis* (chiefly, especially), for this means *praecipue* and *praesertim* (especially; particularly), and the Greeks say it ἐν πρώτοις.³⁰² And this particular adverb, if it should be called such, is joined very ornately with nouns: for example, *in primis sapiens* (especially wise) and *in primis eruditus* (especially erudite). But that I not digress from the point, now and then we use *paucis* for *paucum* (few), *multis* for *multum* (many). This would be more convenient in another place.³⁰³

That is also the best method whereby, if one were about to say that someone has some honor or office or power, he should construct a most beautiful sentence from the name of whatever sort of honor it is and the verb *gero*, *geris* (wear, carry; maintain the charge of), in this manner: *Romae consulem gerit* (he has the charge of consul of Rome) for *hic est Romae consul* (he is consul of Rome); also *imperatorem gerit* (he has the charge of emperor); *principem gerit* (he has the charge of prince); *praetorem gerit* (he has the charge of praetor); and so others similarly. For to those men the administration and management of affairs belong.

It is a familiar and beautiful style of speech when *inter* placed before accusatives of the gerund signifies the imperfect tense of the indicative or subjunctive or another mood and the particle *dum* (while; as long as; until):³⁰⁴ for example, *inter ambulandum hostes offendi* (I came upon my enemies while walking); this is *dum ambulare* (while I was walking). *Inter legendum ridebam* (I was laughing while reading); this is *dum legerem* (while I was reading). [*par. cont.*]

³⁰² See textual note to this phrase.

³⁰³ See textual note to this sentence.

³⁰⁴ See AG 506 n. 1.

Et sic pro uarietate personarum ita exponendum est ut modo explicaui-
mus. Hinc Seruius in bucolica Virgilii: *inter agendum; dum agis*. Honesta
locutio si dicamus *inter cenandum*³⁰⁵ haec sum locutus; id est *dum cena-*
rem.³⁰⁶

In pro erga et etiam contra pulcherrime est accusatiuo praeposita, ut
meus in te animus; mea in te beneuolentia. Vbique enim significat *erga*.
Iuuenalis inuehitur in Domitianum. Cicero habuit orationem in Catili-
nam. Ibi enim *contra* significat.

Apprime pro ualde recte apponitur nominibus, quemadmodum de in
primis superius dictum est: ut uir apprime nobilis; res apprime utilis; et
ita de aliis.

*Res uero nomen latum*³⁰⁷ diffusumque est, sed eo pulcherrime utimur
adiectis possessiuis nominibus, et praesertim huiusmodi, ut quum dicitur
res bellica; res domestica; res publica; res uxoria; res familiaris; res
militaris; et de similibus pariter ut aliqua ueluti significatur institutio.

³⁰⁵ *inter cenandum*] A; *intercenandum* Ma, N; *inter canendum* S, C; *inter coenandum*
F, Mi; *intercoenandum* V1, V2, V3b; *intercoenadum* V3a

³⁰⁶ *id est dum c(o)enarem*] Ma, V2, V3ab, A; *dum coeno* V1, Mi; *dum canis* C; not
in S, F, N

³⁰⁷ *latum*] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; *latinum* F

And thus in accordance with the diversity of people it should be set forth, in the manner we just explained. Hence Servius's comment on the Eclogues of Virgil: *inter agendum* (while driving) means *dum agis* (while you drive).³⁰⁸ It is a noble expression if we say *inter cenandum haec sum locutus* (I spoke these things while dining); that is, *dum cenarem* (while I was dining).

In (to; toward) for *erga* (toward; against) and also *contra* (against) is very attractively placed before an accusative, as in *meus in te animus* (my anger toward you); *mea in te benevolentia* (my goodwill toward you). In every such place it indeed means *erga*. *Iuuenalis inuehitur in Domitianum* (Juvenal launched an invective against Domitian). *Cicero habuit orationem in Catilinam* (Cicero made a speech against Catiline). In these cases it means *contra*.

Apprime (before all; especially) for *ualde* (strongly; exceedingly) is rightly placed with nouns, in the same way as was said above about *in primis*: for example, *uir apprime nobilis* (an especially noble man); *res apprime utilis* (an especially advantageous affair); and so of others.

The noun *res* indeed has a wide range of meaning and usage, but we use it most beautifully joined with possessive nouns, and especially in this manner — as when we say *res bellica* (military affairs); *res domestica* (domestic affairs); *res publica* (public affairs); *res uxoria* (a wife's affairs); *res familiaris* (household affairs); *res militaris* (military affairs); and similar ones in the same manner when some sort of established aspect of life is indicated.

³⁰⁸ Serv. on *Ecl.*, 9, 24.

[C7v] *Praestolor*³⁰⁹ uerbum quod plerumque poetae accusatiuo iungunt, Cicero connectit datiuo.

Multa sunt uerba quibus per eandem significationem et passiuam utimur uoce et actiuam, ut omittam poene innumerabilia. Cicero frequenter in his duobus modo actiuam modo passiuam uocem usurpat: *assentior* et *assentio*, ubique eadem constructionis forma et *impartior* et *impartio*. In caeteris autem id fit multo rarius.

*Vsu uenit*³¹⁰ ornatissime pro *contingit* ponitur.³¹¹

Vsurpatio et *usurpare* non ita intelligi debent sicut iurisconsulti utuntur. Sed *usurpationem* oratores *frequentem usum* uocant et *usurpare habere in frequenti usu*.

Haec res me deficit est *deest mihi haec res*, ut *deficit me dies* itaque *quamprimum*³¹² *mortales deficit*. Sed *deficit hac re* magis est poetarum.

³⁰⁹ *praestolor*] V, Mi; *prestolor* S, C, F, Ma, A; *prestulor* N

³¹⁰ *uenit*] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; *euenit* F

³¹¹ *ponitur*] Mi; *accipitur* C; not in S, F, Ma, V, N, A

³¹² *quamprimum*] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; *in primis* F

The verb *praestolor* (expect; wait), which the poets most often join with the accusative, Cicero connects with the dative.³¹³

There are many verbs of which we use both the passive and the active voice for the same meaning, such that I shall omit almost innumerable examples. Cicero frequently employs now the active now the passive voice of these two: *assentior* and *assentio* (assent to; comply) and *impartior* and *impartio* (impart; bestow),³¹⁴ everywhere with the same form of grammatical construction. With other verbs, however, this is done much more rarely.

Vsu uenit (it happens; it chances) is most ornately put for *contingit* (it befalls; it happens).

Vsurpatio and *usurpare* ought not to be understood in such manner as lawyers use them (usurpation or to illegally seize). Orators instead say *usurpatio* for *frequens usus* (frequent use) and *usurpare* to mean *habere in frequenti usu* (to have in frequent use).

Haec res me deficit (this thing escapes me) is *deest mihi haec res* (this thing is absent to me), as in *deficit me dies* (the day is passing me by) and *vita quamprimum mortales deficit* (life passes mortals by in the blink of an eye). But *deficit hac re* (he fails in this matter) is more the usage of poets.

³¹³ The examples in LS support this observation.

³¹⁴ Also written *impertior/impertio*; i.e., these are verbs that have both active and deponent forms.

Nunc autem, ne ea quae perutilia sunt et ornatissima omittamus, intelligendum est quod quae nomina tertiae declinationis tam genitium quam nominatiuum singularem habent similes, praesertim si genitiuus pluralis in *-ium* exierit, eorum frequenter pluralis accusatiuus in *-is* terminari solet, raro in *-es*: ut *omnis* pro *omnes*, [C8r] *mortalis* pro *mortales*, *immanis* pro *immanes*. Similiter ipse quoque testatur Priscianus in *-is* uel in *-es* terminantia, ut *fontis* et *fontes*, *partis* et *partes*. In reliquis rarius fit quae est poetarum uenia.

Quaedam aduerbia sunt quae epistolis quam maxime congruunt, sicut *propediem*, *quamprimum* pro *cito*, *confestim*. Et item *postridie*, quod multi ignari litterarum, etiam grammaticae artis expertes exponunt *post tres dies*. Sed ne eodem ducaris errore: crede *postridie* significare *postero die*. Et eo pacto Marcus Cicero accipit et alii eruditissimi uiri.

Atque si quis multa referre uelit, pro *priore* ponat *primum* uel *primo*. Vtrumque enim in usu est. Pro *secundo* deinde uel *secundo loco*; pro *tertio praeterea* uel *tertio loco*; pro *quarto*, quod perraro accidit, ad haec uel *praeterea* uel *quarto loco*. In calce *postremum* uel *postremo* et *demum*. Sit igitur huiusmodi exemplum: *Tria sunt quae mihi magnas afferunt uoluptates*: [par. cont.]

But now, lest we omit these things which are most useful and ornate, it must be understood about those nouns of the third declension that have the same genitive and nominative singular, especially if the genitive plural ends in *-ium*, that frequently their accusative plural is apt to terminate in *-is*, rarely in *-es*:³¹⁵ for example, *omnis* for *omnes* (all), *mortalis* for *mortales* (human beings), *immanis* for *immanes* (savages). Also Priscian himself similarly witnesses endings in *-is* or in *-es*, such as *fontis* and *fontes* (springs), *partis* and *partes* (parts).³¹⁶ With other words this happens more rarely, being the indulgence of poets.

There are certain adverbs which are extremely well suited for writing letters, such as *propediem* (shortly; before long) and *quamprimum* (forthwith; as soon as possible) for *cito* (quickly) and *confestim* (immediately). And likewise *postridie* (the next day), which many who are ignorant of literature and lacking the art of grammar besides explain as *post tres dies* (after three days). But let yourself not be led into the same error: believe that *postridie* means *postero die* (on the day following). In this manner Marcus Cicero and other very erudite men take it also.

And if one wishes to refer to many things, let him put *primo* or *primum* (foremost) for *priore* (former). Indeed both are in use. For *secundo* either *deinde* (then; next) or *secundo loco* (in second place); for *tertio*, either *praeterea* (besides) or *tertio loco* (in third place); for *quarto*, which occurs very rarely, for this either *praeterea* or *quarto loco*. At the end, *postremum* or *postremo* (last) and *demum* (at last). So let the following be an example of this method: *Tria sunt quae mihi magnas afferunt uoluptates*: [par. cont.]

³¹⁵ See AG, 66-67 on third declension *i*-stems.

³¹⁶ Prisc., 7, 85.

primum enim quod optimum amicum nactus sum, deinde autem quod singularem tuam erga me saepe testificaris beneuolentiam, postremum uero quod te [C8v] incolumem esse intellexi.

Qua in re id quoque animaduertendum est quod tres inuenimus coniunctiones recto atque usitato ordine quae sunt *enim, autem, uero*.³¹⁷ Sed tu haec ipsa omnia ac multo etiam plura facile cognoris si Ciceronis scripta et in primis eius epistolas lectitabis.

*Memoriae*³¹⁸ *proditum est* significat *scriptum est*.³¹⁹ Multa enim talia ornatissime usurpantur uariis tamen significationibus: ut *memoriae tradere, mandare litteris, mandare litterarum monumentis*,³²⁰ quorum ferme eadem uis est, sed *mandare memoriae* aliud uidetur sibi uelle.

Fallo uerbum tritum est apud Ciceronem et *fallit me haec res* dicimus. *Fallit te spes*: quod est³²¹ frustratur et decipit.

Missum facere pro³²² *dimittere* et uenustum et ornatum est. Nam *misam hanc rem facio* significat *dimitto hanc rem*.

³¹⁷ enim, autem, uero] Ma, V, N, Mi, A (corresponding rightly to the preceding example); enim, uero, etiam F; enim et uero S, C

³¹⁸ memoriae] S, V, Mi; memorie C, F, Ma, N, A

³¹⁹ proditum est significat scriptum est] C, V2, V3ab, N, Mi, A; proditum significat scriptum F; proditum significant scriptum est S; proditum est scriptum est Ma, V1

³²⁰ monumentis] S, C, V, N, Mi, A; monimentis F; monomentis Ma

³²¹ quod est] S, C, N, Mi, A; idest Ma, V; quod F

³²² pro] Mi; not in S, F, Ma, V, N, A; significans C

primum enim quod optimum amicum nactus sum, deinde autem quod singularem tuam erga me saepe testificaris benevolentiam, postremum uero quod te incolumem esse intellexi. (There are three things which bring great pleasures to me: the first indeed is that I found a great friend, and next, that you often demonstrate your remarkable goodwill toward me, and last, that I learned that you were safe.)

From this example it should also be observed that we encounter three conjunctions in their right and familiar order, namely *enim* (indeed; for), *autem* (yet; indeed), *uero* (but; in fact). But you will easily learn all these very same things and also much more if you will read the writings of Cicero, and especially his letters.

Memoriae proditum est (transmitted to memory) means *scriptum est* (written). Indeed there are many such phrases with various meanings that are used most ornately: for example, *memoriae tradere* (to hand down to memory), *mandare litteris* (to entrust to letters), and *mandare litterarum monumentis* (to entrust to works of literature), the force of which is nearly the same, but *mandare memoriae* (to commit to memory; memorize) seems to mean something different.

Fallo (disappoint; deceive) is a common verb in Cicero, and we say *fallit me haec res* (this thing deceives me). *Fallit te spes* (hope disappoints you): that is, it deceives and cheats.

Missum facere (to make an end of; to get rid of) for *dimittere* (to dismiss) is both charming and ornate.³²³ For *missam hanc rem facio* (I make an end of this matter) means *dimitto hanc rem* (I set aside this thing).

³²³ Cf. LS, *mitto*, I: 'Missum facere is also used for *mittere*, to send'.

Ad haec autem in eadem oratione duae hae particulae *ne* et *quidem* pulcherrimae³²⁴ sunt si quis fuerit recte illis usus. Nam quum ponuntur, semper aut aliquid dictum est aut id mente concipitur, ut *ne audiui quidem* exempli causa; significat non solum non uidi, sed neque etiam [D1r] audiui. Item aliud exemplum: *philosophiae studia Democritus*³²⁵ *non modo non intermittit, sed ne remittit quidem*. Remittere namque philosophiam est remissius philosophari.

Sed ea quoque adhibenda diligentia est: quod si quando plura ponimus, praesertim sine copulatione, qui articulus est, ut si idem uideantur significare, quod uehementius semper magis collocetur in calce, ut *tua uirtus laudanda probandaque*³²⁶ *est*; nam *probare* est magis quod fit animi iudicio. *Magistratus diligere, amare, colere debemus. Probatissimos uiros omnes homines uerentur, observant, admirantur. Quae turpia, obscena, taetra*,³²⁷ *foeda sunt, ea fugere et aspernare debemus*.

³²⁴ particulae (...) pulcherrimae] V1, V2, V3b; particule (...) pulcherrime S, C, Fa, Ma, Mi, N, A; particule (...) pulcherrimae Fb; particulae (...) pulcherrime V3a

³²⁵ Democritus] S, C, F, N; Zeno Ma, V, Mi, A

³²⁶ -que] C, Ma, Mi, V, A; not in S, F, N

³²⁷ taetra] tetra S, C, F, Ma, V, Mi, A; teterrima N

But in addition to these things, the two particles *ne* and *quidem* are most beautiful in the same sentence if they are used properly. For when they are used, always something has either been said or it is understood,³²⁸ as in *ne audiui quidem* (I did not even hear it), for example; this means not only that I did not see it but indeed I also did not hear it. Likewise another example: *philosophiae studia Democritus non modo non intermittit sed ne remittit quidem* (Democritus not only does not interrupt his study of philosophy, he does not even slacken in it). For certainly, to slacken in philosophy is to be a philosopher more negligently.

But also this must be maintained diligently: that if we ever put several words that seem as if they mean the same thing, especially without a copulative, which is the device *articulus*,³²⁹ the word that is the more powerful is always placed at the end, as in *tua uirtus laudanda probandaque est* (your virtue must be praised and approved); for *probare* is greater because it is done by the judgment of the mind. *Magistratus diligere, amare, colere debemus* (We ought to esteem, to love, to revere magistrates). *Probatissimos uiros omnes homines uerentur, observant, admirantur* (Everyone respects, reveres, and wonders at the most virtuous men). *Quae turpia, obscena, taetra, foeda sunt, ea fugere et aspernare debemus* (We ought to flee and despise those things that are disgraceful, foul, offensive, abominable).

³²⁸ See AG, 322 f.

³²⁹ See LS, *articulus*, II. A, citing the definition given in *Auct. ad Her.*, 4, 19.

*Virtutis officium*³³⁰ *summa laus est*. Nam habet *officium* accessionem actionis; sed in his quoque ordo quidam spectandus est. Quod³³¹ si tria sint, quorum duo partem animi³³² aliquam significant, tertium sit commune, id profecto debet in fine collocari, nisi se habuerit quodam generis modo, tunc enim contra fit. Quod nunc liquido ac perspicuo patefecero. Ac prioris quidem exemplum est. *Omnis in adipiscenda uirtute, cura, opera, diligentia ponenda est*. Est enim *cura* consilium animi, [D1v] *opera* corporis; *diligentia* utrumque complectitur. Item *in republica plurimum industriae, laboris, temporis ponendum est*. *Amicos consilio, uiribus, opera adiuuare debemus*. Alterius uero exempla sunt *Non sunt per se res commodae expetendae diuitiae, uoluptates, honores*. *Commodum* enim generis locum detinet, cuius species sunt multae,³³³ puta quas modo memorauimus. Atque item animalia quaeque: *homines, equi, leones* bonum uidentur appetere. Sed utcunque res sese habent, si³³⁴ multa sint, quod pluris est debet poni in fine. Iam uero ad alia.

³³⁰ uirtutis officium] Mi; uirtutis officii S, Ma, V1, V3ab; uirtutis actionis officii C; uirtutis officii F; uirtus officii V2, A; uirtus offitii N

³³¹ quod] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; quid F

³³² animi] S, C, F; not in Ma, V, N, Mi, A

³³³ expetendae (...) multae] V, Mi; expetendae (...) multe S; expetende (...) multe C, F, Ma, N, A

³³⁴ sed utcunque res sese habent si] V3a; sed utcunque sese res habent si Ma, V1, V2; sed ut cumque sese res habent V3b; sed utcunque res sese habeat si S; sed utcunque res sese habet si N; si uero modo dicto res se habeat et C; sed utrumque res se habet et F; sed utcunque sese res habeat si Mi; sed utcunque sese res habent A

Virtutis officium summa laus est (The highest glory is the employment of virtue). For *officium* (duty; office; service) includes the accessory³³⁵ of action; but in these things also a certain order must be observed. That is, if there should be three words, two of which signify some part of a thought while the third is general, then definitely this last ought to be placed at the end, unless it is itself in some manner of a genus, for then let the order be contrary. This I will now clearly and transparently explain. And this is an example of the rule just stated. *Omnis in adipiscenda uirtute, cura, opera, diligentia ponenda est* (In striving after virtue, every attention, exertion, and diligence should be applied). For *cura* is a consideration of the mind, *opera* of the body; *diligentia* comprehends both.³³⁶ Similarly, *in republica plurimum industriae, laboris, temporis ponendum est* (in a republic, a great amount of assiduity, labor, and time must be given). *Amicos consilio, uiribus, opera, adiuuare debemus* (We ought to favor friends with counsel, strength, and service). Yet there are examples of a different sequence.³³⁷ *Non sunt per se res commodae expendae diuitiae, uoluptates, honores* (Riches, pleasures, and honors are not in themselves things worth seeking). For *commodum* (advantage; profit) occupies the place of a genus, of which the species are many, such as those we have just mentioned. And likewise each of the animals: *homines, equi, leones* (people, horses, and lions) seem to approach a good ordering. Yet whatever manner of things there are, if there should be many, that which is of more value ought to be placed in the end. But now on to other things.

³³⁵ In the sense of LS, *accessio*, II. C: 'in rhetor., an addition that makes a definition complete'.

³³⁶ I.e., *diligentia* being general is therefore placed last.

³³⁷ I.e., with the genus word at the beginning, as in the following example.

Multotiens geminatio tam in quibusdam nominibus³³⁸ quam aduerbiis tanti ualet quanti id nomen semel³³⁹ et *cunque*; ut *quisquis* pro *quicunque*, *quotquot* pro *quotcunque*, *quantusquantus* pro *quantuscunque*, *qualisqualis* pro *quantiscunque*, *utut* pro *utcunque*, *ubiubi* pro *ubicunque*.

Et id aduerte diligenter: *accedit* pro *additur* tam usitatum quam pulchrum³⁴⁰ uideri debet. Vnde et *accessio additionem* significat. Igitur *accedit ad meas miseras dolor*; idest additur.

Confido non sicut quidam arbitrantur, nescio [D2r] quo pacto construitur. Sed iungitur alias datiuo alias³⁴¹ ablatiuo casui, et in his potissimum uersatur quae ad animum³⁴² spectant, ut *confido tua uirtute*, *tua humanitate*, *tuo consilio*, et in aliis huiusmodi.

Credo quoque pro *committo* ornatissimum fit, ut *credo tibi mea consilia*; *credo tibi grandem pecuniam*.

³³⁸ nominibus] C; uerbis infinitis S, F, Ma, V, Mi, A; uerbis infinitiuis N

³³⁹ semel] C, V1, N, Mi; simul S, Ma, V2, V3ab, A; similiter F

³⁴⁰ tam usitatum quam pulchrum] C, Ma, V, Mi, A; quam usitatum tam pulchrum S, N; quam usitatum tum quam pulchrum F

³⁴¹ alias] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; uel F

³⁴² quae ad animum] F, N, Mi; que ad modum C; quemadmodum S, Ma, V, A

Often in certain nouns as in adverbs, a doubling has as much effect as the noun used once with *-cunque*: for example, *quisquis* for *quicunque* (whoever), *quotquot* for *quotcunque* (however many), *quantusquantus* for *quantuscunque* (however great), *utut* for *utcunque* (in whatever manner), *ubiubi* for *ubicunque* (wherever).

Also carefully observe that *accedit* (it accedes to; it is added) for *additur* (it is added)³⁴³ ought to be regarded as beautiful as well as customary. Whence also *accessio* means *additionem* (addition; increase). Thus *accedit ad meas miserias dolor* (grief is added to my miseries); that is, *additur* (it is added).

Confido (trust in; have confidence in) is not such as certain people believe — constructed in any old way.³⁴⁴ But rather it is sometimes joined with the dative case and sometimes with the ablative, and it is most particularly concerned with matters pertaining to mental constitution, as in *confido tua uirtute* (I trust in your virtue), *tua humanitate* (your humane nature), *tuo consilio* (your counsel), and others of this sort.

Also, *credo* (believe; trust; entrust) makes a very ornate word for *committo* (entrust), as in *credo tibi mea consilia* (I entrust my plans to you); *credo tibi grandem pecuniam* (I entrust an abundance of money to you).

³⁴³ I.e., the passive form of *addit*.

³⁴⁴ Dati probably alludes to the medieval use of *confido* with *in* and the accusative or ablative (not to its use with the accusative and infinitive, since that is well attested in Cicero and Terence).

Nam *grande* adiectiuum nomen probe uel *aetati* conuenit uel *pecuniae*. *Pecuniae* exemplum posuimus. Sed *hic grandior Nestore uidetur*: id est³⁴⁵ *uidetur quod Nestorem anteeat aetate*, ut hic est *grandis natu*. *Grandissimus natu* significat *longaeuum*³⁴⁶ *hominem* atque *admodum senem*. Et quia de *natu* mentio facta est, *maior natu* ornatissime significat *seniorem* sicut *minor natu iuniorem*.

Insuper haud illepide fit interposita non nunquam in oratione atque interiecta parenthesis, ut *dedisti ad me, quae mea est summa uoluptas, suauissimas litteras. Omnes amicos nisi fallor*³⁴⁷ *plurimum admiraris. Scire uelim ex te, namque est amicorum consuetudo, quid nuper in M. Antonii*³⁴⁸ *causa egeris*. Et ita demum, re postulante,³⁴⁹ nostram orationem eiusmodi interpositionibus aspergamus.

[D2v] *Haec res apud me increpuit*³⁵⁰ *fere* significat ad aures peruenit, et notitiam significat rei. *Nescio hanc rem: ignoro, praeterit me, fugit me, latet me, huius rei nescius sum, haec res scientiam meam fugit*.

³⁴⁵ id est] S, C, N; not in F, Ma, V, Mi, A

³⁴⁶ longaeuum] V2, V3b, Mi; longeuum S, C, F, Ma, V1, V3a, N, A

³⁴⁷ nisi fallor] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; infallor F

³⁴⁸ Antonii] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; Catonis F

³⁴⁹ re postulante] F, Ma, N; te postulante S; te postulante C, V1, Mi; postulante V2, V3ab, A

³⁵⁰ increpuit] C, V1, A; increbuit S, F, V2, V3ab, N; increbuit Mi; increuit Ma

Now, the adjectival noun *grande* (great; old; powerful) fits well either with *aetas* (period; age) or *pecunia* (money). We have given an example of *pecunia*.³⁵¹ But *hic grandior Nestore uidetur* (he seems older than Nestor): this is *uidetur quod Nestorem anteeat aetate* (it seems that he surpasses Nestor in age), as he is old in respect to age. *Grandissimus natu* (oldest in respect to age) means *longaeuum hominem* (an ancient man) and *admodum senem* (a very aged man). And because mention has been made of *natu*,³⁵² *maior natu* (greater in age) most ornately means *seniorem* (older) just as *minor natu* (less in age) means *iuniorem* (younger).

In addition, a parenthesis interposed and inserted in a sentence is frequently done not at all rudely, as in *dedisti ad me, quae mea est summa uoluptas, suauiissimas litteras* (you sent to me, which is my highest pleasure, the most pleasant letters). *Omnes amicos nisi fallor plurimum admiraris* (You admire, unless I am greatly deceived, all friends). *Scire uelim ex te, namque est amicorum consuetudo, quid nuper in M. Antonii causa egeris* (I should wish to know from you, for certainly it is the custom of friends, what you did recently in the affair of Marc Antony). And so at length, when the matter demands, we should besprinkle our speech with insertions of this sort.

Haec res apud me increpuit (this matter was noised before me) pretty much means it came to the ears, and this refers to knowledge of the matter. *Nescio hanc rem* (I do not know this matter): *ignoro* (I am ignorant), *praeterit me* (it passes me by), *fugit me* (it escapes me), *latet me* (it lies hid from me), *huius rei nescius sum* (I am ignorant of this matter), *haec res scientiam meam fugit* (this matter escapes my knowledge).

³⁵¹ I.e., 'credo tibi grandem pecuniam' in the preceding paragraph.

³⁵² I.e., the supine form of *nascor*, *natus*.

*Hoc reliquum est et*³⁵³ *hoc restat* perpulchre et magno cum ornatu idem significat. Exemplum est *omnia tibi et natura et fortuna tribuit, et reliquum est ut bene et amicabilem uiuas.*

Rumor est, idest uulgo et communiter dicitur, et ornatus sermo est.

Accipere pro audire et cognoscere peruenuste dicitur, ut *accepi rumoribus quorum incertus est auctor; accepi hominum phama quae certo auctore continetur; accepi nuntiis quod*³⁵⁴ *nuntius et qui mittitur affert; accepi litteras quas plerumque ab amicis accipimus; et in aliis consimilibus locis.*

Pronominibus articularibus demonstratiuis consueuerunt auctores addere *-ce*, adiectionem in his casibus qui in plurali desinunt euphoniae³⁵⁵ causa, ut *hisce, hosce, hasce* pro *his, hos, has*.

Saepe praepositio quae praeponi solet postponitur et significantia eadem manet; et [D3r] quibusdam quidem semper quae sunt *mecum, tecum, nobiscum, uobiscum*, in quibus autem non semper, ut *quicum, quocum, quibuscum*, id est *cumquibus*. *Te propter* et *propter te* idem significat, et in his potissimum praepositionum translatio fit quae modo enumerauimus.

³⁵³ est et] est Ma, V, Mi, A; et S, C, F, N

³⁵⁴ nuntiis quod] C; nuntiis quaedam quos F; nuntiis quos S, Ma, V, N, Mi, A

³⁵⁵ euphoniae] S, V, Mi; euphonie C, F, Ma, N, A

Hoc reliquum est (this is the remainder) and *hoc restat* (this remains) beautifully and with great adornment mean the same thing. An example is *omnia tibi et natura et fortuna tribuit, et reliquum est ut bene et amicaliter uiuas* (nature and fortune have bestowed upon you all things, and what remains is that you live well and amicably).

Rumor est (rumor is), that is, it is said commonly and publicly, and it is an ornate saying.

Accipere (to receive; to hear; to learn) for *audire* (to hear) and *cognoscere* (to understand) is very beautifully said, as in *accepi rumoribus quorum incertus est auctor* (I learned things from rumors, the source of which is uncertain); *accepi hominum phama quae certo auctore continetur* (I learned from the report of men, which report is traceable to a known source); *accepi nuntiis quod nuntius et qui mittitur affert* (I have learned in messages that which a message and the one who is sent brings); *accepi litteras quas plerumque ab amicis accipimus* (I received the letters that we commonly receive from friends); and in other similar passages.

Authors used to be accustomed to adding *-ce* to demonstrative pronominal articles, joined with those cases which end in plural for reason of euphony, as in *hisce hosce hasce* for *his, hos, has* (*dat. masc., acc. masc., and acc. fem. those*).

Often a preposition, which is wont to be placed beforehand, is put afterward, and the meaning remains the same; and indeed always this is the case with certain ones, which are *mecum* (with me), *tecum* (with you), *nobiscum* (with us), *uobiscum* (with you *pl.*), but not always with certain others, such as *quicum, quocum, and quibuscum*, which is *cumquibus*. *Te propter* (because of you) means the same as *propter te*, and in those which we have just listed the transposition of the prepositions especially occurs.

Clam plerumque praepositio est et nonnumquam aduerbium. Sed oratores praepositionem accipiunt potius, siue iungatur ablatiuo ut Priscianus sentit, siue accusatiuo quod opinatur Donatus, ut *clam me profectus est*, idest *me nesciente*.

Coram cum accentu in prima syllaba praepositio est, et quid significet nemo est qui nesciat. Quum accentu uero in ultima syllaba aduerbium pulcherrimum est³⁵⁶ significans, ut ita dicam, *praesentialiter*, quo frequentissime uiri docti utuntur, ut apud Ciceronem: *cupio tecum coram*³⁵⁷ *iocari* et *coram tecum loquar*.

Multa aduerbia in *-i* exeuntia etiam in ipsis epistolis pulcherrima sunt, sed haec in primis: *ruri, uesperis, belli, domi*.³⁵⁸ Multa item in *-o* ut *sero, serio, consulto, postremo, modo, falso, merito, praecario*. Caetera uero in eodem exitu desinentia haud in frequenti sunt oratorum usu.

[D3v] In *-u* uero crebra sunt. *Diu*: huius manifesta significatio est. *Interdiu*: quod quasi est³⁵⁹ *infra medii diei tempus*. Et *noctu* pro *nocte* quod magis nomen est. Vnde *die noctuque* dicimus.

³⁵⁶ est] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; not in F

³⁵⁷ coram] S, Ma, V, N, Mi, A, and modern editions of *Fam.* (see note to translation); not in F

³⁵⁸ Deleted after this sentence from Fa: In *e* aduerbia (either an apparent fragment of a longer passage or a fragmentary interpolation; not in S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A, and not followed by any explanation in Fa); changed to In *o* aduerbia in Fb (so as to introduce the next subject, but it is still a superfluous fragment).

³⁵⁹ quod quasi est] C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; quod est quasi S; not in F

Clam (secretly; unknown to) is usually a preposition and sometimes an adverb. But orators treat it more as a preposition, either joined with the ablative, as Priscian notes,³⁶⁰ or with the accusative, which Donatus believes,³⁶¹ as in *clam me profectus est* (it was accomplished secretly from me), that is, *me nesciente* (with me not knowing).

Coram (in the presence of), with the accent on the first syllable, is a preposition, and what it means there is no one who does not know. But with the accent on the last syllable, it is a most beautiful adverb meaning, if I may say so, *praesentialiter* (face to face; personally), in which sense learned men very frequently employ it, such as in the works of Cicero: *cupio tecum coram iocari* (I long to joke with you face to face) and *coram tecum loquar* (I shall speak with you personally).³⁶²

In the same author's letters, many adverbs ending in *-i* are indeed most beautiful, but these especially: *ruri* (in the country), *uesperi* (at evening), *belli* (at war), *domi* (at home).³⁶³ Likewise many in *-o* such as *sero* (late), *serio* (seriously), *consulto* (deliberately), *postremo* (at last), *modo* (just now), *falso* (falsely), *merito* (deservedly), *praecario* (by request). But others ending in this final are not in frequent use among orators.

Those in *-u* are abundant however. *Diu* (long since): the meaning of this is clear. *Interdiu* (by day): this is just the same as *infra medii diei tempus* (within the time of the middle of the day). And *noctu* (by night) for *nocte* because the latter is more clearly a noun.³⁶⁴ Whence we say *die noctuque* (by day and by night).

³⁶⁰ Prisc., 14, 39.

³⁶¹ Don., 2, 17. Servius, in his *Commentarius in artem Donati*, also remarks on this difference of opinion between Priscian and Donatus (*Grammatici Latini* IV, 419).

³⁶² *Fam.*, 1, 10 and 5, 12, 10.

³⁶³ I.e., the locative forms of these nouns (see AG 427).

³⁶⁴ I.e., the ablative form of *nox*. So next Dati notes the pairing of the ablative noun *die* and the adverb *noctu*.

Nullus, -a, -um nonnumquam pro *non*, praesertim *sum, es, est* uerbo adiuncto, ut *nullus sum, interii. Res publica nulla est: quasi non est, extincta est*, idque ornatissimum fuerit.

*Praesto*³⁶⁵ *sum* significat³⁶⁶ *adsum* et fere *appareo*; et sic idem aduerbium eiusdem uerbi modis omnibus ac temporibus peruenuste componitur in eadem quam modo³⁶⁷ posuimus significantia, ut *praesto mihi fuit seruus tuus urbem ingredienti*.

Licet mihi bono uiro esse et licet mihi bonum uirum esse: utrumque latine atque usitate dicitur, sed id posterius magis oratorium est.

Perpetuo et imperpetuum aduerbialiter pro eodem, et his frequenter utimur.

Deuincio uerbum tum pulcherrimum est³⁶⁸ tum praecipue epistolis congruit. Significat *deuincio* *obligo*, et *deuinctus* est *obligatus* sicut et saepe *obnoxius*, quod non solum trito more significat quod notum est, sed etiam *deuinctum*.

Collocare apud aliquem beneficium est alicui [D4r] *beneficium facere*, ut *apud gratos uiros beneficium collocasti*.

³⁶⁵ *praesto*] Fb, V, Mi; *presto* S, C, Fa, Ma, N, A; in N, this and the following four paragraphs occur before the previous paragraph's treatment of *nullus*

³⁶⁶ *significat*] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; not in F

³⁶⁷ *quam modo*] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; quoque F

³⁶⁸ *est*] Ma, V, N, Mi, A; not in S, C, F

Often *nullus*, *-a*, *-um* (not any; no) stands for *non*, chiefly joined with the verb *sum*, *es*, *est*, as in *nullus sum* (I am naught; I am undone) for *interii* (I was ruined; I perished).³⁶⁹ *Res publica nulla est* (The republic is no more): this is the same as *non est*, *extincta est* (it is extinct), and would be most ornate.

Praesto sum (I am ready; I am at your service) means *adsum* (I am present) and nearly *appareo* (I attend; I serve); and thus most beautifully this adverb is composed the same way with all moods and tenses of the same verb, and also with the same meaning as we just put it, as in *praesto mihi fuit seruus tuus urbem ingredienti* (your servant was ready for me as I was entering the city).

Licet mihi bono uiro esse and *licet mihi bonum uirum esse* (it is permitted to me to be a good man): either is said in Latin and commonly, but the latter is more the use of orators.

Perpetuo and *imperpetuum* used adverbally mean the same thing (continuously), and we frequently use these.

The verb *deuincio* (bind; oblige) is not only most beautiful but is particularly suited for letters. *Deuincio* means *obligo* (obligate), and *deuinctus* is *obligatus* (obligated) and often just the same as *obnoxius* (*in the sense* beholden; under obligation), which not only means that which is known by common custom (*i.e.*, liable to punishment; vulnerable) but indeed also *deuinctus*.

Collocare apud aliquem beneficium (to bestow a favor on someone) is *alicui beneficium facere* (to render a favor to someone), as in *apud gratos uiros beneficium collocasti* (you bestowed a favor on the thankful men).

³⁶⁹ Cf. LS, *nullus*, II.C.

Gratificor tibi hanc rem praeclare usurpatur. Et indulgeo sane uerbum est aptissimum et splendidi ornatus, et quod datiuo iungitur et ferme significat do operam atque ita exponitur, ut hic nimio somno indulget; id est nimis dormit. Nimio cibo indulget;³⁷⁰ nimis comedit. Et sic de aliis consimiliter puto. Indulgere est quasi concedere et est³⁷¹ uerbum luxuriosum quandam designans clementiam, et indulgentem parentem appellamus leniore erga liberos ingenio, quare et ab ignosco plurimum differt. Liuius primo ab urbe condita³⁷²; est enim ignosco, parco, do³⁷³ ueniam siue excusatum habeo. Ignosco tibi igitur si quid exempli causa admiseris sceleris, indulgeo uero ut multa agere impune queas. Quorum uerborum discrimen diligentissime considerandum est.

Tantus, -ta, -tum et quantus eo modo se habent in aliqua oratione ut raro alterum absque altero ponatur: ut contio haec tanta est quanta ante hac unquam³⁷⁴ fuit; tribuis mihi tantum quantum nec agnosco³⁷⁵ nec pos-tulo; tantum in te est doctrinae quantum in doctissimo solet esse [D4v] uiro; et ita de reliquis.

³⁷⁰ indulget] S, C, Fb, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; indudget Fa

³⁷¹ est (...) et est] Ma, V, Mi, A; est (...) est S, Fb; etiam (...) est C; et (...) est Fa; autem (...) est N

³⁷² Liuius primo ab urbe condita] S, F, V3a, N, A; Liuius in primo ab urbe condita Ma, V1, V2, V3b; vnde Liuius ab urbe condita C; not in Mi

³⁷³ parco do] S, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; et parco F; peto ueniam et parco do C

³⁷⁴ unquam] C, V1, V2, Mi, A; nunquam/numquam S, F, Ma, V3ab, N

³⁷⁵ agnosco] S, C, Fb, Ma, V, Mi, A; agnosco Fa; cognosco N

Gratificor tibi hanc rem (I grant this thing to you) is beautifully employed. And *indulgeo* (in the sense indulge in) is truly a most suitable verb of splendid adornment besides, and it is joined with the dative and means approximately *do operam* (I apply myself to), and thus it is expounded: for example, *hic nimio somno indulget* (he indulges in too much sleep); that is, *nimis dormit* (he sleeps too much). *Nimio cibo indulget* (He indulges in too much food); *nimis comedit* (he eats too much). And so I think similarly regarding other expressions. *Indulgere* (in the sense to grant; accede to) is just as *concedere* (to grant; to yield) and is indeed an extravagant verb designating a certain benignity, and we call *indulgentem parentem* (an indulgent parent) one with a very lenient nature toward their children, for which reason it also greatly differs from *ignosco* (pardon). For in Livy's first book from the founding of the city on, *ignosco*³⁷⁶ is *parco* (spare; pardon), *do ueniam* (give pardon), or *excusatum habeo* (hold excused). Thus, *ignosco tibi* (I pardon you) if, for example's sake, you were to commit any sort of crime, but *indulgeo ut multa agere impune queas* (I allow you to be able to do many things with impunity). The difference between these verbs must be considered most carefully.

Tantus, *-ta*, *-tum* and *quantus* (so great as) function in such a way in a sentence that rarely one is placed without the other: for example, *contio haec tanta est quanta ante hac unquam fuit* (this assembly is as great as ever there was before it); *tribuis mihi tantum quantum nec agnosco nec postulo* (you attribute to me so much as I neither acknowledge nor desire); *tantum in te est doctrinae quantum in doctissimo solet esse uiro* (there is as much of learning in you as there is wont to be in the most learned man); and others likewise.

³⁷⁶ Not in Liv., 1 but 2, 3, 3, where Livy observes that a king is one who 'could become enraged or could give pardon' (*et irasci et ignoscere posse*).

*Talis et qualis alterutrum creberrime ponitur,*³⁷⁷ *raro utrumque ut*³⁷⁸ *talem solemus sentire*³⁷⁹ *bonum uirum et subintelligimus qualem dicimus.* Et contra, *orator est illustris qualis alter nullus reperiatur.* Verum de his satis.

*Vel pro etiam particula multis in locis rectissime congruit, ut Hannibal fuit imperator uel omnium primus; tua eximia*³⁸⁰ *uirtus ut te amem uel maxime impellit.*

*Versor uerbum in frequentissimo usu est ueterum ac disertorum hominum, perdiffusaque est*³⁸¹ *eius uerbi significantia ac uariis denique potest rationibus exponi: ut*³⁸² *uersor in litterarum studio,*³⁸³ *idest do operam litterarum studio.*³⁸⁴ *Virtus circa difficile uersatur: uirtus in difficili consistit. Versamur in tenebris est quasi sumus ac uiuimus et quasi stamus in tenebris.* [par. cont.]

³⁷⁷ ponitur] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; positum F

³⁷⁸ ut] N, Mi; not in S, C, F, Ma, V, A

³⁷⁹ solemus sentire] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; solennis intelligere F

³⁸⁰ eximia] C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; maxima S, F

³⁸¹ est] Ma, V, N, Mi, A; not in S, C, F

³⁸² ut] S, Ma, V, N, Mi; not in C, F, A

³⁸³ studio] C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; studiis S, F

³⁸⁴ idest do operam litterarum studio] C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; not in S, F

Talis (such; of such a kind) and *qualis* (as; of what sort) are most frequently used one at a time, rarely together such as in *talem solemus sentire bonum uirum et subintelligimus qualem dicimus* (we tend to think a good man to be of such a kind as we say he is). In contrast,³⁸⁵ *orator est illustris qualis alter nullus reperiatur* (the orator is so noble that no other such may be found). But enough about these.

The particle *uel* for *etiam* (in the sense even; quite)³⁸⁶ is most rightly suited to many places, such as *Hannibal fuit imperator uel omnium primus* (Hannibal was a general, even the best of all); *tua eximia uirtus ut te amem uel maxime impellit* (your excellent virtue incites me to love you quite as greatly as is possible).

The verb *uersor* (I am involved or situated in; I concern myself with) is in most frequent use among ancient and eloquent men, and the meaning of this verb is widely known and can, in short, be exhibited by various means: for example, *uersor in litterarum studio* (I am involved in the study of literature), that is, *do operam litterarum studio* (I apply myself to the study of literature). *Virtus circa difficile uersatur* (Virtue is involved with the difficult): *uirtus in difficili consistit* (virtue consists in the difficult). *Versamur in tenebris* (We are situated in darkness) is the same as *sumus* (we are) and *uiuimus* (we live) and as it were *stamus* (we stand) *in tenebris* (in darkness). [*par. cont.*]

³⁸⁵ I.e., using one and not both.

³⁸⁶ Dati here observes the use of *uel* with superlatives to signify 'the highest possible degree' (see AG, 291 c).

Et quod exemplis superioribus declaratum est, duos sibi plerunque ac frequentius casus postulat, nam aut accusatio iungitur praeposita *circa* aut ablatiuo *in* praecedente, quoniam *ante fundum uersari, ad portam uersabatur*, perraro dicta sunt. Sed quemadmodum caeteris rebus omnibus, ita huic quoque summa adhibenda est diligentia.

Nonnunquam duae particulae ornatissime coniuguntur [D5r] quarum eadem utriusque sit significatio, ut *enim uero*. Nam pro explenda sententia altera dumtaxat sufficere poterat. Et similiter *sin autem* saepe dicimus cum explendae sententiae eo in loco particula *autem* nullam omnino uim habet.³⁸⁷ *Sin* enim per se³⁸⁸ significat *sed si*.

Quoad pro *quousque* et pro *quando* non minus ornate ponitur quam latine, ut *uolo*³⁸⁹ *in urbe esse quoad redeas*. Ita in plurimis locis consimiliter.

Suscipere non solum, quod tritius uulgatiusque³⁹⁰ est, *supra se accipere* et quodammodo *adducere aliquid*, sed etiam³⁹¹ perornate in epistolis *commendatum habere* significat,³⁹² ut sic: *Suscepit*³⁹³ *Ciceronem Caesar in suis rebus aduersis*, quae³⁹⁴ utique postrema significatio haud quaquam, si quis inspiciat accuratius, a priore illa aliena est.

³⁸⁷ habet] S, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; habeat C, Fb; hebat Fa

³⁸⁸ per se] C, N, Mi; not in S, F, Ma, V, A

³⁸⁹ uolo] C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; nolo S, F

³⁹⁰ tritius uulgatiusque] S, C; tritius uulgatius quod F; tritum uulgatum V1, tritum uulgatumque Ma, V2, V3ab, N, Mi, A

³⁹¹ sed etiam] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; sedent F

³⁹² significat] C; not in S, F, Ma, V, N, Mi, A

³⁹³ suscepit] C, N; suscipit Mi; suscipe F, Ma, V, A; accipe S

³⁹⁴ quae] S, V, Mi; que C, F, Ma, N, A

And by the above examples it is demonstrated that it commonly and very frequently takes two cases, for it is joined with either the accusative and the preposition *circa* or the ablative with *in* preceding, since *ante fundum uersari* (to remain in front of the estate) and *ad portam uersabatur* (he was remaining at the gate) are very rarely said.³⁹⁵ But in the same way as with everything else, so also to this usage one must apply the greatest care.

Frequently two particles are most ornately conjoined, the meaning of either of which may be the same, such as *enim uero* (for indeed; certainly). For either one had been able to suffice merely to convey the sense. Similarly,³⁹⁶ we also often say *sin autem* (but if however) when for conveying the sense in this place the particle *autem* has no impact at all. For *sin* by itself means *sed si* (but if).

Quoad (until) for *quousque* (till when) and for *quando* (when) is placed no less ornately than properly, as in *uolo in urbe esse quoad redeas* (I want to be in town until you return). Thus similarly in many places.

Suscipere not only means *supra se accipere* (to receive) and in some manner *adducere aliquid* (to draw something above oneself), which is very common and well known, but also, used very stylishly in letters, it means *commendatum habere* (to have under one's protection), like this: *Suscepit Ciceronem Caesar in suis rebus aduersis* (Caesar defended Cicero even in his own misfortunes) — which last meaning, even if one were to inspect it more closely, is not at all different from the prior one.³⁹⁷

³⁹⁵ I.e., because instead of having *circa* with the accusative the first has no preposition and the second has *ad*.

³⁹⁶ 'Similiter' seems odd here, as the following example and explanation differ from the preceding one in admitting that one of the two particles could not supply the desired meaning on its own.

³⁹⁷ I.e., *commendatum habere* is the sense of *suscipere* in the example sentence, but this is hardly different from *se accipere*.

Optima illa quoque ratio est ut positiuo cuiquam adiuncta negatio contrarii positiui uim ac significationem teneat, sed non ita plane tamen et accurate illam expleat; cuius rei exempla subiiciamus. *Hic uir est haud improbus* significat enim fere hunc hominem probum potius quam improbum esse habendum. Et *philosophus haud ignobilis*, [D5v] *histrio non illepidus*, *miles non instrenuus*, *ciuis haud quamquam malus*. Nam in his eorumque similibus rectius atque usitatius dicitur quando uis³⁹⁸ laudis cuiusdam est, sed quasi diminutae et quasi defraudatae laudis.³⁹⁹ Quod grammatici frequentius dicunt.

Peto te hanc rem ornatius nec minus latine dici potest quam *peto hanc rem a te*. Et id pulcherrimum Cicero in epistolis consuevit.

Conficior passiuu uoce crebro usitatum est pro eo fere quod est *pereo*, et *confectus sum* quasi *consumptus*.⁴⁰⁰ Vt *uir inops ac miser fame, frigore, labore conficitur*. Et sic *animus aetate studio*⁴⁰¹ *conficitur*, ac *maerore*,⁴⁰² *labore, senio confectus et consumptus*. Et aliis permultis itidem.

³⁹⁸ quando uis] The reading in some later editions, typically abbreviated qñ uis but fully spelled out in *Augustini dati senensis Isagogicus libellus in eloquentie precepta ad andream domini [christofori filium]* (Paris: Georg Mittelhus, 1490; GW, 8094); quamuis S, Ma, V, A; quanuis Mi; queuis C, N; que uis F

³⁹⁹ diminutae (...) defraudatae laudis] diminutae (...) defraudate laudis Mi; diminute (...) diffraudate laudis N; diminutae (...) fraudatae laudis V1, V2, V3b; diminute (...) fraudatae laudis Ma; diminutae (...) fraudate laudis V3a; diminute (...) fraudate laudis A; diminute (...) defraudatis laudibus S, C, F

⁴⁰⁰ consumptus] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; consumptis F

⁴⁰¹ animus (a)etate studio] Ma, V3ab; aetate S; annus etate studio C; aetate studio F; animus aetate aestu V1, Mi; amnis (a)estate (a)estu V2, A; amicus etate estu N

⁴⁰² m(a)erore] C, Ma, V1, V3ab, N, Mi, A; maiore S, F; moerore V2

This method also is excellent, that a negative joined to some positive has the meaning and force of a contrary positive,⁴⁰³ but it does not however completely and precisely spell out that meaning; of which let us add examples. *Hic uir est haud improbus* (This man is hardly dishonest) indeed means approximately that this man must be regarded as honest rather than dishonest. Also, *philosophus haud ignobilis* (a hardly ignoble philosopher), *histrio non illepidus* (a not unskilled performer), *miles non instrenuus* (a not sluggish soldier), *ciuis haud quaquam malus* (a citizen by no means bad). For in these expressions and in others similar to them, this device is used more correctly and typically when there is the force of a certain praise, but as though of a reduced and truncated praise. The grammarians very frequently say this.

Peto te hanc rem (I ask you for this thing) can be said more ornately and not less properly than *peto hanc rem a te* (I ask this thing from you).⁴⁰⁴ And this Cicero in his letters was most accustomed to write most beautifully.

Conficior (I am finished) in the passive voice is very familiar for that which is approximately *pereo* (I perish), and *confectus sum* (I have been finished) is the same as *consumptus* (destroyed). For instance, *uir inops ac miser fame, frigore, labore conficitur* (the poor and wretched man was killed by hunger, cold, and labor). And thus *animus aetate studio conficitur* (by age and study the spirit is killed) and *maerore, labore, senio confectus et consumptus* (killed and destroyed by grief, labor, and old age). And the same with many others.

⁴⁰³ In this paragraph Dati recommends the use of litotes.

⁴⁰⁴ I.e., *peto* with either the accusative of the person asked or the ablative with *a/ab*; see LS, B. 2.b.

Ablatiui casus non solum participiorum uerum etiam nominum aliorum in oratione perconcinne ponuntur, praesertim si qua fuerit significatio temporis. Et de participiis quidem manifestum est: *Regnante Octauiano Caesare parta est uniuerſi*⁴⁰⁵ *orbis pax, quasi qua tempestate regnabat Octauianus Caesar. Et Dionysio Syracusis tyrannidem gerente, grauis-sima in Sicilia bella sunt gesta, in quo tempore Syracusanorum Dionysius [D6r] tyrannus erat.* Sed eodem quoque modo alia quaedam⁴⁰⁶ se habent nomina, maxime uero si dignitatum et honorum extiterint, ut *Cornelio et Galba aedilibus curulibus*⁴⁰⁷ *actae fabulae in theatro sunt.* Quidam addunt participium *existentibus*, sed nos prohibemus, quod ad uenustatem orationis pertinet, addi oportere. Et idem, *Scipione consule Poeni deuicti*⁴⁰⁸ *sunt. Scipione imperatore euersa est Numantia.* Et reliqua huiusmodi pariter.

⁴⁰⁵ uniuerſi] Fa; unieursi Fb; uniuerso S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A.

⁴⁰⁶ quaedam] S, Ma, V, Mi; quedam C, F, N, A

⁴⁰⁷ curulibus] S, N, Mi; currilibus F, V1; currulibus Ma, V2, V3ab, A; consulibus C

⁴⁰⁸ deuicti] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi; deuincti F

Ablative cases not only of participles but also of other nouns are most elegantly placed in a sentence, especially if there should be any reference to time.⁴⁰⁹ And this is indeed evident of participles: *Regnante Octauiano Caesare parta est uniuersi orbis pax* (With Octavius Caesar ruling, peace was achieved in the whole of the world) is the same as *qua tempestate regnabat Octauianus Caesar* (in that time in which Octavius Caesar ruled). And, *Dionysio Syracusis tyrannidem gerente, grauissima in Sicilia bella sunt gesta* (with Dionysius of Syracuse being a tyrant, most grievous war was waged in Sicily), meaning *in quo tempore Syracusanorum Dionysius tyrannus erat* (in that time that Dionysius was the tyrant of the Syracusans). But also certain other nouns function in the same manner, yet most of all if they should concern dignity and honor, as in *Cornelio et Galba aedilibus curulibus actae fabulae in theatro sunt* (with Cornelius and Galba curule magistrates, there were plays in the theater). Certain men add the participle *existentibus* (being), but we forbid that it should be added because it affects the beauty of the sentence. And thus: *Scipione consule Poeni deuincti sunt* (With Scipio consul, the Carthaginians were defeated). *Scipione imperatore euersa est Numantia* (With Scipio general, Numantia was overthrown). And others of this sort similarly.

⁴⁰⁹ In this paragraph Dati recommends the use of the ablative absolute (see AG, 419, 420).

Licet tam grammaticae quam oratoriae genitiuos quorumcumque casualium cum possessiuis quocumque casu prolatis coniungere. Quod et Priscianus tradit,⁴¹⁰ ut *mea causa uenit et caeterorum amicorum; meum agrum et M. Antonii populati sunt; tuo amico ac fratris gratificare; tuum imperatorem sectari et commilitonum; o noster et fratris amice; sua ille confidit et*⁴¹¹ *ciuium prudentia*. Atque ita figuratur⁴¹² constructio in omnibus possessiuis. Hinc Terentii illud: *meo praesidio atque hospitii*.

Idque penitus inspiciendum sit: quin etiam discretionis seu abundantiae cuiusdam gratia solet addi cum genitiuo possessoris et nominatiuus possessiuus *suus*, ut *suus est*⁴¹³ *C. Caesaris mos*, idest eius mos et non alterius. *Suus Titii* [D6v] *filius haeres testamento constitutus est*. *Suus* ut ipse quoque Priscianus exponit, ad discretionem eius *qui secundum leges suus non est*, idest sub potestate patris legitima est.⁴¹⁴ *Suus* autem pro unius cuiusque proprio accipitur. Quod quidem apud uiros eloquentissimos frequens est.

⁴¹⁰ tradit] S, C, Ma, V, Mi, A; tradidit N; not in F

⁴¹¹ et] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; not in F

⁴¹² figuratur] S, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; figatur F; fiat C

⁴¹³ *suus, ut suus est*] V2, A; *ut suus est* C, N, Mi; *suus, est* S, F, Ma, V1; *suus*. Nat ut ommittam A. G[ellius] probatissimus auctor ex scientia quoque ait V3a; *suus*. *Suus est* V3b

⁴¹⁴ *legitima est*] *legittima est* C; *legitimi non est* S, F, Ma, V, N, Mi, A

It is permitted both grammatically and oratorically to join genitives of any declension with possessives formed from any other case. And this Priscian relates,⁴¹⁵ for example *mea causa uenit et caeterorum amicorum* (he comes on my and other friends' account); *meum agrum et M. Antonii populati sunt* (they plundered my and Marc Antony's farm); *tuo amico ac fratris gratificare* (to perform a favor for your and your brother's friend); *tuum imperatorem sectari et commilitonum* (to follow your and your comrades' leader); *o noster et fratris amice* (oh our and our brother's friend); *sua ille confidit et ciuium prudentia* (he trusts his own and his countrymen's prudence). And likewise with all possessives the construction is formed. Hence this line in Terence: *meo praesidio atque hospitibus* (with my and the guest's help).⁴¹⁶

And this must fully be observed: nay indeed for the sake of making a distinction or of a certain copiousness, it is customary that the nominative possessive *suus* be expressed with the genitive of the possessor, as in *suus est C. Caesaris mos* (the manner of Gaius Caesar is his own) — that is, his manner and not any other's. *Suus Titii filius haeres testamento constitutus est* (The son of Titius was appointed his heir in the will). As Priscian himself also exemplifies *suus* to make this distinction,⁴¹⁷ *qui secundum leges suus non est* (he who, according to the law, is not his own), that is, he is under the legal power of a father. *Suus* moreover is understood for what is peculiar to a person. That is indeed frequent among the most eloquent men.

⁴¹⁵ Prisc., 17, 118. The following sentences illustrate the pairing of genitives with possessive pronouns in different cases.

⁴¹⁶ *And.*, 843.

⁴¹⁷ Prisc., 17, 121.

Die quarta,⁴¹⁸ ut Nonius Marcellus etiam testis est, et *die quarto* non idem significant. Sed masculino genere praeteritum tempus designatur,⁴¹⁹ foeminino futurum, quod uetustissimi aliter protulerunt.⁴²⁰ Vt sit *die quarto* pro eo quod aliter *nudius quartus* dicitur, *nudius tertius*, et itidem de aliis.

Tua causa feci et *tui causa feci*: ne praeter ueterum ac doctorum consuetudinem aliquid⁴²¹ efficiamus, inter sese haud mediocriter discernuntur. Nam *tui causa* tunc dicimus si quid ei ad quem sermonem uertimus praestiterimus, ut *tui causa*⁴²² *ad Antonii castra profectus sum*, quod est *tuendi tui gratia*. Sed *tua causa* dicimus quom ut ita dixerim contemplatione⁴²³ aliquid alteri praestiterimus, ut *tua causa fratris tui causam egi*.

Et quia aliquid de his quae ad possessionem spectant locuti sumus, haud ab re fuerit [D7r] differentiam eam proferre in medium quae⁴²⁴ inter genitiuos est primitiui et possessiui *mei*, *tui*, *sui*, *nostri* et *uestri*, quam tandem pulcherrime Priscianus exponit. Vox namque eadem est, at uis ipsa longe diuersa, quum genitiuus primitiui simpliciter significat possessionem, possessiui uero duplicem; ut *mei amicus* est *meus amicus*, [par. cont.]

⁴¹⁸ *die quarta*] S, C, F, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; see note to translation

⁴¹⁹ *designatur*] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; designat F

⁴²⁰ *quod uetustissimi aliter protulerunt*] S, C, Mi, A; *quod uetustissimi tamen aliter protulerunt* Ma, V; *femininum positium quod uetustissimi protulerunt* F, but misplaced to the end of this paragraph; the phrase is likewise misplaced in N, starting with the words *feminino futurum* moved from the end of the original sentence

⁴²¹ *aliquid*] C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; id S, F

⁴²² *causa*] S, C, Fb, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; *cansa* Fa

⁴²³ *contemplatione*] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; *tua contemplationem* Fa; *tua contemplatione* Fb

⁴²⁴ *quae*] S, Mi; *que* C, F, N, A; not in Ma, V

Die quarta (four days hence), as Nonius Marcellus is indeed witness, and *die quarto* (four days ago) do not mean the same thing.⁴²⁵ But in the masculine gender past time is designated, in the feminine the future, which most ancient writers indicated by other means.⁴²⁶ In this manner let *die quarto* stand for what otherwise is said *nudius quartus* (four days ago), *nudius tertius* (three days ago), and others likewise.

Tua causa feci (I did so for your sake) and *tui causa feci* (I did so for the sake of you): lest we produce something contrary to the custom of ancient and learned writers, there is not a trivial distinction between these. For we say *tui causa* on an occasion if we had performed some service for the one to whom we are directing the sentence, as in *tui causa ad Antonii castra profectus sum* (for the sake of you I advanced to Antony's camp), that is, *tuendi tui gratia* (for the sake of protecting you). But we say *tua causa* when, so to speak, we have performed some service to another out of consideration, as in *tua causa fratris tui causam egi* (for your sake I pleaded the case of your brother).

And because we have said something about those words that concern possession, it would hardly be a digression to make known that difference which exists between the primitive and possessive use of the genitives *mei*, *tui*, *sui*, *nostri* and *uestri*, which after all Priscian explains most beautifully.⁴²⁷ For indeed the word is the same, but the meaning itself differs greatly, since the primitive genitive simply signifies possession, but the possessive is double; for example, *mei amicus* (friend of mine) is *meus amicus* (my friend), [*par. cont.*]

⁴²⁵ Non., 441. W. M. Lindsay, Nonius's editor, corrects *quarta* in the MSS to *quarte* following Gell., 10, 24, 10 (cf. LS, *quartus*). Nonius does not make the distinction that Dati does between *quarta* and *quarto* as feminine and masculine forms of the adjective.

⁴²⁶ I.e., the ante-classical *die quarte* (see previous note).

⁴²⁷ Prisc., 17, 129.

sed *mei filii amicus* duplicem possessionem continet, alteram in *meo filio* alteram *filii in amico*. Quod eo subnectimus ne, quum ornatum requirimus, uerborum uim ignoremus ipsam atque in errorem quempiam imprudenter incidamus. Sed instituta persequamur.

Haec res mihi in mentem uenit dicitur, et⁴²⁸ cum genitiuo *huius mihi rei in mentem uenit*, nec⁴²⁹ *mihi curae est*. An pro nominatiuo genitiuus positus sit, utrunque uero non solum poetae sed etiam M. Cicero usurpauit.⁴³⁰

Oratores sicut etiam poetae persaepe praesentibus temporibus utuntur pro praeteritis, non nunquam pro futuris, uerum id multo rarius quidem. Sed econtra haud crebro fit, nisi forte *inquam* uerbum, quod futuri temporis est, praeteriti loco uel praesentis accipiamus. Sed multa quae super his dici possunt in aliud potius tempus [D7v] seruamus.

Similis et plenus nomina: quorum prius⁴³¹ datiuo iungitur, posterius etiam ablatiuo. Oratores ut plurimum ac fere semper genitiuo coniungunt, ut *similis est tuorum maiorum; dignitatis officii plenus*. Uero non nunquam sed perraro proferuntur⁴³² cum superioribus casibus.

⁴²⁸ dicitur et] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; et dicitur F

⁴²⁹ nec] S, C, Ma, V2, V3ab, Mi, A; Haec F; nce V1; hec res N

⁴³⁰ usurpauit] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; usurpat F

⁴³¹ prius] C, Ma, V, Mi; et prius S, F; prius etiam N; etiam prius A

⁴³² proferuntur] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; profertur F

but *mei filii amicus* (the friend of my brother) contains a double possession, the one in my brother (*meo filio*), the other in the friend of a brother (*filii in amico*). We add this lest, when we require something adorned, we are ignorant of the very meaning of words and fall into some error imprudently. But let us go on with what we have begun.

Haec res mihi in mentem uenit (this matter comes to mind to me) is said, and with the genitive, *huius mihi rei in mentem uenit*,⁴³³ though not in the expression *mihi curae est* (to me there is sorrow).⁴³⁴ But as for whether the genitive may be put for the nominative, indeed not only poets but also Marcus Cicero used either one.

Also, orators in the same way as poets very often employ present tenses for preterit tenses, sometimes for future ones, though that is much more rare indeed. But the contrary is not at all frequent, unless by chance the verb *inquam* (I say), which is of the future tense,⁴³⁵ we understand in place of a preterit or present tense. But many things which can be said about these above matters we attend to better at another time.

The nouns *similis* (similar) and *plenus* (full): the first of these is joined with the dative, the latter also with the ablative. Orators for the most part and indeed almost always join it with the genitive,⁴³⁶ such as in *similis est tuorum maiorum* (he is similar to your ancestors); *dignitatis officii plenus* (full of the dignity of office). Yet sometimes, though very rarely, they are placed with the above cases.⁴³⁷

⁴³³ Dati is exemplifying (in *huius rei*) a use of the genitive by analogy with that frequently used with the verb of remembering, *memini* (see AG, 350).

⁴³⁴ I.e., in this expression *curae* is in the dative not the genitive.

⁴³⁵ I.e., the contrary practice of using a future tense for a preterit or present tense is rare unless we count the special case of *inquam*, which Dati states is technically a future tense form yet, as a defective verb, *inquam* is the form used for the present and often the preterit tenses, while the future tense is lacking.

⁴³⁶ Cf. AG, 385 b.2, 409 a. N.

⁴³⁷ I.e., the orators sometimes, though rarely, use the dative and ablative cases that others commonly employ.

Saepe numero maioris significantiae causa uel ornatissime imperatiuis subiunctiua iunguntur, quod Cicero saepe efficere solebat. Quale est illud: *cura ut uir sis*; et alio loco scribens ad filium, *effice et elabora ut excellas*.

Decurritur spatium, coenatur rhombus,⁴³⁸ *prandetur turtur*, consimiliaque pulcherrime dicuntur. Atque sicut absoluta interdum uerba obliquis casibus adiunguntur, ita transitiva quoque licet non nunquam non solum pro grammaticorum more sed pro oratorum consuetudine absolute proferre, praesertim uero si qua sui passio cum actione ipsa significatur. Qualia illa sunt: *amo, lugeo, rubeo, metuo*, quae tamen transitiva sunt, non nunquam absolute proferuntur.

Quae in *-bundus* exeunt nomina non tam similitudinem significant, quod plerique arbitrantur, quam abundantiam quandam potius ac [D8r] uehementiam, ut *gloriabundus*, non tam *glorianti* similis quam abunde sese uehementerque efferens. Quam opinionem eruditissimorum hominum testimoniis comprobata tu quoque firmiter amplectere. Nam ut reliquos⁴³⁹ omittam, A. Gellius auctor probatissimus ex sententia quoque doctissimi Apollinaris *laetabundus* dicitur, inquit, qui⁴⁴⁰ abunde laetus est.⁴⁴¹ *Errabundus* qui longo atque abundanti errore ductus est. Et tu quoque eisdem utere nominibus.

⁴³⁸ rhombus] S, F, V2, A; rombus V1; pannis C; rationibus Ma, V3ab, N, Mi

⁴³⁹ reliquos] C; alios V2, V3ab, N, Mi, A; not in S, F, Ma, V1

⁴⁴⁰ inquit qui] C, V, N, Mi; inquit quid A; qui F; in quod qui Ma; not in S

⁴⁴¹ abunde l(a)etus est] C, Ma, V1, V3ab, Mi; habunde letus est N; abunde laetus S, F, A; not in V2 (where this sentence is conflated with the next)

Very often for the sake of greater impact, subjunctives are joined very ornately with imperatives, the which Cicero was often wont to do. Of the sort is this: *cura ut uir sis* (take care that you be a man);⁴⁴² and in another place writing to his son, *effice et elabora ut excellas* (take pains and make sure that you excel).⁴⁴³

Decurritur spatium (the space is traversed), *coenatur rhombus* (the turbot is eaten), *prandetur turtur* (the turtle-dove is eaten) and the like are very beautifully said. And in the same way that absolute verbs⁴⁴⁴ are now and then adjoined with oblique cases, so it is also commonly permitted to use transitive verbs absolutely, not only according to the custom of grammarians but also the practice of orators, but especially if any feeling of theirs is signified along with the action itself. Of such sorts are these: *amo* (love), *lugeo* (mourn), *rubeo* (redden with shame), *metuo* (fear), which though they are transitives are sometimes said absolutely.

Nouns which end in *-bundus* do not so much signify similitude, which many people believe, but rather a certain abundance and vigor, as in *gloriabundus* (glorying; exulting) — which does not so much mean similar to *glorians* (boasting; vaunting) but extolling oneself abundantly and vehemently. This opinion, approved by the evidence of the most erudite writers, you too should firmly embrace. For inasmuch as I shall omit others, the most approved author Aulus Gellius says that in the judgment also of the most learned Apollinaris, one who is abundantly joyful is called *laetabundus* (extremely joyful).⁴⁴⁵ One who has been drawn into very far and wide wandering is *errabundus* (wandering to and fro). You too make use of these nouns.

⁴⁴² *Cat.*, 3, 12.

⁴⁴³ This phrase is twice attributed in Prisc. to 'Cicero in I epistularum ad filium', at 8, 96 and 10, 36.

⁴⁴⁴ I.e., intransitives, without a direct object. On using transitive verbs 'absolutely, i.e. without any object expressed', as Dati recommends in the following sentences, see AG, 273, N. 2.

⁴⁴⁵ Gell., 11, 15, 8 (this and the example following).

Fretus, -ta, -tum incertae originis et ablatiuo iunctum pulcherrimum est, et significat fere *confisum* ac *munitum*, ut *uestra humanitate fretus, uestra fretus sapientia, non mea uirtute fretus*.

Certiolem facere usitate ac frequenter in epistolis usurpatur. Nam *facio te de hac re certiolem* est tibi *significo hanc rem*, ut *saepissime uelim me de tua ualitudine facias per litteras certiolem*.

Habeo uaria constructione figuratum plurimum ornatus habet, ut *bene haec res se habet*, quod est fere ut ita dicam: *stat bene haec res*. Et ita *bene me habeo* et cum participiis *bene me habens redeo rure*. Et contrarium aduerbium ei similiter uerbo iungitur, quod est *male*.

[D8v] Participia saepenumero temporis futuri ornatissime usurpantur, ut *scripturus sum ad Scipionem litteras*, quod est fere *debeo scribere*. Et aliud: *tu ad aedes*⁴⁴⁶ *Crassi iturus es*, quasi *ire debes*. *Cicero est Athenas profecturus*, idest⁴⁴⁷ *debet Athenas proficisci*. [*par. cont.*]

⁴⁴⁶ (a)edes] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; caedes F

⁴⁴⁷ idest] N, Mi; est C; not in S, F, Ma, V, A

Fretus, -ta, -tum (relying on; trusting to) is of uncertain origin⁴⁴⁸ and is most beautiful joined with the ablative, and it means approximately *confisum* (trusted to) and *munitum* (defended by), such as in *uestra humanitate fretus* (trusting in our humanity), *uestra fretus sapientia* (relying on our wisdom), *non mea uirtute fretus* (not trusting in my virtue).

Certio rem facere (to make more certain; to inform) is used familiarly and frequently in letters. For *facio te de hac re certio rem* (I make you more certain about this matter; I inform you about this matter) is *tibi significo hanc rem* (I indicate this matter to you), as in *saepissime uelim me de tua ualitudine facias per litteras certio rem* (I wish that you would inform me in letters about your health as often as possible).

Habeo (have; hold) formed in any construction has very much adornment, as in *bene haec res se habet* (this affair holds [or maintains itself] well), which is approximately as I would say thus: *stat bene haec res* (this affair stands well). Likewise also *bene me habeo* (I keep myself well), and with participles *bene me habens redeo rure* (I return from the country keeping myself well). And the contrary adverb, that is *male* (badly), is similarly joined with this verb.

Very often participles of future time are most ornately used, as in *scripturus sum ad Scipionem litteras* (I am about to write letters to Scipio; I am intending to write letters to Scipio), which is approximately *debeo scribere* (I ought to write).⁴⁴⁹ And another: *tu ad aedes Crassi iturus es* (you are intending to go to the house of Crassus), which is about the same as *ire debes* (you ought to go). *Cicero est Athenas profecturus* (Cicero is intending to set out for Athens), that is, *debet Athenas proficisci* (he ought to set out for Athens). [*par. cont.*]

⁴⁴⁸ LS identifies the Sanskrit root.

⁴⁴⁹ I.e., Dati emphasizes the use of the future active participle to imply intention (see AG, 499, 2).

*Plancus*⁴⁵⁰ in *Cyprum traiecturus est*, quod est fere *nauigare debet in Cyprum*. Quod idcirco ita exposuimus, quoniam is *hinc* proprie *nauigare*, *hinc transmittere*, *hinc soluere*⁴⁵¹ dicitur quum⁴⁵² locum significat unde proficiscimur. Is demum *traicere* dicitur, quod in calce significat⁴⁵³ qui rate uehitur, ut *Cicero soluit Athenis et in Asiam traiecit*. Verum ad propositum redeundum est. Illa igitur participia quae a uerbis manant passiuus passiuus⁴⁵⁴ quoque exponi debent, ut *cuius insons est animus: multandus non est*, idest *multari et puniri non debet*. *Sontes accusandi sunt*, idest *accusari debent*. *Vir flagitiosus est trudendus in carcerem, conii-ciendus in uincula*. Et alia reliqua exponantur⁴⁵⁵ ut supra docuimus. Nec tamen negauerim quin eorundem participiorum aliqua quoque ratio sit; sed ea nos⁴⁵⁶ modo persequimur impraesentiarum quae uenustius eloquium reddunt.⁴⁵⁷

Quid *repeto*? Numne pulcherrime ponitur [E1r] si quid ei accesserit? neque accusatiuus solum casus, sed etiam ablatiuus, ut *repeto hanc rem memoria*, quae non *teneo*⁴⁵⁸ *memoria* significare permulti existimant sed potius *memoria uoluto*. *Reminiscor* est quasi *obliuioni traditam rem rursum inuestigo memoria*. [par. cont.]

⁴⁵⁰ *Plancus*] S, V, Mi, A; *Plantus* C, Ma; *Plautus* F, N

⁴⁵¹ is *hinc* proprie *nauigare*, *hinc transmittere*, *hinc soluere*] The reading in some later editions, e.g., *De variis loquendi siue vario dictandi modo ad Andream Senensem ysagogicus libellus* (Cologne: Heinrich Quentel, 1490; *GW*, 8093); is proprie *nauigare*, is *transmittere*, is *soluere* S, C, F, Ma, V, N, Mi, A

⁴⁵² quum] S, C; cum N; quem F; quod V1; eum Ma, V2, V3ab, Mi, A

⁴⁵³ quod in calce significat] quod in calce dicitur significat F; quod calcem designat S, V, N, A; quod calce designat Ma; quod calcem siue rathem significant C; quod eundem designat Mi

⁴⁵⁴ passiuus] Mi; et passiuus S, C, Ma, V, N, F, A

⁴⁵⁵ exponantur] C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; not in S, F

⁴⁵⁶ nos] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; non F

⁴⁵⁷ reddunt] C, Ma, V, Mi, A; reddant S, F, N

⁴⁵⁸ teneo] Ma, V, N, Mi, A; tenere C; tenetur F; this clause not in S

Plancus in Cyprum traiecturus est (Plancus is about to cross over to Cyprus), which is approximately *naugare debet in Cyprum* (he ought to sail to Cyprus). We have explained it thus because correctly a person is said *hinc naugare* (to sail hence), *hinc transmittere* (to cross over hence), *hinc soluere* (to set sail hence) when one signifies the place from which we set out. But the person finally is said *traicere* (to make the voyage), which verb in the end refers to the one who is being conveyed in the ship, as in *Cicero soluit Athenis et in Asiam traiecit* (Cicero departed from Athens and crossed over to Asia). But we must return to the purpose. Those participles then which originate from passive verbs⁴⁵⁹ also ought to be used passively, as in *cuius insons est animus: mulctandus non est* (his soul is guiltless: he must not be sentenced), that is, *mulctari et puniri non debet* (he ought not to be sentenced and punished). *Sontes accusandi sunt* (The guilty must be accused); that is, *accusari debent* (they ought to be accused). *Vir flagitiosus est trudendus in carcerem, coniiciendus in uincula* (The disgraceful man must be thrust into prison, thrown into chains). Let other expressions be formed as we explained above. I would not deny, nevertheless, but that there may also be some other method for certain participles; but at present we follow only these that render the more beautiful eloquence.

What about *repeto* (return to; recall)? Is it not very beautifully placed if anything should be added to it? — and not only the accusative case but also the ablative, as in *repeto hanc rem memoria* (I recall this matter in memory), which very many judge to mean not *teneo memoria* (I hold in memory) but rather *memoria uoluto* (I turn over in the memory). *Reminiscor* (I recollect) is about the same as *obliuioni traditam rem rursum inuestigo memoria* (I again recover by memory a matter given over to oblivion). [*par. cont.*]

⁴⁵⁹ I.e., the perfect and future passive participles, the latter appearing in the example sentences that follow.

Hoc nos uerbo ornatissime uti poterimus quando et eodem oratores et ueteres eloquentissimi frequenter usi sunt. Hinc illud de oratore Ciceronis libro: *cogitanti mihi et memoria uetera repetenti*. Et Aphricanus a Naeuio⁴⁶⁰ accusatus tribuno plebis quod ab Antiocho pecuniam accepisset commodissime eo uerbo usus: *Memoria, inquit, quirites, repeto hunc diem hodiernum esse quo Hannibalem Poenum inimicissimum huic imperio uici in terra Aphrica*⁴⁶¹ *et pacem nobis ac uictoriam peperim inseparabilem*. Verum captus ingenti uoluptate longius in Aphricani⁴⁶² uerbis referendis progressus sum. Quamobrem ad nostrum institutum referat se oratio.

Optimum factu fuerit ne eisdem⁴⁶³ aut modis orationis aut uerbis utamur: ut initio diximus, uaria plurimum probatur oratio et si ueluti⁴⁶⁴ eruditus quibusdam flosculis aspergitur, ut pro [E1v] *mori diem obire, mortem oppetere*,⁴⁶⁵ *animam expirare*,⁴⁶⁶ *uita decedere*,⁴⁶⁷ *animam efflare, uita defungi, rebus humanis excedere, e uita migrare, res deserere humanas, exire de uita, obire mortem, interire, occidere, consimiliaque*. Et item pro *uiuere uitam agere, degere aetatem*.

⁴⁶⁰ N(a)euius] Ma, V1, V3b, N, Mi; Venio S, F; Menio C, V2, A; Honio V3a

⁴⁶¹ in terra Aphrica] S, C, Ma, V, Mi, A, and modern editions of Gell. (see note to translation); intra aphricam F, N

⁴⁶² aphricani/affricani] The reading in some later editions, e.g. *Augustinus datus. Eloquentissimi viri ac precipui oratorie artis doctoris Augustini senensis de variis loquendi regulis siue poetarum preceptis tractatus* (Heidelberg: Printer of Lindelbach, 1486; GW, 8126); af(f)ricam / aphricam S, C, F, Ma, V, N, Mi, A

⁴⁶³ eisdem] S, C, Ma, V1, V3ab, N, Mi; iisdem V2, A; his F

⁴⁶⁴ si ueluti] Ma, V, N, A; sic ueluti C; si S, F; si ueluti dixi Mi

⁴⁶⁵ oppetere] N, Mi; appetere C, F, Ma, V (scribal change to oppetere in Bodleian copy of V1); A; this phrase not in S

⁴⁶⁶ expirare] Ma, V, Mi, A; spirare C, F; exspirare N; this phrase not in S

⁴⁶⁷ decedere] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; discedere F

We will be able to use this verb most ornately, since the most eloquent orators and ancients frequently have used the same. Hence this from Cicero's book on oratory: *cogitanti mihi et memoria uetera repetenti* (while meditating and recalling old things to memory).⁴⁶⁸ And Scipio Africanus, accused by Naevius, tribune of the people, of having accepted money from King Antiochus, most suitably used this verb: *Memoria*, he said, *quirites, repeto hunc diem hodiernum esse quo Hannibalem Poenum inimicissimum huic imperio uici in terra Aphrica et pacem nobis ac uictoriam pepererim inseperabilem* (I recall in memory, citizens, that this is the very day on which, in Africa, I conquered Hannibal the Carthaginian, most hostile to this empire, and procured permanent victory and peace for us).⁴⁶⁹ But I have gone on too long relating a story about Scipio, captivated by great delight of the mind. Let his speech return us then to our lesson.

It would best be done that we not use the same words or modes of speech: as we said at the beginning, varied speech is approved most, if also it is, as it were, besprinkled by certain erudite ornaments, such as for *mori* (to die) *diem obire* (to meet one's day), *mortem oppetere* (to meet death), *animam expirare* (to breathe out life), *uita decedere* (to depart from life), *animam efflare* (to breathe out life), *uita defungi* (to finish life), *rebus humanis excedere* (to depart from human affairs), *e uita migrare* (to move on from life), *res deserere humanas* (to give up human affairs), *exire de uita* (to leave life), *obire mortem* (to meet death), *interire* (to perish), *occidere* (to die), and the like. And similarly for *uiuere* (to live) *uitam agere* (to spend life), *degere aetatem* (to pass the age).

⁴⁶⁸ *De Or.*, 1, 1.

⁴⁶⁹ Reported in Gell., 4, 18, 3 (approximate quotation).

Et ne sigillatim cuncta⁴⁷⁰ complectar, illud quoque hoc loco animaduertendum sit, quod sicut dicimus saepe *ludo ludum, pugno pugnam, seruo servitute[m], doleo dolorem* et similia, ita interdum *uiuio uitam, uiuo felicem* seu *miseram uitam*, ut si quis dixerit *qui expeditam uirtutem fuerint consecrati*⁴⁷¹ *hi uiuent*⁴⁷² *beatam et immortalem uitam* et *qui praeclarum certamen certauerit amplissimis donabitur muneribus*. Et quod de uariis orationis modis dicimus, id ipsum de singulis partibus orationis intelligendum est, ut pro *oro rogo, precor, obsecro*; pro *quasi poene*,⁴⁷³ *fere, ferme*. Reliqua tu ipse coniecta.

Id genus pro eius generis, quod fere simile nomen exprimit, pulchre et usitate dicitur, ut⁴⁷⁴ *multa sunt id genus monstra; de multis id genus rebus locutus sum*, quod est *similibus*; [E2r] et ita de aliis.

Ex sententia quasi secundum uoluntatem et prospere, ut *res gesta est ex sententia*, quod est *pro*⁴⁷⁵ *ut optabamus*, et *id tibi euenit ex sententia*. Et multis in locis consimiliter.

⁴⁷⁰ cuncta] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; concta F

⁴⁷¹ fuerint consecrati] C, V, Mi, A; fuerit consecrati Ma; uolunt consecrari S; fuerunt consecuti F; fuerint confecti N

⁴⁷² uiuent] S, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; uiuunt C; inuenient F

⁴⁷³ poene] F; pene S, C, Ma, V2, V3ab, N, A; not in V1, Mi (see note to translation)

⁴⁷⁴ ut] C; not in S, F, Ma, V, N, Mi, A

⁴⁷⁵ pro] F, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; not in S, C

And that I not explain everything separately, this also should here be observed: that just as we often say *ludo ludum* (I play the game), *pugno pugnam* (I fight the fight), *seruio servitatem* (I am subject to subjection), *doleo dolorem* (I grieve the grief) and similar others, so sometimes *uiuo uitam* (I live life), *uiuo felicem* or *miseram uitam* (I live a happy or wretched life), as if one were to say *qui expeditam uirtutem fuerint consecrati hi uiuent beatam et immortalem uitam* (those who would pursue unadulterated virtue will live a blessed and immortal life) and *qui praeclarum certamen certauerit amplissimis donabitur muneribus* (he who would fight a noble fight will be given the greatest rewards). And that which we say about different modes of speech,⁴⁷⁶ the very same must be understood of single parts of speech, such as for *oro* (plead) *rogo* (ask), *precor* (entreat), *obsecro* (implore); for *quasi* (as if; just as) *poene* (barely),⁴⁷⁷ *fere* (almost; approximately), *ferme* (nearly). The rest you yourself conjecture.

Id genus for *eius generis* (of this kind),⁴⁷⁸ which expresses approximately the same noun, is beautifully and commonly said, such as in *multa sunt id genus monstra* (there are many portents of this kind); *de multis id genus rebus locutus sum* (I spoke about many matters of this kind), that is, *similibus* (about similar ones); and likewise others.

Ex sententia (to one's mind or liking) is about the same as *secundum uoluntatem* (according to one's desire) and *prospere* (favorably; agreeably to one's wishes),⁴⁷⁹ as in *res gesta est ex sententia* (the deed is to one's liking), which is *pro ut optabamus* (according as we desire), and *id tibi euenit ex sententia* (it turned out to your liking). Also similarly in many places.

⁴⁷⁶ I.e., that variation is best.

⁴⁷⁷ This use of *poenelpene* is post-classical; V1 and Mi delete it.

⁴⁷⁸ Dati recommends the accusative of description over the genitive (see LS, *genus*, II.B 1.b, 'omne, hoc, id, quod genus, for omnis, huius, eius, cuius generis').

⁴⁷⁹ See LS, *sententia*, I.A 2.

Inferre iniuriam quasi iniuriam facere. Manus afferre alicui est aliquem pulsare. Impetum in quempiam facere est⁴⁸⁰ ferire quempiam cum impetu et quasi ui adoriri⁴⁸¹ et irruere. Dare ueniam pulcherrime est ignoscere et licentiam concedere.

Ab initio aetatis habui te amicum: a teneris annis,⁴⁸² a paruulo. A primis aetatis temporibus: a teneris, ut graeci dicunt, unguiculis. Ab incunabulis ipsis amicitia mihi tecum est. Iniens aetas adolescentiam significat.

Ferire foedus optime atque optimis causis et foecialium consuetudine significat foedus componere, ut persaepe ictum seu percussum foedus est constitutum et compositum.

Est mihi nomen Scipioni; Scipioni cognomen Aphricano fuit; cui pago Troiano nomen erat; et sic de reliquis datiuo casu perusitate et pulcherrime dicitur. Quae eadem et aliis quoque modis dicuntur, sed frequentius [E2v] modos superiores apud eloquentissimos et doctissimos inuenies.

⁴⁸⁰ est] C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; not in S, F

⁴⁸¹ ui adoriri] S, V, N, Mi, A; ui adire C; inadoriri F; ut odoriri Ma

⁴⁸² annis] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; not in F

Inferre iniuriam (to inflict injury) is the same as *iniuriam facere* (to do injury). *Manus afferre alicui* (to bear a fist to someone) is *aliquem pulsare* (to strike someone). *Impetum in quempiam facere* (to do violence against someone) is *ferire quempiam cum impetu* (to hit someone with violence) and about the same as *ui adoriri* (to assault with force) and *irruere* (to make an attack). *Dare ueniam* (to give pardon) is very beautifully *ignoscere* (to forgive) and *licentiam concedere* (to grant leave; to forgive).

Ab initio aetatis habui te amicum (I held you a friend from the beginning of my lifetime): *a teneris annis* (from tender years), *a paruulo* (from a small boy). *A primis aetatis temporibus* (from the first times of life): *a teneris* (from early youth), as the Greeks say *unguiculis* (from infancy). *Ab incunabulis ipsis amicitia mihi tecum est* (My friendship with you is from the very cradle). *Iniens aetas* (entering age) means *adolescentia* (adolescence).

Ferire foedus (to strike a treaty) is very fine and well grounded, and by custom of the fetial priests means *foedus componere* (to arrange a treaty), as very often a treaty is arranged and settled by a blow or drum-beat.⁴⁸³

Est mihi nomen Scipioni (my name is Scipio);⁴⁸⁴ *Scipioni cognomen Africano fuit* (Scipio's surname was Africanus); *cui pago Troiano nomen erat* (the region's name was Trojan); and thus very commonly and beautifully it is said of others with the dative case. These things and others are also said by other means, but more frequently you will encounter the methods above among the most eloquent and learned.

⁴⁸³ Dati alludes to the expression *ictus foederis*, the conclusion of a treaty (LS, *ictus*, II.B).

⁴⁸⁴ In this paragraph Dati recommends the dative of possession, frequent with *nomen est* (see AG, 373a).

Quum tritum uerbum⁴⁸⁵ uolumus ostendere et quod in ore populi est, utimur uel impersonali *fertur* uel personali uerbo *aiunt*, et nonnunquam *dicitur*. Et eis singulis *ut* praeponimus et raro *ita* et interdum *quod*. Exempla⁴⁸⁶ huiusmodi sunt *nam Syrenas, ut aiunt, surda debemus aure transire*; et item *nam ita*⁴⁸⁷ *fertur, ut nusquam tuta sit fides*;⁴⁸⁸ item, *haud*⁴⁸⁹ *turpe est, quod dicitur, tumultuantem de gradu eiici*.⁴⁹⁰

Nonnunquam ita dicimus: *noctem super*⁴⁹¹ *mediam uigilamus*, quod est *ultra mediam noctem*. Idque et Seruius ipse testatur, et quorundam ueterum comprobatur auctoritas.⁴⁹²

Contra sermonem tuum tendo, idest *respondeo tibi*. Sicut et *tendo contra tuum*⁴⁹³ *iter est tibi occurro*. Sed *haud* in frequenti oratorum usu inuenies.

Macte magis aucte est et⁴⁹⁴ *gloriae ac laudis sermo*,⁴⁹⁵ et plerunque ablatiuo iungitur, ut *macte uirtute esto*.⁴⁹⁶ Est id quod poetae⁴⁹⁷ usurpant et scriptores historiarum et demum oratores ipsi, qui sermo, ut multi eruditissimi tradunt, a sacris deductus est.

⁴⁸⁵ tritum uerbum] S, Fb, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; consuetum tritumquoque aliquid C; tutum uerbum Fa

⁴⁸⁶ exempla] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; ex F

⁴⁸⁷ nam ita] C, V2, N, Mi, A; nam si ita F; non ita S, Ma, V1, V3ab

⁴⁸⁸ C adds cum infidelibus

⁴⁸⁹ item haud] Mi; haud C; item minime Ma, V, A; item N; not in F; this clause not in S

⁴⁹⁰ eiici] S, C, F, V2, V3ab, A; deiici Ma, V1, Mi and modern editions of *Off.* (see note to translation); deiici N

⁴⁹¹ super] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; supra F

⁴⁹² comprobatur au(c)toritas] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; comprobatur auctoritate F

⁴⁹³ tuum] C; not in S, F, Ma, V, N, Mi, A

⁴⁹⁴ est et] S; et est C, N; et F, Ma, V, Mi, A

⁴⁹⁵ sermo] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; firem F

⁴⁹⁶ esto] C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; not in S, F (see note to translation)

⁴⁹⁷ poetae] V1, V3ab, Mi; poete C, F, Ma, V2, N, A; not in S

When we want to indicate that a saying is common and in the mouth of the people, we use either the impersonal verb *fertur* (it is said) or the personal *aiunt* (they say), and sometimes *dicitur* (it is said). And we place before each one *ut*, and rarely *ita*, and sometimes *quod*. Examples of this method are *nam Syrenas, ut aiunt, surda debemus aure transire* (for as they say, we ought to pass by Sirens with a deaf ear); and similarly, *nam ita fertur, nusquam tuta sit fides* (for thus it is said, nowhere may there be complete trust⁴⁹⁸); likewise, *haud turpe est, quod dicitur, tumultuantem de gradu eiici* (not at all disgracefully is he, as it is said, thrown off his feet in confusion).⁴⁹⁹

Sometimes we say thus: *noctem super mediam uigilaui* (we were awake beyond midnight), that is, *ultra mediam noctem* (past midnight). And this Servius himself also attests, and the authority of certain ancient authors proves this.⁵⁰⁰

Contra sermonem tuum tendo (I reply to [literally, contend against] your speech), that is, *respondeo tibi* (I respond to you). And thus, *tendo contra tuum iter* (I travel up your road) is *tibi occurro* (I run to meet you). But you will not find this in frequent use among orators.

Macte (well done!) is *magis aucte* (go on the more!) and a saying of glory and praise, and it is mostly joined with the ablative, as in *macte uirtute esto* (be blessed for your valor!).⁵⁰¹ This is the way that poets and writers of histories and indeed the orators themselves use the word, which as many of the most eloquent men relate was drawn from the sacred.⁵⁰²

⁴⁹⁸ C adds 'with infidels'; see note to text.

⁴⁹⁹ A variation on a sentence in Cicero's *Off.*, 1, 23, 80.

⁵⁰⁰ Serv. on *Aen.*, 9, 61.

⁵⁰¹ Both *macte uirtute* (S, F) and *macte uirtute esto* (V, C, M, A) are common and translated variously according to context; see LS 1. *mactus* II and cf. (representing the range of writers to whom Dati presumably alludes in the following sentence) Cic., *Att.*, 12, 6, 2; Sen., *Ep.*, 66, 50; Liv., 10, 40; Verg., *Aen.*, 9, 641.

⁵⁰² See LS, 1. *mactus*, I, the word's Greek root meaning 'blessed' and earliest used in Latin 'in the religious language of the gods'.

Quotiens alicuius explicaturi sumus siue genus siue locum, gentile et patrium nomen [E3r] effingimus, quod qui secus effecerit fortasse non latine locutus sit sed⁵⁰³ illepide penitus ac indecore. Vt qui fuerit a Syracusis oriundus non *de Syracusis* dicendum est sed *Syracusanus*; non *de Athenis* sed *Atheniensis*; non *de Senis* sed *Senensis*;⁵⁰⁴ non *de Clusio* sed *Clusinus*.⁵⁰⁵ Atque in generibus et familiis non de cum ablatiuo utimur, ut multi, sed inde nomen efficimus. Vt non *de Scauris* sed *Scaurus*; non *de Gracchis* sed *Gracchus*; non *de Catulis* sed *Catulus*; non *de Datis* sed *Datus*.⁵⁰⁶ Quam quidem ad rem id merito afferendum sit quod Plinius ipse aiebat: quod deriuationes firmas non habent regulas sed exeunt terminanturque⁵⁰⁷ uti ipsis auctoribus placet. Sicut *a Tauro Taureum* et *Taurinum*⁵⁰⁸ dicimus, et quos nos *Romanos* dicimus dicunt Graeci *Romaeos*;⁵⁰⁹ quos nos *Carthaginenses* illi *Carchidonaeos*.⁵¹⁰ Sed in *-ensis*, in *-us*, atque in *-as* quae⁵¹¹ ad loca pertinent frequentiores terminationes sunt, ut *Albanensis*, *Cremonensis*, *Veronensis*, *Salaminus*, *Mitylenus*, *Thebanus*, *Corinthus*, *Lacedaemonius*, *Syracusanus*, *Arpinas*.⁵¹² [*par. cont.*]

⁵⁰³ sed] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; sic F

⁵⁰⁴ non de senis sed sedensis] N; non de sene, sed senensis S, C, F; not in Ma, V, Mi, A

⁵⁰⁵ clusio, sed clusinus] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; dusio, sed dusinus F

⁵⁰⁶ datis sed datus] S, V1, Mi; dachis sed dachus C, N; dacis sed dacus F; dattis sed dattus V2, V3ab; dactis sed dactus A; de datia sed datus Ma

⁵⁰⁷ -que] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; not in F

⁵⁰⁸ tauro taureum et taurinum] Ma, V, N, Mi, A; tauro tauricum taurinum S; thauro aut thaureo thaurum uel thaureum C; tauro taureum et taurium Fa; tauro taureum et taurum Fb

⁵⁰⁹ Ma, V1, V3ab have a blank space for romaeos to be written in Greek; S has romaeos written in Greek

⁵¹⁰ quos nos carthaginenses, illi carchidon(a)eos] N, Mi; idem but lacking nos C; idem but carchidonios V2, A; idem but a blank space for carchidonaeos F, V3ab; idem but carchidonaeos written in Greek S; idem but lacking nos and illi V1; quos Carthaginenses illi Ma

⁵¹¹ qu(a)e] C, Ma, V, Mi, A; not in S, F, N

⁵¹² List of place names in F with two substitutions from the other editions*: cremo-nensis for brisethensis and lacedemonius for chyracus, the latter in each case unique to F, which I could not identify.

*The full lists are as follows: albanensis, ueronensis, clusinus, tarentunus, lacedaemonius, salaminus, mitilenus, thebanus, corinthius, chyracus, syracusanus, arpinas S; albanensis, laudensis, ueronensis, clusinus, tarentinus, lacedemonius, salaminus, mitilenus, thebanus, siracusanus, arpinas, sarsinas C; albanensis, brisethensis, ueronensis, salaminus, mitylenus, thebanus, corinthius, chyracus, syracusanus, arpinas F; albenensis, cremonensis, clusinus, tarentinus, lacedaemonius, salaminus, mithylenaeus, thebaeus, corinthius, syracusanus, taebanus, arpinas, et sarsinas V1, Mi; albenensis, cremonensis, clusinus, lacedaemonius, mithyleneus, theb(a)eus, corinthius, syracusanus, thebanus, arpinas et sarsinas Ma, V2, V3ab, A; alabendensis, herfeldensis, cheronensis, clusinus, maguntinus, tarentinus, lacedemonius, solaminus, mutileneus, thebeus, corinthus, chius, siracusanus, thebanus, arpinas, sarsinas N

Whenever we are going to designate someone's family or region, we express the name of the clan and that of the homeland, because he who would do otherwise would not speak properly, as it happens, but utterly gracelessly and indecorously. For example, he who originates from Syracuse must not be called *de Syracusis* (from Syracuse) but *Syracusanus* (of Syracuse, or Syracusan); not *de Athenis* (from Athens) but *Atheniensis* (of Athens, or Athenian); not *de Senis* (from Siena) but *Senensis* (of Siena, or Sienese);⁵¹³ not *de Clusio* (from Clusium) but *Clusinus* (of Clusium, or Clusienese). And with clans and families, we do not use *de* with the ablative, as many do, but we make it from the name. For example, not *de Scauris* but *Scaurus*; not *de Gracchis* but *Gracchus*; not *de Catulis* but *Catulus*; not *de Datis* but *Datus*. To which point, indeed, it rightly should be added what Pliny himself said: that derivations have no firm rules⁵¹⁴ but have final syllables and endings just as it pleases the authors themselves. For instance, one *a Tauro* (from Taurus) we call *Taureum* and *Taurium* (Taurian), and those whom we call *Romanos* the Greeks call *Romaeos* (Romans); those we call *Carthaginenses* they call *Carchidonaeos* (Carthaginians). But more frequently terminations in *-ensis*, in *-us*, and in *-as* are those which pertain to places, as in *Albanensis* (of Alba), *Cremonensis* (of Cremona), *Veronensis* (of Verona), *Salaminus* (of Salamis), *Mitylenus* (of Mytilene), *Thebanus* (of Thebes), *Corinthus* (of Corinth), *Lacedaemonius* (of Sparta), *Syracusanus* (of Syracuse), *Arpinas* (of Arpinum). [*par. cont.*]

⁵¹³ As in this book's title words, 'Augustini Dathi Senensis (...) libellus'.

⁵¹⁴ Cited by Serv. on *Aen.*, 9, 703: 'TAVREA TERGA usurpavit pro 'taurina', alibi taurinus follibus: unde, sicut Plinius dicit, derivationes firmas non habent regulas, sed exeunt prout auctoribus placet. bene autem per transitum eius arma descripsit'.

Alii quoque sunt eorundem nominum exitus, sed hi frequentiore usu celebrantur. Quod idem in quibusdam aliis [E3v] fit quae⁵¹⁵ neque a generis nominibus fluxere neque loci ullius,⁵¹⁶ ut *Terentius Chremes*, *Platonius Gyges*, *Socraticus Gorgias*, quae omnia a propriis profecta sunt atque originem traxere. Sed quae de hac re dici possunt, tu ipse cogitatione complectere.

Conor hanc rem optime ac uenuste dicimus, praesertim si difficilior⁵¹⁷ sit et ardua, quo pacto Cicero saepe utebatur, ut de perfecto oratore: *magnum opus et arduum Brute conamur*. Et *studeo* si quid studiosius effecturi sumus etiam accusatio pulcherrime iungitur.

Desydero uerbum pulcherrime positum. Nam quum desyderium sit absentium rerum persaepe dicimus: *desydero amorem tuum*, idest tu non me amas; *desydero tuam prudentiam* quasi sis insipiens; et ita de aliis.

Complector perdiffusum est atque ornatum uerbum, praesertim uero aliquibus adiunctis, ut *te amore ac beneuolentia complector*, quod est te amo; *cogitatione complector*, quod est cogito, et id est animi, sicut *facultate consequor* est rei ipsius.

⁵¹⁵ qu(a)e] C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; not in S, F

⁵¹⁶ ullius] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; illius F

⁵¹⁷ difficilior] S, C, Fb, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; difficilor Fa

There are also other endings of the same nouns, but these are employed more frequently. The same is done in certain other words that do not arise from family names and are not of any place, such as *Terentius Chremes* (Terence's Chremes), *Platonius Gyges* (Plato's Gyges), *Socraticus Gorgias* (Socrates' Gorgias),⁵¹⁸ which all originate from and draw their source from proper names. But you surmise what can be said of this matter through reasoning.

We say *conor hanc rem* (I undertake this matter) most well and gracefully, especially if the matter should be rather difficult and arduous, in which manner Cicero often used it, such as in his book on the perfect orator: *magnum opus et arduum Brute conamur* (we undertake a great and arduous work, Brutus).⁵¹⁹ Also *studeo* (I devote myself) is joined most beautifully with the accusative⁵²⁰ if we are about to do anything rather zealously.

The verb *desydero* (desire) is most beautifully used. For we often say it when there is a desire of absent things: *desydero amorem tuum* (I desire your love); that is, you do not love me; *desydero tuam prudentiam* (I desire your prudence) is like saying you might be foolish; and likewise others.

Complector (embrace; comprehend) is a widely used and decorative verb, but adjoined with some words especially, such as *te amore ac benevolentia complector* (I embrace you with love and benevolence), which is *te amo* (I love you); and *cogitatione complector* (I hold in thought), which is *cogito* (I ponder), and this verb pertains to the mind, just as *facultate consequor* (I perceive by mental ability) pertains to the thing itself.

⁵¹⁸ I.e., -us in these instances does not indicate that Terence, Plato, or Socrates are 'of a certain clan' or 'of a certain place', but that they are the authors of works depicting someone else (Terence, who depicts Chremes in *And.*; Plato, who depicts Gyges in *Rep.*) or one who has a well-known association with another (Socrates, who famously engages Gorgias in Plato's *Gorg.*).

⁵¹⁹ *Or.*, 10, 33.

⁵²⁰ I.e., as *conor* is joined with the accusative.

Illud ignorandum non est, quod gerundius modus ab omni [E4r] uerbo⁵²¹ similiter procreatur, si quando nobis eo foret opus. Vt *cantando rumpitur anguis* est enim *dum cantatur*, ut ait Seruius. Et alio loco actiue est dictum, ut *cantando tu illum uinces*.⁵²² Id efficere atque usurpare oratores queunt.

Putant non nulli nihil interesse si quis dixerit *quarto praetor* et *quartum praetor*, et sic de caeteris. Sed magna est, inquam, differentia, ut M. Varro testis est. Nam *quarto praetor* locum significat; hoc est tres ante factos. *Quartum* uero *praetor* designat tempus. Caue igitur diligenter ut⁵²³ perperam hisce utaris rationibus, ne quid contra ueterum ac eloquentium morem consuetudinemque facias, quia *tertium consul* ac *tertio consul* non idem significant.⁵²⁴

Id tene memoria quod non *rure esse* sed *ruri* dicimus, quod tum Pompeius Festus affirmat tum P. Terentius approbat. Ait enim *ruri se continebat*.

Sed ne plura iam sequar; nam infinita poene eiusmodi percipi possunt.⁵²⁵ Quamobrem si qua iam reliqua sunt, paucis expediamus. Nam, quum pro conficiendis⁵²⁶ epistolis haec potissimum attigerimus si salutationis formulam et kalendarum, iduum, nonarumque obseruationem patefecerim, iure [E4v] huic paruo instituto finem ac modum statuerim.

⁵²¹ uerbo] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; .s. actiuo et passiuo uerbo F

⁵²² uinces] C; rumpis V2, A; not in S, F, Ma, V1, V3ab, N, Mi

⁵²³ ut] S, C, F, Ma, V1; ne V2, V3ab, N, Mi, A

⁵²⁴ non idem significant] C, Ma, V, Mi, A; non idem significat N; non idem Andrea significant F; non idem Andreas posuit S

⁵²⁵ In S and all editions consulted, this sentence is placed at the beginning of the preceding paragraph (or at the end of the one prior to it, depending on the break), but it seems to me that it belongs here at this major transition.

⁵²⁶ pro conficiendis] S, C, V1, V2, Mi, A; proficiendis F; conficiendis Ma, V3ab; pro confitiendis N

This must not be ignored, that the gerundive form, if ever we should have a need for one, is created from every verb similarly. For example, *cantando rumpitur anguis* (the snake is rent in pieces by singing) is in fact *dum cantatur* (while there is singing), as Servius says.⁵²⁷ And in another place it is said actively, as in *cantando tu illum uinces* (you vanquish him by singing). Orators are able to produce and use this form.

Many think that it makes no difference if one should say *quarto praetor* (praetor in the fourth place) and *quartum praetor* (fourth-time praetor), and thus with others. But I say there is a great difference, as Marcus Varro is witness.⁵²⁸ For *quarto praetor* signifies place-order; that is, three were made before. But *quartum praetor* designates time. Therefore diligently beware of using these methods wrongly, lest you do anything counter to the practice and custom of the ancients and the eloquent, because *tertium consul* (third-time consul) and *tertio consul* (consul in the third place) do not mean the same thing.

Remember that we do not say *rure esse* but *ruri* (to be in the country),⁵²⁹ which Pompeius Festus affirms and Publius Terence demonstrates.⁵³⁰ For the latter says *ruri se continebat* (he kept himself in the country).

But let me not pursue many more things, for an almost infinite number of these methods can be observed. On this account, let us explain what there is that remains in few words. For, we will have especially attained this goal for the purpose of composing letters if we should make clear the formula of salutation and the observation of the Kalends, Ides, and Nones, which rightly I should place at the end and conclusion to this little instruction.

⁵²⁷ Serv. on *Ecl.*, 8, 71.

⁵²⁸ As reported in Gell., 10, 1, 6 and Non., 435.

⁵²⁹ I.e., the locative case, not the ablative, is used.

⁵³⁰ Fest., 18, 21, citing *Phorm.*, 363-364 (quoted in the next sentence).

Vale igitur ac *salue* uerba pro M. Varronis ac omnium doctissimorum uirorum sententia idem significare uidentur, quibus alias in salutando alias in execrando utamur. Ex quo Terentianum illud est: *Valeant qui inter nos discidium*⁵³¹ *uolunt*.⁵³² At⁵³³ mortuis quoque et qui mortalium uita decesserunt,⁵³⁴ quibus nullam huiusce lucis optare salutem possumus, non nunquam *uale* dicimus. Et ueteres ipsi quondam eisdem idem uerbum pro more dicebant, quasi nihil amplius uiuentibus sibi cum mortuis futurum esset et in perpetuum⁵³⁵ ab eorum iam conspectu discederent, nam neque ualent illi neque salui esse possunt. Ob eamque rem addunt non nulli *bene* aduerbium et *foeliciter* et si qua sunt huius modi significantiae.⁵³⁶ Verum tamen in epistolis ipsis quas plerunque ad amicos mittimus, *uale* in fine dicere consueuimus absque ulla aduerbii accessione, perinde atque amicis uitae⁵³⁷ salutem et foelicitatem exoptemus. Quid igitur *uale* sibi quaerat⁵³⁸ quoue illo pacto utendum sit nosti.

Pro *saluto* autem plerunque dicimus *salutem dico*, et quem saluari cupimus datiuo casui [E5r] aptissime posuerimus, ut *uale et Caesari dic salutem*. Alia quoque erit salutandi ratio, ut⁵³⁹ *iube Scipionem saluere*, quod est *Scipionem saluta*. [par. cont.]

⁵³¹ discidium] C, F, N and modern editions of *And.* (see note to translation); dissidium S, Ma, V, Mi, A

⁵³² uolunt] C, N and modern editions of *And.* (see note to translation); uolunt cupiunt F; qu(a)erunt Ma, V, Mi, A

⁵³³ at] C; ac S, F, Ma, V, N, Mi, A

⁵³⁴ decesserunt] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; discesserunt F

⁵³⁵ in perpetuum] S, C; imperpetuum F, Ma, V, N, Mi, A

⁵³⁶ significantiae] S, V2, V3ab, Mi; significanciae V1; significantie C, F, Ma, N, A

⁵³⁷ uitae] V, Mi; uite C, F, Ma, N, A; not in S

⁵³⁸ quaerat] V2, V3ab, Mi; querat S, C, F, Ma, V1, N, A

⁵³⁹ ut] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; not in F

According then to Marcus Varro⁵⁴⁰ and the opinion of all the most learned men, the verbs *uale* (goodbye) and *salue* (welcome; farewell) seem to mean the same thing, the which we use sometimes in greeting, other times in cursing. Of the latter there is this line in Terence: *Valeant qui inter nos discidium uolunt* (Away with those who desire division between us!).⁵⁴¹ But also we often say *uale* to the dead and those who have departed from the life of mortals, for whom no health in this life are we able to wish for. And formerly the ancients themselves, according to custom, used to say the same word to their dead, as if for themselves still living there was going to be no further commerce with the dead and now forever the dead would depart from their sight, for they are neither thriving nor able to be well.⁵⁴² And on that account many add the adverb *bene* (well) and *foeliciter* (happily) and whatever other word there is having this kind of meaning. But in the letters themselves that we generally send to friends, we have been accustomed to say *uale* at the end without any addition of an adverb, just exactly as we desire soundness of life and happiness for friends. Therefore what *uale* means and how one must use it, you have just learned.

For *saluto* (I greet), however, we generally say *salutem dico* (I say greeting), and the one whom we desire to be greeted we should most aptly put in the dative case, as in *uale et Caesari dic salutem* (goodbye and say greeting to Caesar). There will also be another method of greeting, that is *iube Scipionem saluere* (give greeting to Scipio),⁵⁴³ which is *Scipionem saluta* (greet Scipio). [*par. cont.*]

⁵⁴⁰ Referring to 'Varro in libris logistoricis' as cited in Serv. on *Aen.*, 11, 97; cf. LS, *valeo*, I.2 B.d.

⁵⁴¹ *And.*, 696-697, cited by Varro (see previous note).

⁵⁴² The last sentence based on Servius's citation of Varro (see two previous notes). For Dati, we might observe, the phrase 'ne/non salui esse possunt' in reference to antiquity would resonate rather differently than it did for Varro.

⁵⁴³ *Saluere iubeo* (literally 'I command to greet') is idiomatic for 'I greet', 'I welcome'. In this sentence *iube* and *saluta* are in the imperative.

Nam is modus uim quandam⁵⁴⁴ desyderii continet, et pro antiquorum consuetudine infinitiuus modus in alium transumitur,⁵⁴⁵ ut *iubeo te saluere*, idest *salue*; *iubeo te gaudere*, idest *gaude*.

Quod uero alii *ex mea parte* dicunt, multo quidem ornatus dicitur uel *meo nomine* uel *meis uerbis*.

Quotam autem cuiusque mensis diem uolumus intelligi, kalendis, nonis idibusue notamus. Neque quid illae sibi uelint nunc explicare consilium est, sed quo pacto dicamus. Omnes⁵⁴⁶ singulorum mensium dies ab eis annotationem⁵⁴⁷ suscipiunt. Quamobrem intelligendum est in primis omnes⁵⁴⁸ primos cuiusque mensis dies kalendarum appellatione notari, secundum quas nonarum dies constituit. Et in aliis quidem mensibus septima⁵⁴⁹ luce: Martio, Maio, Iulio, Octobri. In aliis autem quinta: Ianuario, Febuario, Aprili, Iunio,⁵⁵⁰ Augusto, Septembri, Nouembri, Decembri. Atque omnes hi dies qui inter kalendas ac nonas intercesserint,⁵⁵¹ nonarum cognominatione censentur. Vbi et numerum meminerimus [E5v] ac nonas ipsas et kalendas,⁵⁵² illum ablatiuo casu construemus, has accusatiuo. Sed inter numerandum et praepostero utemur ordine et nonarum diem connumerabimus.⁵⁵³ [*par. cont.*]

⁵⁴⁴ quandam] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; quendam F

⁵⁴⁵ transumitur] S, C, N; transmittitur F; transit Ma, V, Mi, A

⁵⁴⁶ omnes] C, N; not in S, F, Ma, V, Mi, A

⁵⁴⁷ annotationem] S, F, Ma, V, Mi, A; adnominationem N; nominationem C

⁵⁴⁸ omnes] C, N; not in S, F, Ma, V, Mi, A

⁵⁴⁹ septima] F, Ma, V1, N, Mi (correctly); sexta C, V2, V3ab, A; sentence abridged in S so neither number indicated

⁵⁵⁰ Iunio] S, V, N, Mi, A; Iulio C; not in F

⁵⁵¹ inter (...) intercesserint] C, Ma, V, Mi, A; inter (...) intercesserunt N; in (...) intercesserint F; (...) intercesserint S

⁵⁵² kalendas] C, Ma, V, Mi, A; illum S, F, N

⁵⁵³ con(n)umerabimus] S, C, V, N, Mi; connumerauimus Ma; commemorabimus F; connumerabimus A

Now this method contains a certain force of desire, and according to the custom of the ancients the infinitive mood is transformed into the other mood,⁵⁵⁴ as in *iubeo te saluere* (I command you to be well; *i.e.*, I welcome you), that is *salue* (welcome); *iubeo te gaudere* (I command you to rejoice), that is *gaude* (rejoice).

But as to the fact that many say *ex mea parte* (for my part; in respect to me), it is said much more ornately indeed either *meo nomine* (in my name; on my account) or *meis uerbis* (in my words; as for me).

Whatever day of each month we want to be understood, we indicate it with reference to the Kalends, Nones, and Ides. It is not now my plan to explain what these terms mean, but how we should say them. All the days of each month take their indication from these three days. For which reason it must in the first place be understood that every first day of each month is known by the name of Kalends, in the second place which days the day of Nones designates. And indeed in some months, this is on the seventh day: March, May, July and October. But in others it is on the fifth: January, February, April, June, August, September, November and December. And all those days which intervene between the Kalends and the Nones, they are known by the name of the Nones. And when we would make mention of the number and of the Nones and Kalends, we construe it in the ablative case, these latter in the accusative. But when reckoning the date we will count backward and include the day of the Nones. [*par. cont.*]

⁵⁵⁴ *I.e.*, the imperative.

At nonis exactis, proximos octo dies idque in quo mense similiter et iduum cognominatione significabimus,⁵⁵⁵ sed pari ratione tum⁵⁵⁶ ordinis tum adnumerationis. Reliquos⁵⁵⁷ uero eius mensis quotquot superfuerint dies kalendarum appellatione notabimus quae futuri ac proximi sint mensis, neque ordinis neque annumerationis ratione mutata.⁵⁵⁸ Atque id omne exemplo illustrandum est, sitque Martius nobis exemplo, cuius circulus uno ac trigesimo die conficitur.

Prima itaque dies kalendae erunt Martii. Secunda sexto nonas Martii. Tertia quinto⁵⁵⁹ nonas Martii. Quarta quarto nonas Martii. Quinta tertio nonas Martii. Sexta non secundo nonas dicitur: sed pridie nonas Martii. Et ita de idibus atque kalendis. Septima dies⁵⁶⁰ nonae erunt Martii. Octaua dies octauo⁵⁶¹ idus Martii. Nona septimo idus Martii. Decima sexto idus Martii. Vndecima quinto idus. Duodecima quarto idus. Tertiadecima tertio idus. Quartadecima pridie idus. Quintadecima dies idus erunt Martii. Sextadecima septimodecimo kalendas Aprilis, quoniam⁵⁶² is mensis proximus consequitur. Decimaseptima sextodecimo kalendas eiusdem mensis.⁵⁶³ Decimaoctaua quintodecimo kalendas. Decimanona quartodecimo kalendas. [*par. cont.*]

⁵⁵⁵ significabimus] C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; signabimus S, F

⁵⁵⁶ tum] C, Ma, N, Mi, A; cum S, F, V

⁵⁵⁷ reliquos] C, N, Mi; reliquas S, F, Ma, V, A

⁵⁵⁸ mutata] S, C, F; immutata V, N, Mi, A; imutata Ma

⁵⁵⁹ tertia quinto] C, Fb, V, N, A; tercia quinto Ma; tertia quiuto Fa; tertius quinto Mi; in remainder of this paragraph, Mi has -us endings rather than S, C, F, V, N and A's -a endings.

⁵⁶⁰ dies] C, Ma, V1, V3ab, Mi; die V2, N, A; not in S, F

⁵⁶¹ octauo] S, C, Ma, V1, V2, V3b, N, Mi, A; octo V3a; viii F; henceforth the Roman numerals in F are spelled out as in the other editions. Also in this passage, C, Ma, V, Mi and A repeat the names of the months in each example (Martii and Apriles/is; V1 spells Apriles throughout).

⁵⁶² quoniam] S, C, Ma, V2, V3ab, A; quonian F; quia V1, Mi; not in N

⁵⁶³ eiusdem mensis] C, F, N; apriles V3a, Mi, A; apr. V1; this date dropped in Ma, V2, V3b

But with the Nones behind us, we will similarly indicate the eight days immediately following by the name of the Ides and in which month it is, but by the same method both of order and numbering. And however many remaining days of the month there are left over, we mark them by the name of the Kalends that are of the month nearest and about to come, with change in method neither of the order nor the numbering. And by example all this must be illustrated, and thus let March be our example, whose course is completed on the thirty-first day.

And thus the first day of March is the Kalends. The second, the sixth day before the Nones of March.⁵⁶⁴ The third, 5 Nones March. The fourth, 4 Nones March. The fifth, 3 Nones March. The sixth is not called 2 Nones, but the day before (*pridie*) the Nones of March. And likewise of the Ides and Kalends. The seventh day is the Nones of March. The eighth day, 8 Ides March. The ninth, 7 Ides March. The tenth, 6 Ides March. The eleventh, 5 Ides. The twelfth, 4 Ides. The thirteenth, 3 Ides. The fourteenth, the day before the Ides. The fifteenth day is the Ides of March. The sixteenth, 17 Kalends of April, because this month follows next. The seventeenth, 16 Kalends of the same month.⁵⁶⁵ The eighteenth, 15 Kalends. The nineteenth, 14 Kalends. [*par. cont.*]

⁵⁶⁴ Here the translation states fully the meaning of Dati's conventional shorthand 'sexto nonas Martii' (for *ante sexto die Nones Martii*), typically written 6 Nones March, which practice is hereafter followed.

⁵⁶⁵ I.e., April.

Vigesima tertiodecimo kalendas. Vigesima prima duodecimo kalendas. Vigesima secunda undecimo kalendas. Vigesima tertia decimo kalendas. Vigesima quarta nono kalendas. Vigesima quinta octavo kalendas. Vigesima sexta septimo kalendas. Vigesima septima sexto kalendas. Vigesima octava quinto kalendas. Vigesima nona quarto kalendas. Trigesima tertio kalendas. Trigesima prima et nouissima dies⁵⁶⁶ pridie kalendas Aprilis. Tum fuerint kalendae Aprilis, in quo mense et in ipso⁵⁶⁷ et in caeteris omnibus eadem seruanda est ratio. Dierum autem numerus haud te lateat qui in promptu omnibus est.

Pridie autem kalendas, pridie nonas, pridie idus dicitur, et significat quod uetustissimi dicebant *die pristini* pro aduerbio quod significat *die pristino*, et sicut peruenusto⁵⁶⁸ more *die crastini*,⁵⁶⁹ et *die quinti* et *die quinto* similiter pro aduerbio. Verum nos priscam nimis et⁵⁷⁰ horridiorem uetustatem ubique fugere ac uitare debemus, ut bene et praeclare Caesar praecipere solebat: tanquam scopulum sic fugiendum esse inauditum et insolens uerbum.

Pro genetiuis autem mensium rectius possessiua nomina⁵⁷¹ finxerimus, ut pro⁵⁷² *kalendis Martii* sic uenustius dixerimus *kalendas Martias*, et ita *Apriles, Maias, Iunias, Iulias* aut *Quintiles, Augustas*⁵⁷³ aut *Sextiles, Septembres*, et ita *Ianuarias Februariasque*. Quod autem in kalendis, nonis idibusque ablatiuo casu iungimus, [*par. cont.*]

⁵⁶⁶ dies] C; not in S, F, Ma, V, N, Mi, A

⁵⁶⁷ tum fuerint calend(a)e aprilis in quo mense et in ipso] S, F; idem but lacking et in ipso N; not in C, Ma, V, Mi, A

⁵⁶⁸ sicut peruenusto] S, C, Mi, A; sicut pro uenusto Fa; sicut pro uetusto Fb; sicut et pro uetusto N; sicut et peruetusto V2; sic peruetusto Ma, V1, V3ab

⁵⁶⁹ crastini] C, Ma, V1, V2, N, Mi, A; crastina S, F; crastum V3ab

⁵⁷⁰ nimis et] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; nimisque F

⁵⁷¹ nomina] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; not in F

⁵⁷² ut pro] Ma, V, Mi, A; itaque pro C; ut S, F; not in N

⁵⁷³ augustas] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; augustos F

The twentieth, 13 Kalends. The twenty-first, 12 Kalends. The twenty-second, 11 Kalends. The twenty-third, 10 Kalends. The twenty-fourth, 9 Kalends. The twenty-fifth, 8 Kalends. The twenty-six, 7 Kalends. The twenty-seventh, 6 Kalends. The twenty-eighth, 5 Kalends. The twenty-ninth, 4 Kalends. The thirtieth, 3 Kalends. The thirty-first and very last day, the day before the Kalends of April. Afterwards is the Kalends of April — in which month, both in it and all the others, the same method is to be observed. Indeed, the date of each day,⁵⁷⁴ which is obvious to everyone, should hardly be obscure to you.

But *pridie kalendas* (the day before Kalends), *pridie nonas* (the day before Nones), *pridie idus* (the day before Ides) is said, and it means what the most ancient writers used to say with *die pristini* (on the past day; yesterday) as an adverb that means *die pristino*; and likewise in a very beautiful manner *die crastini* (tomorrow), and similarly both *die quinti* and *die quinto* (on the fifth day) as an adverb. But everywhere we ought to avoid and shun the over-ancient and too-unpolished antiquity, as Caesar well and nobly was wont to recommend, just the same as a boulder, the unheard and unaccustomed word must likewise be avoided.⁵⁷⁵

Yet for the genitive of a month let us more rightly form the possessive noun, such as for *kalendis Martii* (the Kalends of March) we would more gracefully say *kalendas Martias* and likewise *Apriles* (of April), *Maias* (of May), *Iunias* (of June), *Iulias* or *Quintiles* (of July or the Fifth Month⁵⁷⁶), *Augustos* or *Sextiles* (of August or the Sixth Month), *Septembres* (of September), and likewise *Ianuarias* (of January) and *Februarias* (of February). But yet, we join things to the Kalends, Nones, and Ides with the ablative case,⁵⁷⁷ [*par. cont.*]

⁵⁷⁴ Literally 'the number of the days'.

⁵⁷⁵ Reported in Gell., 1, 10, 4.

⁵⁷⁶ I.e., March being the first month prior to Caesar's reformed calendar in 46 B. C. E.

⁵⁷⁷ This observation was made above regarding the case of numbers (the first example being 'sexto nonas Martii').

idem possumus in accusatiuum⁵⁷⁸ transferre et *ad* praeponere, sed id significat fere *tempus diuturnum*, ut *decimo kalendas Februarias*⁵⁷⁹ *dedisti ad me litteras, ego uero ad octauum idus Ianuarias ad te scripseram*. Habet enim uim temporis uehementiorem hoc posterius.

Ne igitur plura scribam. Haec mihi impraesentiarum⁵⁸⁰ sese obtulerunt quae annotatu digniora uisa sunt quaeque tibi multo plus fortasse conducent quam eorum praeceptiones qui easdem et epistolis et orationibus partes tribuunt, quorum penitus eripiendus est error. Atque ita sentiendum est⁵⁸¹ ut in litteris ipsis apte, concinne dilucideque perscribamus ac nostram sententiam atque mentem quam⁵⁸² commodissime aperiamus. Quod quum haec diligenter tenueris, ex infinito poene harum rerum numero alia quaedam non minus fortasse utilia, sed multo grauiora⁵⁸³ subnectam. Quamobrem, ut tu facis cupidissime, litterarum studia complectere et quae in dies assequere ad exercitationem accommoda. Vale.

⁵⁷⁸ accusatiuum] C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; accusatiuo S, F

⁵⁷⁹ februarias] C, Ma, V, Mi, A; ianuarias S, F, N

⁵⁸⁰ impr(a)esentiarum] F, C, Ma, V; in praesentiarum N; impraesentia Mi, A; in praesentia S

⁵⁸¹ est] C; not in S, F, Ma, V, N, Mi, A

⁵⁸² quam] S, C, Ma, V, N, Mi, A; quem F

⁵⁸³ fortasse utilia sed multo grauiora] S, C, V, N, Mi, A; idem but with misprint ntilia Ma; utiliora sed grauiora F

though also we can change them into the accusative and place *ad* beforehand, but that means approximately *tempus diuturnum* (a long-lasting time), as in *decimo kalendas Februarias dedisti ad me litteras, ego uero ad octauum idus Ianuarias ad te scripseram* (on 10 Kalends February [Jan. 23] you sent letters to me, but I had written to you by 8 Ides January [Jan. 8]). The latter⁵⁸⁴ indeed puts a more powerful emphasis on the time.

Hence let me write no more. These are the items that offered themselves to me at present and which seemed more worthy for remark, and perchance all of them will be of far greater use to you than the precepts of those who assign certain parts to letters and speeches,⁵⁸⁵ whose error should be uprooted completely. And likewise it must be observed that in those same letters we ought to write aptly, elegantly, and clearly and disclose our meaning and purpose as properly as possible. But once you have diligently comprehended these matters, I shall add from an almost infinite number of such things others which are perhaps not less useful but more difficult. On which account, as you proceed avidly, embrace the study of letters and apply to your practice what you learn daily. Farewell.

⁵⁸⁴ I.e., 'ad octauum idus Ianuarias', with *octauum* in the accusative, as opposed to the former, 'decimo kalendas Februarias', with *decimo* in the ablative.

⁵⁸⁵ I.e., the authors of letter-writing handbooks and rhetoric manuals.

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- Caesar, *B.G.*, 5, 52 (123); quotation attributed to Caesar in Gell. (233)
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Neven JOVANOVIĆ

NENIA ALOVISII CIPPICI DE PETRO RIARIO (c. 1474) QUAE
SERVATUR MONACHII IN CODICE BSB CLM 716

Liber antiquitatum cum epigrammatibus, codex manuscriptus qui ab Hartmanno Schedelio collectus et exaratus erat annis 1502-1505, nunc in Bibliotheca Monacensi sub numero Clm 716 asseruatur.¹ In foliis 130r-132r exhibet codex 'Naeniam Alouisii Cippici de clarissimo adolescente Petro Rhiario, Sixti summi pontificis nepote'. Nenia scripta est distichis elegiacis, uersibus 124; exemplar in codice Schedeliano unicum est adhuc nobis notum.

Petrus Riarius (Italice *Piero Riario*) a. 1445 natus est Savone in oppido Liguriaie, ubi ineunte pubere aetate habitum diui Francisci suscepit a. 1459. Multis deinde in locis studuit, Papiæ, Patauui, Venetiis, Bononiae, Perusiae, Senis, Ferrariae; Romae tandem theologiae studiorum curriculum peregit. A. 1471 a Sixto quarto pontifice maximo, auunculo suo, factus est cardinalis sancti Sixti; eodem anno, priusquam cardinalis crearetur, breui tempore Patauui docuerat, officio lectoris publici Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Conuentualium functus (cf. infra in textu carminis, u. 19-21). Paucis post annis in cardinalatu mortuus est, tertio mensis Ianuarii a. 1474; diem obiit post reditum in Urbem, quamuis auctor neniae eum alibi, in 'terra Picentum' et 'ignota humo', in ipso reditu fata peregissee putare uideatur (cf. infra u. 18, 27-28). Et tumuli honorem Riario alibi datum auctor noster existimat (cf. u. 105-110), cum supersit usque ad hodiernum diem Romae sepulchrum cardinalis splendidissimum in basilica Sanctorum Duodecim Apostolorum.²

¹ Karl Halm — Georg von Laubmann — Wilhelm Meyer, *Catalogus codicum Latino-rum Bibliothecae regiae Monacensis*, Ed. altera emendatio, 1,1: *Codices num. 1-2329* (Monachii, 1892), p. 181. Codicis Clm 716 imagines photographicae in interrete inueniri possunt, ubi textus nostri imago prima est in pagina http://daten.digital-e-sammlung.de/bsb00007356/image_275 [paginam accessi die 4 Iunii a. 2011].

² De Riario uide Isidoro L. Gatti, *Pietro Riario da Savona francescano cardinale vescovo di Treviso (1445-1474)*. *Profilo storico* (Padova: Centro Studi Antoniani, 2003).

Auctor autem neniae de Riario, Alouisius Cippicus nomine (Croatice *Ludovik Cipiko*), natus est Tragurii in Dalmatia, die 16 mensis Septembris anno 1456, genere nobili. Pater fuit Coriolanus ille Cippicus (seu Cepio) qui bello nauali Venetorum cum Othomano in Asia annis 1470-1474 gesto triremi Tragurinae praeerat et egregie pugnavit, deinde de bello eodem elegantes commentarios scripsit (opus Coriolani, quod *Petri Mocenici Imperatoris gesta* intitulatur, primum prodiit in lucem Venetiis a. 1477). Alouisius autem noster, vir in litteris educatus, ab anno 1470 Patauii studuit — ergo tempore mortis Riarii annos plus minusue duo-deuiginti natus erat — et in eadem uniuersitate iuris utriusque doctor renuntiatus est. Anno 1488 canonicus Iadrensis factus, sequenti statim anno electus est episcopus Famaugustae, cum interea anno 1500 incertis de causis Alexander VI pontifex honore episcopali eum priuauit. A. 1503. a Iulio II pontifice tamen archiepiscopus Iadrensis nominatus, non multo post mortuus est, die 2 Martii anno 1504. Scripsit autem Alouisius iuuenilibus annis poemata aliquot Latina, quorum quattuor iam publici iuris facta sunt; ea composita erant inter a. 1473 et 1482.³ Alia eius opuscula latere adhuc uidentur in codice Parisiensi BN Latino 8731.⁴

Textui neniae a Schedelio exscriptae mendae nonnullae irrepserant, quas in hac editione correximus et in apparatu indicauimus. Paucis tantum in locis emendare ausi sumus (cf. infra uu. 2, 20, 37, 46, 47, 50, 66, 88, 93, 94, 97 107, 120, 123). Orthographia et ratione interpungendi hodie usitatis usi sumus paene in omnibus, praeter in ipso cardinalis S. Sixti nomine (ubi Rhiarium pro Riario reliquimus).

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³ Giuseppe Praga, 'Un poemetto di Alvise Cippico sulla guerra di Ferrara del 1482', *Archivio storico per la Dalmazia*, 10 (1930), 315-339; Giuseppe Praga, 'Poesie di Pascasio da Lezze, Tranquillo Andronico e Marino Statilio in onore di patrizi di casa Cippico', *ibid.*, 22 (1937), 283-290; Florio Banfi, 'Epigrammi di Alvise Cippico 1456-1504', *ibid.*, 26 (1938), 254-265.

⁴ Vide in catalogo interretiali Bibliothecae nationalis Parisiensis, s.n. (<http://archive-setmanuscripts.bnf.fr/>).

Naenia Alouisii Cippici de clarissimo adolescente Petro Rhiario, Sixti summi pontificis nepote

Frustra igitur dites superis attollimus aras
 Et damus arsuris thura cremanda focus;
 Frustra legiferi seruamus iussa Lycurgi
 Cumque sua colimus simplicitate fidem.
 Parcite, caelestes, uos cogitis impia uatem 5
 Dicere: non homines, non habet ira deos.
 Cur totiens uideo confundi sacra profanis
 Vltimaque in summo prima sedere gradu?
 Cur semper meliora cadunt primosque sub annos
 Deficiunt, cupias uiuere si qua diu? 10
 Sic Paris amplexu tenerae languebat amicae
 Haemoniis Hector cum traheretur equis;
 Iam Styga Pelides et magnus uiserat Ajax,
 Thersites Phrygia laetus agebat humo.
 Et nunc, heu facinus! uiuant cum mille nocentes, 15
 Tres in te, Rhiari, ius habuere deae,
 Et cadis ante diem, patris procul hospes ab oris,
 Picentum et per te reddita terra nocens.
 Heu, modo ad Euganeam Troiani Antenoris urbem
 Fecerat ingenii quanta pericla sui! 20
 Ille et pontificum et ciuilia iura tenebat
 Stabat et Aonii primus in arce iugi.
 Euocat a studiis Sixtus, torpere nepotem
 Tam longum uita deside turpe ratus.
 Iamque et purpurei sperabat dona galeri 25
 Et si quid Petri regia maius habet
 Spes hominum; medio in cursu, dum pergit ad Vrbem,
 Tristia in ignota fata peregit humo.
 Non soror aut mater miserabilis affuit aegro
 Et tulit ad surdos ultima uota deos; 30
 Non animam patulo fugientem excepit hiatu,
 Condedit aut oculos composuitue caput,

2 arsuris: arsuras *MS*; cremanda: cremenda *MS* 13 magnus *corr. scriba ipse ex magnis*
 20 pericla: pericula *MS*

Oscula non carpsit sensitque nouissima uerba;
 Quis scit an et fati tempore laeta fuit?
 Certe laeta fuit: quid enim non indole tanta 35
 Gaudet et festum nescia tempus agat?
 Non tamen Elysias indeploratus ad umbras
 Desiliit; mater, desine maesta queri.
 Nondum oculi, nondum comitum infelicia cessant
 Brachia: adhuc gemitu cuncta furente sonant. 40
 Cuncta sonant gemitu, reboat ululatus aer,
 Adiuvat et luctu publica damna suo.
 Attoniti mussant, lucemque odere sodales
 Immitesque deos implacidosque uocant.
 Nec minus ignoti lugent ad funera busti 45
 Si soror aut illic astitit ulla parens,
 Atque hostes capta tamquam bacchantur in urbe,
 Nec iuuenes lacrimis, nec caruere senes.
 Quin etiam ad tumulum scissa Tritonia palla
 Venit, et obtuso pectore maesta Venus, 50
 Vtraque sparsa leues per candida colla capillos
 Vtraque purpureas ungue notata genas.
 Sed primum subito uelut obriguere dolore
 Nullaque sunt gemitus uerba secuta suos;
 Mox, ubi uerba dolor laxauit, prima Dione 55
 Incepit tales ore tenere modos:
 "Tene ego, care puer, te nunc ego, parue, iacentem
 Aspicio? An fallit lumina mea furor?
 Non fallit: liquet, ecce liquet; nosco ardua colla
 Impubesque genas sidereumque caput. 60
 Nosco manus, nosco faciem uultusque uerendos
 Solaque quas finxi composuique comas.
 Quid tamen, infelix, prodest tibi gratia nostri?
 Heu, quantum uobis, tristia fata, licet!
 Cur mea, crudeles, renouatis uulnera, Parcae, 65
 Dilectumque iterum sauciat inguen aper?

37 indeploratus: inde ploraturus *MS* 41 reboat *MS sic; cum metrica praestet* reboatque
 46 astitit: astitit *MS* 47 bacchantur: bacharentur *MS* 50 obtuso: attuso *MS* 53 uelut:
 uelud *MS* 66 iterum: iter *MS*

Nunc demum nobis periit Cynareius ardor,
 Nunc demum uideor uilis et orba mihi.
 Per te celsus Eryx, per te mihi Troius heros,
 Et meus, heu! per te saluus Adonis erat. 70
 At saltem implesset - decor hic quoque debuit - annos,
 Omnia si fuerat orta necesse mori!
 Vix tribus addiderat mediam trieterida lustris,
 Extremum et fati uidit adesse sui.
 Scinde arcus, extingue faces, infauste Cupido, 75
 Et sonet ex umeris nulla pharetra tuis.
 Vos quoque fas pueri, Charites, in funere nostri
 Tundere tergemina pectora nuda manu."
 Talia clamabat Cytherea, et talia Pallas
 Intulit, anguifera pectus operta coma: 80
 "Parce, quid immisces te luctibus, inuida, nostris
 Extendisque tuas in mea iura manus?
 Parce, Venus: meus ille, meus! De matre cadentem
 Prima tuli manibus sustinuique meis.
 Prima sacrum tinxi pectus moresque pudicos 85
 Totque animi dotes ingeniumque dedi.
 Vnde suis illi grauitas maturior annis?
 Vnde sonus tenero tantus in ore fuit?
 Scilicet illa fides atque illa modestia praecox
 Tantaque te probitas erudiente uenit! 90
 Imperiis parere tuis an forte necesse est
 Cui sua natium fata dedere decus?
 Thesides formosus erat, formosus et ille
 Obiecit Lyciae quem Stheneboea ferae.
 Nec tuus hos, quamuis tentaueris, ignis adussit, 95
 Propositique fuit uictor uterque sui.
 Vtque tuas reliqui metuant recolantque sagittas,
 Quid tamen in Sixti sanguine iuris habes?
 Scandere in has sedes (licet importuna) ueris,
 Ianua Acidalio non patet illa pedi; 100
 Quae domus aethereo par assurrexit Olympo
 Nempe erat illecebris instituenda tuis!"

72 fuerat: *productio metrica* 88 sonus: sonos *MS* 93 Thesides: Te fides *MS* 94 Stheneboea: saenobea *MS* 97 recolantque: colantque *MS*

Plura locuturam Venus occupat, atque uicissim
 Iurgia pro tumulo pro lacrimisque cadunt.
 Interea uili corpus caeleste sepulcro 105
 Conditur et parua contumulatur humo
 Ille quidem dignus Mausoli in mole iacere;
 Sed fuit ad cultus uena parata loci.
 Heu heu, quanta iacet tam paruo in cespite uirtus!
 Non solum hac tegitur uile cadauer humo; 110
 Tecum omnis, Rhiari, est probitas, tecum ille sepultus
 Virgineus socia cum grauitate pudor,
 Doctorumque fauor, spes et certissima uatum
 Et reliquum ingenii quicquid in orbe fuit.
 O mihi si molles animaret dextra figuras 115
 Et duraturum fingere nosset opus,
 Tristis Apelleis struerem solacia chartis,
 Leuis et expressum te mihi cera daret,
 Et nunc in Libyco similis mihi dente niteres
 Et nunc Mentorea uiuus in aere fores. 120
 Sed quoniam nobis hoc inuida fata negarunt
 Et praeter nugas nil mea reddit humus,
 Quod datur, aeternum memori cantabere Musa
 Et sine te crescet pagina nulla mihi.

107 quidem: qui MS; Mausoli: mauseoli MS 108 Sed... loci ita MS; locus subobscurus, fortasse intellegendus ut sequitur: uena loci, id est uiscera ipsa terrae in loco mortis, parata, id est fato data erant ad cultus corporis defuncti. 119 niteres: niteris MS 120 uiuus: uiuis MS 123 cantabere: cantaberi MS

Alberto PAVAN

IL TRIONFO ALL'ANTICA DI MASSIMILIANO I IMPERATORE.
IL MOTIVO DEL FUNERALE EPICO E DEI LUDI FUNEBRI DAL
VI LIBRO DELLA *TEBAIDE* DI STAZIO AL *BELLUM NORICUM*
DI RICCARDO BARTOLINI: IMITAZIONE LETTERARIA ED
ESIGENZE DI PROPAGANDA

The past is altered by the present
as much as the present is directed by the past.
T. S. Eliot, *Tradition and Individual Talent*

Nell'epica antica i funerali sono l'affermazione della continuità della vita dell'eroe attraverso il culto della sua memoria e nei funerali la forza dei guerrieri sopravvissuti alle battaglie è esibita in prove ludiche che hanno funzione autocelebrativa e parenetica. Funerali e giochi servono quindi ad annullare la morte degli eroi trasformandola in vita e a fare di un passato che potrebbe essere occasione di nostalgico rimpianto l'incoraggiamento verso un glorioso futuro.

A partire dalla congiunzione di questi due aspetti, che costituiscono parte principalissima della convenzione epica (quell'insieme cioè di luoghi comuni a prima vista statici e seriali, ma intrisi di riferimenti al contenuto del poema da essi continuamente ripreso e chiarificato), questo saggio si propone di seguire la fortuna letteraria di un motivo — in particolare così come sviluppato nel sesto libro della *Tebaide* di Stazio — e di proporre alcune considerazioni sull'*auctoritas* di cui la *Tebaide* godette al momento della rinascita della poesia epica di stampo classico.

Tale motivo a causa della sua convenzionalità non ha goduto di grande attenzione da parte degli studiosi, ma per contro è stato spesso ripreso e rielaborato e, proprio per questo, vale la pena di studiarlo dal punto di vista della 'reception', considerando la trattazione staziana come modello di un'elaborazione creativa da parte dei poeti umanistici. Si preferisce l'uso del termine critico inglese a 'fortuna', che ha in sé qualcosa di aleatorio e svincolato da una successione cronologica, o a 'eredità', che

è piuttosto univoco, nella complessità che ha di recente sviscerato Charles Martindale:

Reception, by contrast (to tradition), (...), operates with a different temporality, involving the active participation of readers (including readers who are themselves creative artists) in a dialogue with each other. When texts are reread in new situations, they have new meanings; we do not have to privilege the meanings that they had in their first, "original" contexts (even assuming this to be recoverable in principle). The distinction between the ancient world in itself and the way it has been received and understood in later centuries is thereby blurred, or even dissolved. But the boundary between tradition and reception is itself a shifting one, varying with the usage and practices of different writers'.¹

Secondo questa prospettiva, le riprese del motivo non solo saranno oggetto di un'analisi letteraria volta alla scoperta della prassi e degli obiettivi dell'imitazione, ma si tenterà anche di addentrarsi nello sforzo operato dal poeta di risemantizzare e ricontestualizzare il prestito letterario all'interno del proprio periodo storico e di adeguarlo alle esigenze del committente o del dedicatario dell'opera.

In fase introduttiva è necessario ricordare le caratteristiche del sesto libro della *Tebaide*.² L'esibita aderenza all'archetipo omerico dei ludi

¹ Cfr. Charles Martindale, 'Reception', in Craig W. Kallendorf (ed.), *A Companion to the Classical Tradition* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), pp. 297-311 (p. 297). A introdurre il concetto fu Hans Robert Jauss nella sua lezione inaugurale all'Università di Costanza nel 1967. Individuò nella *Rezeptionsästhetik* il motivo per cui si deve studiare la letteratura, cioè per la necessità del riconoscimento della storicità del testo, ma anche della reazione estetica dei lettori nel presente. Sulla base di questo concetto Martindale ha elaborato la sua riflessione teorica sulla *reception* quanto mai indispensabile in un periodo in cui gli studi sul tema si moltiplicano e uniscono al merito di contribuire all'interpretazione dei classici quello di togliere dall'oblio autori medievali e rinascimentali. Studio pioniere in questo senso fu Charles Martindale, *Redeeming the Text. Latin Poetry and the Hermeneutics of Reception* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); e ancora Id., 'Introduction: Thinking Through Reception', in Id. — Richard F. Thomas (eds), *Classics and the Uses of Reception* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), pp. 1-13; Lorna Hardwick — Christopher Stray (eds), *A Companion to Classical Reception* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008), pp. 1-9.

² Si rimanda alle fasi salienti della discussione critica su *Theb.*, 6: Léon Legras, *Études sur la Thébaïde de Stace* (Paris: Société nouvelle de librairie et d'édition, 1905), pp. 79-90; Herbert Juhnke, *Homerisches in römischer Epik flavischer Zeit. Untersuchungen zu Szenen-nachbildungen und Strukturentsprechungen in Statius' Thebais und Achilleis und in Silius' Punica* (München: C. H. Beck, 1972), p. 227; Paola Venini, *Studi sulla Tebaide di Stazio. La composizione* (Milano: Istituto Lombardo, 1961), pp. 55-88; David Vessey, *Statius and the Thebaid* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), pp. 209-229; Helen Lovatt, *Statius and Epic Games: Sport, Politics, and Poetics in the Thebaid* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 12. Per i commenti invece: Hendrik W. Fortgens, *P. Papinii Statii de Opheltis funere carmen epicum, Theb. VI, 1-295, uersione Bataua com-*

funebri rende questo libro tra i più epici e maestosi del poema. In esso Stazio sfoggia la sua arte poetica dando vita a una sequenza di scene spettacolari espresse con i più sofisticati e coinvolgenti strumenti dell'arte descrittiva: il funerale con la pira coperta da un sudario i cui ricami sono una *mise en abîme* della triste vicenda del defunto Ofelte, il carosello equestre dei cavalieri Argivi, il mausoleo e, il giorno successivo, la processione, che pare semovente, delle statue degli antenati Argivi e le sette gare — numero non certo casuale nel poema dei sette contro Tebe — bandite in memoria del principe di Nemea. Il libro intero si presenta come uno studiato e semanticamente ricco intreccio di usi e costumi Greci e romani, provenienti dall'*Iliade* (il rogo e i giochi per esempio) o dalla tradizione romana (la *pompa funebris*). Lo svolgimento del libro attraverso continue e in apparenza centrifughe digressioni rappresenta senz'altro una pausa nella narrazione principale e pertanto le sezioni descrittive, quali *ekphraseis* e cataloghi, ne costituiscono la sostanza stessa a cui il poeta dà vita attraverso vivide immagini, che, se agli occhi del critico sono colpevoli di compromettere la coesione della narrazione, seducono quelli del poeta-imitatore — o è il caso di dire successore³ — che li trova irrinunciabili a tal punto da ricorrere ad arditi espedienti pur di non trascurarli.

1. Una breve rassegna della fortuna letteraria del sesto libro della *Tebaide* e del motivo dei ludi dalla poesia latina tardo antica alla *Carlias* di Ugolino Verino

L'esuberanza descrittiva non mancò di colpire l'attenzione dei poeti tardi che, inaugurando una moda destinata a durare per tutto il Medioevo e il Rinascimento, assunsero Stazio a loro modello.⁴ Infatti, Claudiano e

mentarioque exegetico instructus (Groningen: diss., 1934); Gisela von Stosch, *Untersuchungen zu den Leichenspielen in der Thebais des P. Papinius Statius* (Düsseldorf: D. R. Zolmann, 1968); Alberto Pavan, *La gara delle quadrighe e il gioco della guerra. Saggio di commento a P. Papinii Statii Thebaidos liber VI 238-549* (Alessandria: Dell'Orso, 2009).

³ Per l'idea di imitazione nell'epica antica intesa come rapporto poeta padre-poeta figlio: Philip Hardie, *The Epic Successors of Virgil* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Alessandro Barchiesi, 'Genealogie letterarie nell'epica imperiale. Fondamentalismo e ironia', in Ernst A. Schmidt (ed.), *L'histoire littéraire immanente dans la poésie latine, Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique*, 47 (Vandoeuvres – Genève: Fondation Hardt, 2001), pp. 315-362.

⁴ Non sono numerosi i contributi sulla fortuna della *Tebaide* nella letteratura latina tarda e medievale: Luigi Valmaggi, 'La fortuna di Stazio nella tradizione latina e basso-latina', *Rivista di Filologia e Istruzione Classica*, 21 (1892), 409-462 e 481-554; Michael

Sidonio Apollinare possono essere considerati i più antichi lettori-imitatori di questo libro.

Nel panegirico per il quarto consolato di Onorio (carne 8 del 398 d.C.), Claudiano rielabora due passi di *Tebaide* 6: la similitudine con Fetonte, emblema dell'auriga inetto (vv. 320-325), e quella con il nocchiero provetto alle prese con la tempesta (vv. 450-453), che offrono al giovane principe uno *speculum regni*, cioè, attraverso la comparazione con la guida dei carri e delle navi, tradizionali metafore del governo dell'anima dell'uomo o dello stato, un modello morale e politico da seguire per essere un buon regnante.⁵ Il più evidente debito nei confronti di *Tebaide* 6, almeno da un punto di vista lessicale, si ha nella descrizione del carosello nel quale Onorio si distingue in occasione dei *Ludi consulares*. Sebbene il modello d'obbligo sia il *Lusus Troiae* di *Eneide* 5, nel carne di Claudiano l'audacia del giovane Augusto a cavallo è lodata attraverso un riferimento intertestuale antifrastico a Polinice, protagonista della gara delle quadrighe di *Theb.*, 6, che, diversamente da Onorio, non è in grado di domare i propri destrieri.⁶

J. Dewar, *Statius Thebaid IX* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. XXXVII-XLVIII; 'The Thebaid and later writers', in Karla F. L. Pollmann, *Statius Thebaid XII: introduction, text and commentary*, pp. LVIII-LXI. Una serie di interventi su questo tema sono stati tenuti in occasione del convegno *Always Coming after. The Influence and Impact of Post-Augustan Latin Epic*, University of Nottingham 12-14 July 2010; uscirà probabilmente nel 2013 Helen Kaufmann, 'Papinius noster: Patterns of Appropriation in Roman Late Antiquity', in Carol Newlands – Bernard Dominik (eds), *Brill's Companion to Statius* (Leiden – Boston: Brill).

⁵ Stat., *Theb.*, 6, 316-325: 'Tunc rector genero Polynici indulget agendum | multa monens, ubi feruor equo, qua suetus ab arte | mulceri, ne saeua manus, ne liber habenis | impetus. "urge alios" inquit "stimulisque minisque; | ille ibit, minus ipse uoles". Sic ignea lora | cum daret et rapido Sol natum imponeret axi, | gaudentem lacrimans astra insidiosa docebat | nolentisque teri zonas mediamque polo rum | temperiem: pius ille quidem et formidine cauta, | sed iuuenem durae prohibebant discere Parcae'. *Ibid.*, 6, 450-453: 'Sed nec lora regit nec uerbera pallidus audet | Labdacides: lassa ueluti ratione magister | in fluctus, in saxa ruit nec iam amplius astra | respicit et uictam proiecit casibus artem'.

⁶ Cfr. Claud., *Hon. VI Cons.*, 539-553: 'Cum uectaris equo simulacraque Martia ludis, | Quis mollis sinuare fugas, quis tendere contum | Acrior aut subito melior flexisse recursus? | Non te Massagetae, non gens exercita campo | Thessala, non ipsi poterunt aequare bimembres; | Vix comites alae, uix te suspensi sequuntur | Agmina feruentesque tument post terga dracones. | Vtque tuis primum sonipes calcaribus arsit, | Ignescunt patulae nares, non sentit harenas | Vngula discussaeque iubae sparguntur in armos; | Turbantur phaleratae, spumosis morsibus aurum | Fumat, anhelantes exundant sanguine gemmae. | Ipse labor pulvisque decet confusaque motu | Caesaries; uestis radiato murice solem | Combibit, ingesto crispatur purpura uento'. Stat., *Theb.*, 389-403: 'Et iam sortitus Prothous uersarat aena | Casside, iamque locus cuique est et liminis ordo. | Terrarum decora ampla uiri, decora aequa iugales, | Dium utrumque genus, stant uno margine clausi | Spesque

Il caso del panegirico di Consenzio il Giovane (carme 23 di Sidonio Apollinare del 453 d. C.), è un esempio più evidente e più completo di 'reception' visto che il poeta va oltre le referenze intertestuali e imita il contenuto e la struttura di *Tebaide* 6 realizzando la lode della prestantza fisica e della virtù di Consenzio attraverso la messa in scena di una spettacolare gara di quadrighe.⁷ A dispetto dell'adesione strutturale al modello staziano, Sidonio persegue obiettivi completamente diversi da quelli del poeta di età flavia. Poiché Consenzio si dimostra in tutto e per tutto capace di dominare i propri destrieri, l'assimilazione intertestuale e *contrario* con Polinice serve a lodarne la *prudentia*. A Polinice ancora una volta si allude come modello di pessimo auriga, da non imitare. Al di là dei rimandi lessicali, il panegirico per Consenzio il Giovane può essere considerato il primo completo caso di 'reception' e di rielaborazione della gara delle quadrighe staziana. La gara costituisce non a caso l'unica parte epica del panegirico, scritto quasi provocatoriamente in endecasillabi falecei, per la quale il poeta trae ispirazione da una feconda combinazione di letteratura e storia contemporanea. Il motivo è descritto al di fuori di un contesto funebre, dal momento che si tratta dei *ludi consulares* per l'assunzione del consolato da parte di Valentiniano III, ma soprattutto è moralizzato al fine di celebrare la ormai cristiana virtù del giusto mezzo. La *prudentia*, infatti, e non l'intervento divino, così come accadeva nell'epica classica, guadagna a Consenzio la vittoria.

Sebbene l'opera di Stazio fosse largamente letta e imitata nel Medio Evo, non è dato — almeno a conoscenza di chi scrive — trovare nella letteratura latina medievale traccia del recupero del motivo dei giochi funebri, o dei giochi semplicemente. Con il passaggio dall'antichità al medio evo i giochi connessi con il rito funebre, considerati un costume pagano, scomparvero. Nondimeno, i giochi in se stessi riapparvero nella

audaxque una metus et fiducia pallens. | Nil fixum cordi: pugnant exire paudentque, | Concurrunt summos animosum frigus in artus. | Qui dominis, idem ardor equis; face lumina surgunt, | Ora sonant morsu, spumisque et sanguine ferrum | Vritur, impulsus nequeunt obsistere postes | Claustaque, compressae transfumat anhelitus irae. | Stare adeo miserum est, pereunt uestigia mille | Ante fugam, absentemque ferit grauis ungula campum. | Circumstant fidi, nexusque et torta iubarum | Expediunt firmantque animos et plurima monstrant'. Per uno studio del panegirico e del suo rapporto con *Theb.*, 6 cfr. Alberto Pavan, 'Onorio cavaliere divino. Un episodio della fortuna di Stazio, *Tebaide* 6: il Panegirico per il IV Consolato di Onorio di Claudiano', *Paideia*, 62 (2007), 563-589.

⁷ Sull'imitazione staziana in questo panegirico di Sidonio Apollinare cfr. Alberto Pavan, 'Consenzio o le virtù dell'auriga. Una rielaborazione della gara delle quadrighe di Stat. *Theb.*, VI in Sid. Ap. *carm.* 23 *ad Consentium* 307-427', *Aevum Antiquum* N.S., 5 (2005), 227-250.

letteratura tardo medioevale arricchendosi di nuove gare più alla moda: per esempio, il torneo, o giostra, che spesso sostituì la gara delle quadrighe, come nell'esempio di cui si tratterà.

La rinascita del motivo coincide con un autore e un'opera, Giovanni Boccaccio e il *Teseida delle nozze d'Emilia*, che inaugurano l'Umanesimo, pur presentando ancora vistosi tratti di cultura medievale. Tra il 1339 e il 1341 Boccaccio completò a Firenze il poema mitologico nel quale il motivo dei giochi risorge aggiudicandosi larga parte della narrazione. Boccaccio trascorse gli anni prima del 1339 a Napoli alla corte di Roberto d'Angiò, in cui conobbe il monaco basiliano Barlaam e il suo pupillo Leonzio Pilato, che fu in seguito l'autore di una traduzione *ad uerbum* dell'*Iliade* commissionata da Petrarca.⁸

Non è quindi improbabile che proprio a Napoli Boccaccio poté avvicinarsi al contenuto dell'*Iliade* in modo più particolareggiato di quanto non lo consentissero le epitomi di Darete Frigio o di Ditti Cretese, e acquisì la consapevolezza che un poema epico, per essere degno dell'archetipo omerico, doveva includere i giochi funebri. Inoltre, a parte l'*Iliade*, la *Tebaide* era l'unico epos a offrirgli una trattazione dei giochi funebri avvincente e intrisa di connotazioni guerresche, visto che i giochi dell'*Eneide* poco avevano di bellico, essendo un invito alla pace e alla solidarietà in ossequio alla propaganda politica augustea, e visto che i giochi dei *Punica* di Silio Italico erano inseriti in un contesto più trionfale e commemorativo che funebre in senso stretto.

Il *Teseida* è dunque il primo esempio di poema epico-cavalleresco a contenuto mitologico la cui struttura è costruita su modelli classici. David Anderson ha messo chiaramente in evidenza che la seconda parte del poema (libri 6-11) non è altro che un'amplificazione dei giochi staziani⁹, dal momento che Boccaccio intende attuare l'«alternate ending» suggerito da Stazio nell'apostrofe a Polinice di *Theb.*, 6, 513-517¹⁰,

⁸ Philip Ford, *De Troie à Ithaque. Réception des épopées homériques à la Renaissance* (Génève: Droz, 2007), pp. 150-151; Paul Botley, *Learning Greek in Western Europe, 1396-1529* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2010), pp. 124-131.

⁹ Cfr. David Anderson, *Before the Knight's Tale: Imitation of Classical Epic in Boccaccio's Teseida* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988); James H. McGregor, *The Shades of Aeneas* (Athens – London: University of Georgia Press, 1991), cap. 4, 'Teseida 1: The Fall of Arcita and the Failure of Pietas'; cap. 5, 'Teseida 2: After the Fall: Fame, monuments, and Marriage' (pp.); appendice 'Prizes in Funeral Games of Arcita'.

¹⁰ 'Quis mortis, Thebane, locus, nisi dura negasset | Tisiphone, quantum poteris dimittere bellum! | Te Thebe fraterque palam, te plangeret Argos, | Te Nemea, tibi Lerna comas Larisaque supplex | Poneret, Archemori maior colerere sepulcro'.

quando il principe tebano sbalzato dalla quadriga, perché i cavalli erano stati terrorizzati dall'apparizione di una mostruosa Erinni (6, 495: 'anguicomam monstri effigiem'), si rialza da terra ammaccato, ma salvo. La morte in quella circostanza gli avrebbe evitato l'abominio del duello fraticida e gli avrebbe meritato un funerale ancora più solenne di quello per il quale si stanno svolgendo le gare. L'autore-narratore rimpiange quindi la mancata occasione di morte e Boccaccio, suo lettore e successore, ne approfitta per dare concretezza narrativa allo spunto. Di conseguenza, nel *Teseida* Arcita muore cadendo dal carro durante la gara a causa dell'apparizione di un'Erinni;¹¹ la sua morte segna pertanto la fine della giostra contro il cugino Palemone per la conquista della mano di Emilia, cognata di Teseo.

In questo modo, i giochi sono — così come Stazio li definiva in apertura di libro mettendone in rilievo la natura propedeutica alla guerra (*Theb.*, 6, 4-5: 'quo Martia bellis praesudare paret seseque accendere uirtus') — un 'giuoco a Marte' (*Tes.*, 7, 13), poiché i cugini Arcita e Palemone si sono sfidati nel torneo, che sostituisce in maniera più blanda e onorevole per mezzo di una morte accidentale la guerra civile tra i loro congiunti Eteocle e Polinice. Il funerale è poi ritardato fino alla conclusione del torneo nel libro 11, nel quale le gare sono rapidamente elencate senza che l'autore indugi a descriverle.¹²

L'ambientazione e le norme che regolano il gioco a Marte sono modellate su quelle delle gare di *Theb.*, 6. Entrambe le competizioni si svolgono in un luogo a esse deputato, una valle che la natura ha sagomato come un teatro nella *Tebaide* e un teatro che è un prodigio architettonico

¹¹ *Teseida*, 9, 4-7: 'Ell'avea poco avanti visitati | gli oscuri regni dell'ardente Dite | e al re nero aveva palesati | i suoi disii; per che di quella uscì | più furie eran con alti mandati; | ma ella, Erinis presa, a l'altre: — Gite | dove vi piace — disse; e poi a questa | tutta la voglia sua fé manifesta. | 5 Venne costei di ceraste crinita, | e di verdi idre li suoi ornamenti | erano a cui in Elisso la vita | riconfortata avea, le quai lambenti | le sulfuree fiamme, che uscita | di bocca le facevan puzzolenti, | più fiera la faceano; e questa Dea | di serpi scuriata in man tenea. 6 La cui venuta diè tanto d'orrore | a chi nel teatro stava a vedere, | ch'ognuno stava con tremante core, | né il perché nessun potea sapere. | Li venti dier non usato romore, | e 'l ciel più ner cominciò a parere; | il teatro tremò, e ogni porta | cigolò forte ne' cardini storta. 7 Costei, nel chiaro di rassicurata, | non mutò forma né cangiò sembante; | ma già nel campo tosto se n'è andata, | là dove Arcita correva festante, | e orribil come era, fu parata | al corrente destrier tosto davante, | il qual per ispavento in piè levossi | e indietro cader tutto lasciossi'.

¹² *Teseida*, 11, 59: 'E acciò che l'onor fosse maggiore, | molti giuochi vi furono ordinati, | ne' quali i re mostrar molto valore; | ma intra gli altri nel corso onorati | i primi furono e Ida e Castore, | sì come molto in ciò esercitati; | costoro adunque di vertute equali, | di lor vittoria pari ebber segnali'.

nel *Teseida*;¹³ in entrambi i casi un giudice carismatico e autorevole sovrintende allo svolgimento dei giochi: il saggio Adrasto in *Tebaide* 6 e Teseo nel *Teseida* (come già erano Achille in *Il.*, 23 ed Enea in *Aen.*, 5). Inoltre, Boccaccio si compiace di richiamare allusivamente la processione degli antenati che nella *Tebaide* precede i giochi e che con essi intrattiene fitti legami figurali, dal momento che pone in apertura del torneo una parata di scudi trasportati su carri e decorati con scene mitologiche. La parata è il risultato della combinazione di due episodi della *Tebaide*: la collocazione e alcuni personaggi mitologici effigiati sugli scudi (Io e Argo per esempio) richiamano la *pompa funebris*, ma, trattandosi di un catalogo di armi e cavalieri, il modello più diretto è il catalogo delle truppe di *Tebaide* 4, 1-344.

Alla fine del torneo e dopo il lungo lutto, il funerale di Arcita in *Teseida* 11 si svolge in fedele osservanza di quello di Ofelte di *Tebaide* 6:¹⁴ alla costruzione della pira funebre con il legno di un bosco sacro fanno seguito il carosello equestre e i giochi ('corso, unta palestra, cesto', e altri omessi) senza la gara dei carri che è già stata narrata. Il libro si conclude quindi con la costruzione del sepolcro di Arcita che reca scolpita nei rilievi la storia dell'eroe defunto. Alla fine il modello staziano è rovesciato, poiché, nella *Tebaide*, il mausoleo di Ofelte è descritto prima della *pompa funebris* e i giochi ne concludono il funerale (*Tes.*, 11, 69-87).

Boccaccio interviene sul modello facendo scaturire lo svolgimento della sua narrazione da un motivo epico convenzionale e trasforma i giochi, tradizionalmente considerati palestra per la guerra a venire, nel duello che costituisce la soluzione della tensione narrativa. Nondimeno, egli si sente obbligato a non omettere i giochi nella loro natura di momento convenzionale e così li colloca come conclusione dell'intero episodio.

Il motivo dei giochi ottenne poi grande successo nell'epica latina del Quattrocento, miniera dalle risorse inesauribili, anche se sovente seriali, per la scoperta di nuove combinazioni di motivi classici e dei loro nuovi significati. La poesia epica neolatina è un genere arcaizzante nella lingua e nelle forme, visto che i poeti erano *laudatores temporis acti*, piuttosto incantati dal mondo antico che nostalgici di esso: essi vivevano nella venerazione di Omero, finalmente letto anche in greco, di Virgilio e di tutta la tradizione

¹³ James H. McGregor, 'Boccaccio's Athenian Theater: Form and Function of an Ancient Monument in *Teseida*', *Modern Language Notes*, 99/1, Italian Issue (Jan., 1984), 1-42.

¹⁴ Cfr. '5. *Teseida* 2 After the Fall: Fame, Monuments, and Marriage', in James McGregor, *The Shades of Aeneas*, pp. 77-103.

epica greca e latina che si sforzavano di imitare. Le loro opere, spesso scritte su commissione o nella speranza di ricavarne qualche vitalizio, assolvevano al compito di elevare la storia più recente al di sopra dell'antichità e rappresentavano i tempi a loro contemporanei attraverso le forme dell'epica antica.¹⁵ Il protagonista in particolare riceveva una sembianza classica e pure i nomi erano camuffati secondo le sonorità dell'esametro dattilico.¹⁶ Il nucleo tematico del poema è solitamente una guerra combattuta dal dedicatario e conclusasi con un trionfo, che consente di rivitalizzare il motivo antico del trionfo inserendolo in un nuovo contesto, del resto non ignoto all'epica Romana, come i *Punica* di Silio Italico testimoniano.

La *Carlias* di Ugolino Verino riporta un esempio chiaro e completo di questa restaurazione umanistica del motivo e del suo svincolamento dai funerali al fine di adeguarlo all'empito cristiano del poema.¹⁷ La *Carlias* è un poema ibrido dal momento che supera la convenzionale lunghezza del poema epico (ha 17 libri, forse anche in memoria dei *Punica* di Silio Italico), così come sancita dall'Eneide, e soprattutto perché il suo argomento, le imprese di Carlo Magno, lo accomunano alla tradizione volgare dei cantari. Verino lavorò per molti anni all'opera che è trasmessa in sei versioni differenti. L'ultima versione pervenuta, un manoscritto riccamente miniato con una magniloquente epistola dedicatoria a Carlo VIII di Francia, è a tal punto legata a una precisa volontà del committente, il governo mediceo desideroso di rinsaldare i rapporti tra Firenze e il regno di Francia, i cui sovrani discendono appunto da Carlo Magno, che lo stesso manoscritto fu donato al re in occasione dell'ambasceria inviata da Piero de' Medici a Tours nel luglio del 1493. La missione diplomatica

¹⁵ Cfr. Antonio Belloni, *Il poema epico e mitologico* (Milano: F. Vallardi, 1912), pp. 87-117.

¹⁶ Cfr. Vladimiro Zabughin, *Vergilio nel Rinascimento italiano da Dante a Torquato Tasso* (Trento: Editrice Università di Trento, 2000), pp. 331-332: 'gli umanisti, "laudatores temporis acti" si troveranno nella necessità non solo di studiare la storia modernissima e di esaltarla al di sopra dell'antichità, ma altresì di raffigurarla epicamente con una tecnica interamente tolta a modelli d'altri tempi. Sarà l'inversione completa del problema capitale della pittura quattrocentesca. Gli artisti del pennello stavano per di più davanti a soggetti antichi, sacri o profani, non monta, e li affrontarono con mezzi tecnici moderni. Ne risultò un trionfo del neoterismo realistico'.

¹⁷ Sulla natura ibrida del poema, sulla sua cronologia e sui suoi rapporti con la politica fiorentina contemporanea, cfr. Alfonso Lazzari, *Ugolino e Michele Verino* (Torino: Libreria Clausen, 1897), pp. 158-159; Francesco Bausi, 'L'epica tra latino e volgare', in Luigi Beschi (ed.), *La Toscana al tempo di Lorenzo il Magnifico. Politica Economia Cultura Arte, Convegno di Studi promosso dalle Università di Firenze, Pisa e Siena 5-8 Novembre 1992* (Pisa: Pacini Editore 1996), II, 357-373.

si proponeva di assicurare il re Carlo sulla neutralità di Firenze nel corso della sua imminente campagna contro Napoli. Il poema è fautore di questo messaggio attraverso l'adulazione del re e il tentativo di cattivarsene la benevolenza assimilandolo al suo omonimo antenato Carlo Magno.

La prossimità della *Carlias* alla struttura e ai contenuti del cantare fece avvertire al poeta la necessità di un apparato epico che lo annobilitasse, composto, se non di ingiustificabili interventi divini, almeno di *ekphraseis* e giochi.¹⁸ I ludi si svolgono nel libro 5 (come nell'*Eneide*), nel quale Carlo Magno, naufrago di ritorno dalla vittoriosa campagna in Oriente, attende di salpare per l'Italia. I giochi si svolgono a Buthrotum, città ricca di memorie letterarie, perché nella virgiliana *parua Troia* Eleno e Andromaca ricevettero Enea dopo il suo lungo viaggio da Troia in fiamme e lo onorarono con dei ludi.¹⁹ Giustino, re d'Epiro, allestisce in onore di Carlo Magno una battuta di caccia e, nel giorno del Santo Natale, tre gare: la gara dei carri, la lotta e un torneo. I ludi sono inseriti nel contesto di una festività cristiana come segno di ospitalità e non presentano nessun legame con il funerale o il trionfo, né tantomeno si presentano come una prova generale per una guerra a venire. Ben si possono spiegare con l'interpretazione dei giochi dell'*Eneide* avanzata da Cristoforo Landino, maestro di Verino. Nelle *Disputationes Camaldulenses* egli considera i ludi come puro intrattenimento offerto ai lettori senza alcuna funzione strutturale o anticipazione di significato.²⁰ Sebbene i giochi si trovino in un libro che risulta dalla combinazione di tre libri dell'*Eneide*²¹, non è errato individuare come modello principale *Tebaide* 6, in particolare per la corsa delle quadrighe, la prima tra le competizioni, ma non la più importante, a differenza del modello, visto che occupa solo 57 versi contro i 77 dedicati alla giostra.

È probabile che Verino si sia adoperato a cattivarsi il favore dei lettori e forse del dedicatario, concentrandosi su sport a loro molto graditi quali

¹⁸ Sull'apparato epico nella *Carlias*, inteso come motivi di origine classica, cfr. 'Aeneid 1 and the epic gaze in the *Carlias* of Ugolino Verino', in Helen Lovatt, *The Epic Gaze: Vision, Gender and Narrative in Ancient Epic from Homer to Nonnus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, previsto per il 2013).

¹⁹ Verg., *Aen.*, 3, 279-282: 'Lustramurque Ioui uotisque incendimus aras, | Actiaque Iliacis celebramus litora ludis. | Exercent patrias oleo labente palaestras | nudati socii'.

²⁰ *Disp.*, p. 199: 'Poeta tamen, cuius consilium est, non solum ut grauissimas res proferat, sed illas uaria iocunditate ita aspergat ut taedium tristitiamque profundarum rerum comites penitus amoueat, uaria ludorum genera interponit'. Cfr. Nikolaus Thurn, *Kommentar zur Carlias des Ugolino Verino* (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2002), p. 282.

²¹ Il libro si apre infatti con una battuta di caccia (cfr. *Aen.*, 4), prosegue con dei ludi (cfr. *Aen.*, 5) e si conclude con la visione delle anime dei defunti (cfr. *Aen.*, 6).

la caccia e la giostra ben presente alla memoria dei lettori contemporanei piuttosto che su riferimenti letterari e antiquari difficili da apprezzare, soprattutto per un lettore ben poco colto qual era Carlo VIII. Al contrario, il piacere del lettore risiede proprio nella decifrazione dei modelli stratificati che sostanziano l'epica neolatina.

Sul rapporto di Verino con la letteratura latina gli studiosi hanno assunto di recente posizioni diverse. Da una parte Francesco Bausi, nel profilo che traccia della *Carlias*, tende a individuare come modello quasi esclusivo Virgilio. Tuttavia, alcuni particolari dei giochi inducono invece a sostenere che Verino non solo conosce bene Stazio, ma che a lui vuole anche alludere, come Helen Lovatt ha sottolineato.²²

Per esempio, a dispetto della sua brevità, la gara dei carri mostra il debito di Verino nei confronti di Stazio: la sezione si apre (e così anche si chiude), in accordo con la trattazione della *Tebaide*, con una perifrasi astronomica che colloca i ludi nel giorno di Natale.²³ Segue poi la descrizione del luogo dei giochi: si tratta di un circo piuttosto che di un anfiteatro naturale, com'era in Virgilio e in Omero. In questo caso, Verino sembra filtrare il modello classico attraverso la rivisitazione di Boccaccio *Teseida* 7 e il ricordo delle arene costruite per le giostre nella Firenze a lui contemporanea.²⁴ Prima dell'inizio delle gare, come in *Iliade* 23, sono messi in palio i premi che il poeta non descrive limitandosi a definirli

²² Cfr. Bausi, 'L'epica tra latino e volgare', p. 358: 'd'altra parte, gli *auctores* del Verino, quelli sui quali l'intera *Carliade* programmaticamente si fonda, sono i più tradizionali possibili (Virgilio e Dante, cui Ugolino, nella dedica e nella chiusa del poema, affianca — ma si tratta di un modello ideale — Omero), e non certo quelli (Stazio o Valerio Flacco o Apollonio Rodio) riscoperti e un po' snobisticamente coltivati dagli agguerriti esponenti della nuova filologia fiorentina'; e p. 365: 'Un cenno a parte merita poi — per i suoi rapporti con quanto dicevamo prima — la dettagliata descrizione dei giochi indetti a Butroto, per festeggiare il Natale. Il modello remoto è quello virgiliano, con i giochi organizzati da Enea in onore di Anchise; ma prettamente medievale e cavalleresco — piuttosto che classico — è il sapore di questi giochi, in cui gli esercizi ginnici e il pugilato hanno poco rilievo, mentre il più ampio spazio è concesso — i termini sono quelli veriniani — al *certamen equorum* (la corsa dei cavalli: vv. 246-308) e al *certamen equestre* (la giostra: vv. 347-421)'; Thurn, *Kommentar*, pp. 282-286, evidenzia accuratamente i riferimenti alla *Tebaide* di Stazio.

²³ Cfr. *Carlias*, 5, 226-229: 'Iam Iovis aeterni natalis et annuus ortus | venerat, horrifico sevit cum bruma Decembri, | ante alias veneranda dies, nec cernere tristem | fas quenquam'. Il giorno di Natale, in quanto solennità cristiana degna di essere onorata diventa il giorno dei giochi nei poemi cavallereschi del Cinquecento: cfr. l'*Avarchide* di Luigi Alamanni, e l'*Italia liberata dai Goti* di Giangiorgio Trissino.

²⁴ Cfr. Thurn, *Kommentar*, p. 285, e Francesco Bausi, 'La *Carlias* di Ugolino Verino', in M. Villaresi (ed.), *Atti del convegno Paladini di carta. Il modello cavalleresco fiorentino, Firenze, 8-9 maggio, 2003* (Roma: Bulzoni, 2006), pp. 161-173.

come una coppa indiana lavorata a cesello e un mantello di porpora ricamato con fili d'oro, gli stessi generi di premi di *Eneide* 5 e *Tebaide* 6.²⁵

Si riscontra una volontà di alludere in maniera dotta a Stazio attraverso l'onomastica dei cavalli e degli aurighi, di cui si riporta sotto qualche esempio, e anche attraverso lo svolgimento della gara:²⁶

- v. 260, il primo auriga è *Ippopulus* il cui nome, un pleonastico gioco di parole bilingue combina insieme *hippos* e *pullus*, ricordando Ippodamo di *Theb.*, 6, 346;
- vv. 261-263
 At Pyrrhus geminos lactenti corpore Cynos
 Ducebat — sic nomen equis —, quos concolor uno
 Enixa est partu genetrix ad pabula Mobrae.

I cavalli bianchi ricordano quelli di Anfiarao (*Theb.*, 6, 330 *niuei dant colla iugales*), uno dei quali si chiama appunto Cynos (6, 463; 6, 524, e cfr. il candido Cynos in *Sil. It.*, 16, 303-342);

- vv. 264-266
 Quin ferus Eutidas Blemmeni lumine torvo
 Ora reluctantis duris spumantia frenis
 Vix poterat compescere equi;

Blemmenus, il cavallo più indomito, presenta alcune caratteristiche delle cavalle trace di Admeto (come dimostra anche l'inizio di verso identico: cfr. *Theb.*, 6, 330-331: 'quin et Thessalicis felix Admetus ab oris | iux steriles compescit equas').

- vv. 274-275: 'Quin bellatorem Albanus tentare Phonandrum | non timuit ductor Graiosque lacessere ludos'. Dietro l'epiteto *Albanus* si cela Rinaldo di Montalbano il nome del cui cavallo Phonander, ricorda ancora i cavalli antropofagi di Ippodamo, *Theb.*, 6, 485-486.

Il riferimento più significativo alla corsa staziana si ravvisa però durante lo svolgimento della gara. Quando ogni auriga smania per superare gli avversari, il poeta concentra la propria attenzione su Rinaldo, ultimo all'inizio, che sprona i destrieri con un'energia tale da guadagnare la seconda posizione. Il poeta evidenzia il recupero di Rinaldo attraverso un'apostrofe che pone l'attenzione sul rumore provocato dalle grida degli altri aurighi che potrebbero quindi frastornare i cavalli, vv. 299-302: 'Euolat, ut vocem domini sensisse putares, | ocior excusso turbati fulmine caeli, | Eutidamanta

²⁵ Cfr. Verg., *Aen.*, 5, 250-255 e Stat., *Theb.*, 6, 540-547.

²⁶ Cfr. Thurn, *Kommentar*, pp. 283-284.

retro frustra clamore cientem | Blemmenum linquit'. Questa apostrofe denota un comportamento opposto a quello di *Theb.*, 6, 467-468, in cui Polinice è a tal punto terrorizzato da Arione da non riuscire a proferir verbo. Al contrario, le esortazioni di Rinaldo risuonano così chiare che sembra di poterle udire a dispetto del frastuono. Alla fine, Himilco conquista il primo premio, ma il poeta introduce un periodo ipotetico dell'impossibilità per ricordare che Rinaldo avrebbe potuto essere il vincitore ricorrendo implicitamente alla figura di Polinice come *exemplum auertendum* di pessimo auriga.²⁷

L'obiettivo di Verino nel recupero del modello staziano è quello di dare una patina epica ed erudita a un episodio di puro intrattenimento, limitandosi a inventare una gara piuttosto piatta, come ne prova lo svolgimento privo di incidenti, e priva di qualsiasi funzione anticipatrice.

2. Il *Bellum Noricum* di Riccardo Bartolini e l'auctoritas della *Tebaide*



*Studio per monumento equestre di
Massimiliano I, 1510 circa.
Albertina, Vienna, cat. 1/17*

²⁷ vv. 306-309: 'Quod nisi currentem Automedon auriga quadrigam | flexisset leva interius metamque petisset | Trinacrius, vel si spatium tunc longius esset, | Albanus prime meruisset praemia laudis' e cfr. Stat., *Theb.*, 6, 528: 'forsitan et uicto prior isset Arione Cynus'. L'autore antico concentra la sua attenzione sui cavalli anziché sugli aurighi.

Nella *Carlias* si assiste a un inserimento attualizzato dei giochi nell'epica latina rinascimentale, ma c'è ancora bisogno di un passo ulteriore prima di giungere alla completa restaurazione dell'archetipo che vede i giochi uniti al funerale e alla processione. Questa combinazione ancora pagana sembra essere stata messa al bando dall'epica mediolatina e dal poema epico cavalleresco delle origini. Il caso del *Teseida*, come s'è visto, trova giustificazione nell'appartenenza dei suoi protagonisti alla mitologia greca. Solo intorno alla metà del XVI secolo, al tempo della riforma teorica del genere epico che impone la massima fedeltà all'*Iliade* di Omero, si possono di nuovo trovare poemi in cui funerali e giochi sono congiunti, come l'*Italia liberata dai Goti* di Giangiorgio Trissino (scritta nel 1527, ma pubblicata solo nel 1547) e l'*Avarchide* di Luigi Alamanni (pubblicata postuma solo nel 1570). All'interno di questo panorama, il *Bellum Noricum sive Austriados libri XII* di Riccardo Bartolini costituisce un'eccezione poiché è il primo poema neolatino, dal contenuto e dai protagonisti cristiani, a proporre una cerimonia funebre unita ai giochi e al trionfo.

Una rassegna per quanto generale del *Bellum Noricum* non può prescindere dal contesto storico e dalla considerazione delle tecniche propagandistiche perseguite dal Sacro Romano Imperatore Massimiliano I al fine di presentare in modo convincente la legittimità del potere imperiale della casa d'Asburgo. A differenza della *Carlias*, si ha a che fare con un testo che tratta direttamente della politica a lui contemporanea e che non intende rappresentarla attraverso riferimenti alla storia remota e leggendaria. Per questo motivo, s'impone una breve introduzione sull'autore e sulla sua epoca.

Riccardo Bartolini nacque intorno al 1475 a Perugia, dove fece studi teologici e letterari. Nel 1504, durante la guerra di successione di Baviera-Landshut, seguì lo zio Mariano, ambasciatore di papa Giulio II alla corte imperiale. Questo primo soggiorno nei paesi germanici gli giovò nel 1513 quando il cardinal Matthaeus Lang, fidatissimo cancelliere di Massimiliano I, gli affidò l'incarico di responsabile della corrispondenza imperiale. Nei cinque anni al servizio del cardinale, Bartolini ebbe l'occasione di incontrare illustri umanisti di area tedesca, quali Erasmo da Rotterdam, Jakob Spiegel e Ursinus Velius. Dovette la propria fama soprattutto al *Bellum Noricum*, pubblicato per la prima volta a Strasburgo nel 1516.²⁸ Si tratta

²⁸ Le citazioni a seguire sono tratte dalla edizione del 1516: Ricardus Bartolinus, *Bellum Noricum sive Austriados libri XII* (Strasburgo: Schurer, 1516). Sulle edizioni del poema e sul commento di Spiegel cfr. Stephan Füssel, *Ricardus Bartholinus Perusinus. Humanistische Panegyrik am Hofe Kaiser Maximilians I*, Saecula Spiritalia, 16 (Baden-Baden: V. Koerner, 1987), pp. 141-145 e 194-205.

di un'epica panegiristica dedicata all'imperatore Massimiliano, che l'apprezzò a tal punto da incoronare Bartolini con il lauro poetico nel 1517. Il poeta morì infine a Perugia nel 1529 dopo essersi dedicato all'insegnamento della retorica e a missioni diplomatiche a favore della città natale.

Il *Bellum Noricum* consta di dodici libri di esametri, secondo il canone fissato dall'*Eneide* e confermato poi dalla *Tebaide*, ed è una 'cronaca in versi' di un fatto contemporaneo, la guerra di successione di Baviera-Landshut della quale lo stesso Bartolini fu testimone ai tempi della missione con lo zio Mariano. Il conflitto è di natura civile, o ancora 'più che civile', perché coinvolge due rami della casa dei duchi di Baviera: essa scaturisce infatti da un patto dinastico disatteso che, in caso di estinzione di una linea, attribuiva la successione a quella che avesse un erede maschio. Tale patto privato contravveniva però alla legge imperiale che nominava beneficiario dell'eredità l'Imperatore. Il testamento dell'ultimo duca di Baviera-Landshut complicò ulteriormente la situazione, poiché nominava sua erede la figlia Elisabetta andata sposa a Roberto duca del Palatinato. Tale disposizione provocò nel 1503 la guerra tra i due rami della casa ducale di Baviera che terminò solamente nel 1505 con la morte per peste di Elisabetta e Roberto e l'intervento dell'Imperatore in qualità di arbitro della contesa che sancì la pace al Reichstag di Colonia nel luglio di quell'anno.

Se il titolo del poema richiama molto da vicino il *Bellum Ciuile*, epos storico di Lucano, il largo impiego dell'apparato divino per inserire la narrazione in una cornice eroica e mitologica rivela una stretta aderenza al modello virgiliano e idealmente anche all'*Iliade* di Omero. Il rigoroso classicismo dell'opera fu subito apprezzato, come testimonia l'epistola scritta da Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola e pubblicata nella prima edizione in cui l'amico così si complimenta:

Multa vidi et docta et noua. (...) In carmine residet maiestas atque eruditio et quod attinet ad numeros et liniamenta, exerit sese quaedam probati generis concinna fatis, nec morose affectata imitatio.

Dalle parole di Pico si comprende che l'*imitatio* di Bartolini ha una cifra personale che consiste in un rispetto così scrupoloso del modello antico da diventare irriverente nei confronti della religione cristiana:

Vnum illud dumtaxat desyderarim: Deorum gentium mentionem, quae plurima est in carmine, non eo modo quo saepe uteris, fuisse constitutam. Siquidem optarem eos accerseres, non ut olim poetae addicti eorum superstitionibus, uerum ut ipsorum osor et contemptor et expulsor ac uindex, et plane propagator nostrae religionis, cuius es flamen.

Bartolini, in ossequio alla sua poetica classicistica, non accetta neppure l'eliminazione dell'apparato divino e, pertanto, la fedeltà ai modelli lo rende riluttante a una 'censura' cristiana della convenzione epica che comprometterebbe sostanza e forma del poema, costretto a diventare, in assenza degli dei, 'uelut ieiunus et minime succiplenus'.²⁹ Nel tentativo di dare al nostro poeta una genealogia letteraria e di comprendere quale idea volesse dare di se stesso, vale la pena ricordare l'epigramma gratulatorio di Paolo Amalteo che inserisce Bartolini in un sistema di comparazioni in cui il 'padre' del nostro poeta è idealmente Omero.³⁰ La raffinata dimensione letteraria ed erudita del poema fece sì che lo stesso Massimiliano nel 1519 affidò a Jakob Spiegel la stesura di un commento monumentale che, incluso nell'edizione del 1531, promosse il *Bellum Noricum* press'a poco al livello delle opere degli autori classici.

A dispetto di questo successo immediato, il poema incontrò nel corso del tempo un oblio più oscuro di molti altri poemi epici neolatini. Neanche Antonio Belloni³¹, che pur propone un'accuratissima rassegna dell'epica neolatina in Italia, ne fa menzione. Lo stesso accade nell'altrettanto enciclopedico e ricco studio di Vladimiro Zabughin sulla fortuna di Virgilio nel Rinascimento italiano pubblicato nel 1921.³² Pare poco probabile collegare il silenzio di Belloni con la situazione di quegli anni in cui tanto orgoglioso irredentismo, anche intellettuale, avrebbe deliberatamente condannato all'oblio il *Bellum Noricum*, opera di un italiano sinceramente filo-imperiale. Pare anche improbabile

²⁹ 'Quantum aut de diis prophanis sentis, id ego tuo arbitratu sectatus fuissem, nisi labore exterritus huiusmodi oneri pepercissem. Caeterum nisi dii deaeque canerentur a poetis, fabularumque lenociniis uterentur, velut ieiuni et minime succipleni, cum proprium Theographice poetarum sit, spernerent. (...) Alterum enim nihil aliud quam Deorum deorumque figmenta complectitur, quae ab Euemero illo prisco, siue ante illum a quopiam alio, siue post ab Homero, Hesiodoque affatim prodita sunt, ut eorundem illecebris ad cognitionem bonarum rerum animi rudes facilius traherent. Quas si ab illis demas, nescio quod parum eorundem opera placebunt. Hesiodi poemata extant, si illinc deorum auferes nomina, totum tollas, mutilesque ornatum necesse est'.

³⁰ 'Nostra nec immerito laetantur tempora, Caesar, | cum tot honestentur vatibus ingenuis, | ut, quoniam tantum bacchantur bella per orbem, | sint qui facta ducum, qui tua gesta canant. | Qui tamen hos inter divino concitus Aestro | nescio quid maius conderet Iliade | Ricardus fuerit, Trasimeni natus ad undas, | qui canit heroo Norica bella pede. | Cui si quae praestas, servaveris ocia, Caesar: | redduntur – dices – tempora Vergilii'.

³¹ Antonio Belloni, *Il poema epico e mitologico* (Milano: Vallardi), in particolare il capitolo IV 'L'epica nel Quattrocento', pp. 87-117.

³² Cfr. Zabughin, *La fortuna di Virgilio nel Rinascimento italiano da Dante a Tasso*, I, cap. V 'Imitatori: Eneide', pp. 331-403.

addurre la causa dell'esclusione dal repertorio di Zabughin alla natura non completamente virgiliana del poema e alla predilezione per l'archetipo omerico. Sembra più verisimile che il poema abbia avuto poca diffusione in Italia e che per questo i critici non si siano imbattuti in esso.

I contributi più recenti e significativi sono infatti di area austriaca. È di Stephan Füssel lo studio esaustivo sulla vita e sull'opera di Bartolini che offre il destro a indagini su singoli episodi del poema e sul rapporto dello stesso con i classici.³³ In questo senso infatti si muovono i due articoli sul *Bellum Noricum* scritti da Elisabeth Klecker negli anni '90 nell'ambito del progetto di catalogazione dei panegirici latini per la casa d'Asburgo.³⁴ Entrambi i lavori insistono sul primato dell'*Iliade* tra i modelli per quel che concerne la trama del poema che si dipana attraverso *aristeiai* ed episodi convenzionali e anche da un punto di vista ideale, in quanto Bartolini si sforza di mostrarsi pari al poeta greco (p. 615). Eguale attenzione, ma soprattutto per motivi formali, è riservata a Virgilio. Nondimeno, sia a livello di macrostrutture sia a livello di microstrutture ci sono elementi che consentono di osservare che il *Bellum Noricum* guarda alla *Tebaide* come terzo grande modello di riferimento e la sintesi del contenuto di alcuni libri e l'analisi del proemio aiuteranno a comprenderne l'obiettivo e la prassi dell'imitazione.

Dal punto di vista delle macrostrutture narrative il *Bellum Noricum*, come l'epos staziano, narra una guerra familiare che si risolve solo grazie all'intervento di un arbitro esterno *super partes* (Teseo, re d'Atene, nel caso del poema romano), figura di sovrano ideale che con la sua *pietas* rende onore ai defunti e placa le divinità e con la sua *auctoritas* ristabilisce la pace e l'ordine costituito. Nello svolgimento della vicenda e nella distribuzione dei contenuti si ravvisano le seguenti somiglianze concentrate nei libri iniziali e in quelli finali, mentre quelli centrali seguono più da vicino il modello omerico.³⁵

³³ In particolare Füssel, *Riccardus Bartholinus*, pp. 168-193.

³⁴ Elisabeth Klecker, 'Kaiser Maximilian Homer', in *Sphairos. Festschrift Hans Schwabl* (= *Wiener Studien*, 107/108 (1994/1995)), 613-637; Ead., 'Impius Aeneas – pius Maximilianus', *Wiener humanistische Blätter*, 37 (1995), 50-65; Franz Römer – Ead., 'Poetische Habsburg-Panegyrik in lateinischer Sprache. Bestände der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek als Grundlage eines Forschungsprojekts (Tafel 10-13)', *Biblos*, 43, 3-4 (1994), 183-198.

³⁵ Klecker, 'Kaiser Maximilian Homer', pp. 617-620.

I libro: dopo l'invocazione proemiale a Massimiliano (allo stesso modo Lucano e Stazio invocano Nerone e Domiziano nei loro proemi), la dea Bellona, come Edipo in *Theb.*, 1, evoca l'Erinni dagli Inferi per far scoppiare la guerra tra i Germani.

II libro: l'Imperatore invia senza successo un'ambasciata al Duca del Palatinato per negoziare la pace. Analogamente Tideo in *Theb.*, 2 è inviato come legato di Polinice. Nel frattempo, Massimiliano uccide un orso mostruoso che terrorizza i pastori delle Alpi, così come Corebo uccide il mostro Harpe in *Theb.*, 1. Il libro si conclude con un banchetto ad Augusta.

IV libro: catalogo delle genti germaniche (come in *Theb.*, 4 catalogo degli alleati argivi). Un giovane munito di bastone è inviato a dichiarare la guerra. Duello tra Massimiliano ed Ebalo protetti rispettivamente da Diana e Venere. L'Imperatore mostra la sua *clementia* concedendo la sepoltura al cadavere del nemico.

XI libro: le mogli dei caduti in guerra inviano un'ambasceria all'Imperatore per chiedergli la restituzione dei cadaveri, come Argia e Antigone in *Theb.*, 11.

XII libro: Massimiliano vincitore si reca a Colonia dove celebra il proprio trionfo. Gli dei si riconciliano con l'Imperatore e ha luogo una cerimonia funebre seguita dai giochi, come in *Theb.*, 6.

La presenza della *Tebaide* risulta quindi evidente, ma uno sguardo più analitico al proemio, luogo deputato all'esposizione del programma poetico e anche alla dichiarazione dei modelli con i quali s'ingaggia la sfida emulativa, prova che Stazio è l'interlocutore privilegiato col quale Bartolini si misura.

Caesareas acies Arctoaque regna ducesque
Magnanimos canimus, fontemque binominis Istri,
et uastum Heluetio spumantem uertice Rhenum
strage hominum, atque atro maculantes aequora fluctu.
Magnum opus aggredior, cum saeui fulmina Martis,
et domitas bello gentes, cum Palladis iram,
et **coniurato pugnantes foedere Boios**
mens agitet, quis Parnassum, Cyrrhamque mouentem
sollicitat: tantus ne animis mortalibus audet
illabi furor et magnis non cedere factis.
Iam satis Amphryso, Pataraque arcessere Phoebum,
Cymbrorum si bella uelim, Senonumque tumultus,
victaque Teutonicis Romana furoribus arma,
infrenesque Gothos, madidumque cruore Latino

Vandalon et raptas urbes, Herulumque furentem
 Et meminisse olim et tacitis defendere ab annis,
Pierio sed enim cum me calor excitet oestro,
scribendique immensus amor, resque ire per altas
Caesaris ipse mihi praecinctus tempora lauro
Numen erit, Cynthique simul lustrabimus umbras,
Nec Bacchus Eois opus est diuertere lucis.
 Tempus erit cum bella canam, quibus horrida uinci
 Bactra uenenatis dabitur confisa sagittis,
 Carmanosque Syrosque truces Lybienque perustam,
 Aethiopumque plagas, uel cum duce Caesare, uictor
 Usque coloratos transcendet miles ad Indos.
 Cum fugiet deuictus Arabs, timidique Sabaei
 Terga dabunt, alioque ingens tremet obruta mundo
 Taprobane, cum uicta palus Maeotica cernet
 Signa triumphato Germanica feruere Ponto.
 At noua nunc belli moles, superumque prophanis
 Lis exorta odiis claras cum euerterit urbes,
Ordiam hinc seriem, et rerum primordia pandam.³⁶

Dal confronto dei due proemi emerge che essi si articolano secondo la medesima struttura: *propositio* unita alla *recusatio* di altri argomenti, rispettivamente la storia antica della casa reale tebana e quella delle guerre che da secoli hanno contrapposto i Romani ai Germani (*Theb.*, 1, 1-16; *B.N.*, 1, 1-16); *inuocatio* all'imperatore, Domiziano e Massimiliano

³⁶ Stat., *Theb.*, 1, 1-40: 'Fraternas acies alteraque regna profanis | Decertata odiis
 sontisque euoluere Thebas, Pierius menti calor incidit. Vnde iubetis | Ire, deae? Gentisne
 canam primordia dirae, | Sidonios raptus et inexorabile factum | Legis Agenoreae scrutan-
 temque aequora Cadmum? | Longa retro series, trepidum si Martis operti | Agricolam
 infandis condentem proelia sulcis | Expediam penitusque sequar, quo carmine muris | Ius-
 serit Amphion Tyrios accedere montes, | Vnde graues irae cognata in moenia Baccho, |
 Quod saeuae Iunonis opus, cui sumpserit arcus | Infelix Athamas, cur non expauerit ingens
 | Ionium socio casura Palaemone mater. | Atque adeo iam nunc gemitus et prospera Cadmi
 | Praeteriisse sinam: limes mihi carminis esto | Oedipodae confusa domus, quando Italia
 nondum | Signa nec Arctoos ausim sperare triumphos | Bisque iugo Rhenum, bis adactum
 legibus Histrum | Et coniurato deiectos uertice Dacos | Aut defensa prius uix pubescentibus
 annis | Bella Iouis teque, o Latiae decus addite famae, | Quem noua mature subeuntem
 exorsa parentis | Aeternum sibi Roma cupit — licet artior omnis | Limes agat stellas et te
 plaga lucida caeli, | Pleiadum Boreaeque et hiulci fulminis experts, | Sollicitet, licet ignipe-
 dum frenator equorum | Ipse tuis alte radiantem crinibus arcum | Imprimat aut magni cedat
 tibi Iuppiter aequa | Parte poli —, maneat hominum contentus habenis, | Vndarum terraeque
 potens, et sidera dones. | Tempus erit, cum Pierio tua fortior oestro | Facta canam: nunc
 tendo chelyn satis arma referre | Aonia et geminis sceptrum exitiale tyrannis | Nec furis
 post fata modum flammisque rebellis | Seditione rogi tumulisque carentia regum | Funera
 et egestas alternis mortibus urbes, | Caerula cum rubuit Lernaeo sanguine Dirce | Et Thetis
 arentis adsuetum stringere ripas | Horrui ingenti uenientem Ismenon aceruo'.

I (*Theb.*, 1, 17-31; *B.N.*, 1, 17-21); e infine una seconda *propositio* volta a definire l'argomento di un futuro e più impegnativo poema sull'imperatore introdotta dal medesimo avverbio *nunc*, che progetta l'opera a venire, congiunta con una seconda definizione dell'argomento (*Theb.*, 1, 32-40; *B.N.*, 1, 22-33). Il primo verso e il lessico riguardante l'argomento del poema e l'ispirazione poetica valgono da soli a dimostrare che l'emulazione va oltre le strutture e che opera *uerbatim* generando nuovo significato a contatto con il modello.

Il primo verso ha la stessa struttura prosodica di *Theb.*, 1, 1: l'argomento è immediatamente dichiarato dalla *iunctura* lucanea *Caesareas acies*³⁷, originariamente adoperata in senso letterale e ora in senso generico e con connotazione decisamente positiva, che riprende e corregge *fraternas acies* di *Theb.*, 1, 1. Il poema di Bartolini esordisce nel nome di Cesare e così si presenta come riscrittura in chiave positiva della *Tebaide* e come poema panegirico incentrato su un eroe del bene. La perifrasi *Arctoa regna* e la menzione dei fiumi Danubio e Reno (vv. 2-3) sono elementi topografici identificativi dei territori della casa d'Austria e dell'Impero. Si riprende con precisi rimandi lessicali *Theb.*, 1, 17-20 in cui Stazio elenca le medesime indicazioni topografiche relative alle guerre germaniche di Domiziano che, al tempo dell'epos tebano, egli si riteneva indegno di cantare. Attraverso un procedimento allusivo Bartolini compie il passo poetico sul quale Stazio temporeggiava e s'incarica di cantare le vittorie ottenute dal nuovo Cesare là dove combatté anche l'antico Cesare (Domiziano).

La rassomiglianza verbale e lo slittamento di quelle parole (che nel modello si trovano nella *recusatio*) alla *propositio* del nuovo poema sembra dichiarare l'obiettivo di voler superare Stazio. Bartolini si propone di portare a compimento la missione di cantare quel *bellum Germanicum* che Stazio declinò nel proemio della *Tebaide* e assolse solo più tardi. Al v. 7, Bartolini chiama i nemici di Cesare, i Bavaresi, con il nome romano e li presenta come traditori ('**coniurato** pugnantes **foedere** Boios'), così come Stazio fa con i nemici di Domiziano nella sua *recusatio* (v. 20 '**coniurato** dieictos **uertice** Dacos').

Nel momento in cui Bartolini parla della propria ispirazione poetica (vv. 17-21) enfatizza la sua vicinanza al proemio della *Tebaide* combinandone il v. 1 ('Pierius menti calor incidit'), l'ispirazione divina a cantare la saga tebana, e i vv. 32 s. ('tempus erit, cum Pierio tua fortior

³⁷ Lucan., 3, 264.

oestro | facta canam'), la più decisa ispirazione che richiedono le gesta di Domiziano. Bartolini sta qui adoperando lo stesso espediente imitativo applicato ai primi versi: *calor* e *oestrus* costituiscono insieme la perifrasi indicante con manieristico pleonasma che l'ispirazione richiesta a Bartolini è più vigorosa di quella staziana, dal momento che il suo argomento è più importante — non a caso l'ha appena definito *magnum opus*.³⁸ Una climax di fattori definisce la sua ispirazione in cui il furore delle Muse, che tanto aveva scaldato il genio staziano, si trova al gradino più basso. Danno alimento ai versi del poeta la *iunctura* 'scribendi amor', amplificata dall'aggettivo *immensus*, proveniente da Hor., *sat.*, 2, 1, 10, componimento programmatico, in cui l'amico Trebazio replica ai brontolii del perfezionista poeta venosino invitandolo a si tantus amor scribendi te rapit, aude | Caesaris inuicti res dicere, multa laborum | praemia laturus. Infine, al culmine della scala, la massima risorsa per l'ispirazione è lo stesso Imperatore definito col deittico *ipse* con evidente ripresa di *Theb.*, 1, 28. Un'osservazione conclusiva sulle due *recusationes* varrà a consolidare questa interpretazione del proemio: entrambe iniziano con una formula che rimanda l'argomento a un futuro indefinito 'Tempus erit cum bella canam'. La *iunctura* di tono incipitario *bella canam*, ereditata da una *recusatio* properziana³⁹, conclude nella *Tebaide* la *recusatio* delle gesta di Domiziano, mentre nel *Bellum Noricum* è posta in apertura in modo tale che la sua valenza incipitaria ne sia esaltata. La *recusatio* di Bartolini suona più come un proposito al momento inattuabile (ha poco a che fare con il timido e quasi implorante perdono *ausim* di Stazio *Theb.*, 1, 18), perché quelle guerre non sono state ancora combattute (l'ostacolo non risiede quindi nell'ispirazione poetica). Segue l'elenco dei trionfi a venire che si estendono dalla Siria all'Africa fino all'estrema India e a Taprobane in un passo che ricorda, opportunamente amplificandolo, Verg. *Aen.* 8, 724-728⁴⁰, il catalogo dei popoli sottomessi che sfilano davanti ad Augusto.

Già il proemio termina con la costituzione di un'immagine trionfale di Massimiliano, che, per mezzo delle reminiscenze letterarie, non solo

³⁸ Cfr. Man., *Astr.*, 1, 3.

³⁹ Prop., 2, 10, 8: 'bella canam, quando scripta puella mea est'.

⁴⁰ 'Hic Nomadum genus et discinctos Mulciber Afros, | Hic Lelegas Carasque sagittiferosque Gelonos | Finxerat; Euphrates ibat iam mollior undis, | Extremique hominum Morini, Rhenusque bicornis, | Indomitique Dahae, et pontem indignatus Araxes'. E anche 8, 705-706 'omnis eo terrore Aegyptus et Indi, | Omnis Arabs, omnes uertebant terga Sabaei'.

s'impone su Domiziano vincitore dei Germani, ma che finisce per elevarsi persino su Ottaviano Augusto in una teoria di vittorie che coinvolgono il mondo intero suggerendo il sogno di un nuovo impero universale.

3. *Bellum Noricum* XII: l'Imperatore innamorato delle genealogie fa risorgere la *pompa funebris* staziana

Tale lettura del proemio sottolinea la rilevanza della presenza staziana anche da un punto di vista programmatico. Nel libro 12 si riscontra l'omaggio più ardito a Stazio e alla *Tebaide*. Klecker, nel confronto tra l'epilogo dell'*Iliade* e quello del *Bellum Noricum*⁴¹, sostiene che la collocazione dei ludi a conclusione del poema corrisponde a quella dei giochi in onore di Patroclo in *Iliade* 23, che non sono tuttavia un'unione di commemorazione, trionfo e riconciliazione. La studiosa austriaca riconosce 'das massgebliche gestalterische Vorbild' più prossimo in *Theb.*, 12, debitore a *Il.*, 24, il libro della *pietas* in cui Achille restituisce a Priamo il cadavere di Ettore. Il motivo dei giochi sarebbe quindi una 'panegyrische Überbietung', un'iperbole celebrativa, che si realizza nell'atto di *clementia* della sepoltura accordata da Massimiliano ai caduti. Sebbene nell'*Eneide* e nella *Tebaide* i giochi siano collocati a metà della narrazione in funzione di preludio della guerra, vale tuttavia la pena ricordare che i *Punica* di Silio Italico si concludono con un trionfo che celebra gli Scipioni con le *inferiae* e con i giochi e che con Scipione l'Africano portato in trionfo a Roma con il poeta Ennio si conclude l'*Africa* di Petrarca (9, 322-484). La collocazione svuota pertanto i giochi dell'intensità semantica che hanno in *Tebaide* 6, dal momento che essi non hanno più la funzione di anticipare la guerra. Pur con queste differenze di collocazione e di significato, la fedeltà di Bartolini al modello è, come si vedrà, addirittura imbarazzante per un poeta cristiano.

Il trionfo si celebra a Colonia, definita dal nome del suo fondatore, Marco Vipsanio Agrippa, *moenia Romulei Agrippae* (v. 8) al fine di creare uno sfondo intriso di tradizione romana, alla presenza di un pubblico enorme confluito dalle province estreme dell'Impero. Massimiliano è portato in trionfo vestito di porpora e d'oro su una quadriga trainata da destrieri focosi seguito dai duci avversari in ceppi e dai trofei delle armi nemiche (vv. 66 ss.), ed è identificato ora con Saturno vincitore dei Giganti (vv. 76-80) e ora con il Sole (vv. 87-90), l'uno antenato mitico

⁴¹ Klecker, 'Kaiser Maximilian Homer', p. 636.

del sovrano e l'altro suo referente divino e simbolo dell'estensione universale dell'impero, come attestato anche dall'iconografia propagandistica.⁴² Dopo che anche Pallade si è riconciliata con lui, l'Imperatore decide di commemorare il padre e i caduti in guerra offrendo loro le *inferiae* e sette giorni dopo, all'uso romano, i ludi funebri (vv. 172-196).

La Fama quindi raduna gente da tutte le parti dell'Impero per assistere allo spettacolo.⁴³ Le *exsequiae* non sono un rito funebre vero e proprio, ma piuttosto un rito di commemorazione, come quello per Anchise in *Eneide* 5. Nondimeno, Bartolini aggiunge a questo rito la pira e l'evocazione delle ombre, sostituto del funerale che si sente in dovere di giustificare con la definizione *prisca superstitio* (v. 231). Il contesto romano rende plausibile un rito che dimostra continuità con la storia antica del luogo, ma che è ben poco accettabile per una società cristiana. Come s'è visto, Boccaccio nel suo poema mitologico, contrariamente a Verino, aveva aderito al modello staziano con il recupero della processione trasformata in un catalogo di atleti.

Bartolini va oltre: il suo successo consiste in un connubio tra l'originale e le esigenze di propaganda contingenti. Di qui la conservazione di un'autentica *pompa funebris* (vv. 245-274), con preventiva accortezza etichettata *moreque prisco* (v. 245). Il funerale romano prevedeva che il feretro fosse seguito da un corteo di uomini che indossavano le maschere funebri degli antenati secondo un ordine genealogico: in tal modo, nel momento della morte del singolo, si dimostravano la grandezza e la continuità della *gens*.⁴⁴ Nel libro 6 della *Tebaide* (vv. 270-295) la processione si svolge al momento delle *inferiae* per Ofelte, ma ha una strana connotazione, perché i simulacri degli avi sono quelli della casa reale argiva e non quelli degli antenati del principe di Nemea. Pertanto, essa assume una duplice valenza: parenetica, perché lo spettacolo delle glorie

⁴² Cfr. *B.N.*, 12, 77-80: 'Prouehitur, qualis uictor Saturnius alto | Ossaeam rabiem et Titanum Pelion, atris | Icit fulminibus, curruque per aethera uectus | Coelicolas inter clarum lustravit Olympum'; 87-90: 'Non secus Eoo tollunt fumantia Ponto | Corpora, Solis equi, replentque hinnitibus auras, | uolentes hinc inde iubas, raptosque furore | miratur cursu tantum procedere Titan'. Sul motivo propagandistico, cfr. Andrew Wheatcroft, *The Habsburgs. Embodying Empire* (London: BCA, 1995), p. 100. Nel Trionfo di Massimiliano di Dürer pubblicato nel 1522 l'imperatore sfila sul carro sotto l'immagine del sole splendente con la didascalia: 'Quod in coelis sol hoc in terra Caesar'.

⁴³ Cfr. I, 197-99: 'Nuncia Belgarum fama est delapsa per urbes | interea, et uero passim rumore futuras | nunciat exsequias'; cfr. *Theb.*, 6, 1-3: 'Nuntia multiuago Danaas perlabitur urbes | Fama gradu, sancire nouo sollemnia busto | Inachidas ludumque'.

⁴⁴ Maurizio Bettini, *Antropologia e cultura romana* (Roma: Carocci, 1986), pp. 186-187.

avite incita gli Argivi alla guerra, e figurale in riferimento all'esito della guerra tebana, perché gli Argivi quasi celebrano il proprio funerale.

Nel caso del *B.N.*, il luogo, antica colonia romana, dà una giustificazione storica alla processione che acquisisce anche un legame con i caduti assente nella *Tebaide*, ma il suo fine principale è l'esaltazione dell'Imperatore e della sua dinastia e, in questo caso, l'*aemulatio* non è solo esercizio retorico, ma un'arma adoperata per compiacere gli interessi del sovrano. Massimiliano, infatti, fu personalmente interessato a garantire alla casa d'Absburgo una genealogia che la legittimasse al potere imperiale contro le pretese francesi e fu, soprattutto in tarda età, molto appassionato agli esiti di questa ricerca che acrobaticamente conciliò in un unico albero genealogico ascendenze troiane, argonautiche, bibliche, romane, bizantine e franche.⁴⁵ La processione del *B.N.* rispecchia questo interesse di Massimiliano e la scelta degli antenati è condotta secondo un preciso criterio che segna l'originalità dell'autore rispetto al modello.

Nella *Tebaide* non si segue un criterio rigorosamente patrilineare, ma sono piuttosto presentate singole statue o gruppi raffiguranti coppie di padri e figli che celano rapporti turbolenti e omicidi in linea con il nucleo tematico del poema. I ritratti degli antenati nel *B.N.* si susseguono secondo un preciso criterio di ascendenza visualizzando un albero genealogico volto a confermare il legame autentico e diretto di quei personaggi con l'Imperatore.

In primis depicta trahunt ex moreque prisco

Argumenta patrum, numerusque effertur auorum.

Ante omnes **Priamum**, Francorum ab origine cretum,

Cernere erat: natumque sequi vestigia patris

Marcomiron: sed paulo excelsior ire videtur

Antiquo **Faramundus** auo, longeque potentis

Chlotarii effigies foedata cruore

Ducitur, et **natum fugientem** lumine toruo

Aspicit. Hic etenim post caedem, et fata parentis

Imperium linquens, ad Auantica regna recessit,

egregiamque **Apis de nomine condidit urbem.**

Vnde genus fuit Austriadum: longo ordine demum

Succedit proavis **Albertus** imagine maesta,

Lethiferumque gerit transfixo pectore vulnus,

Impia crudelis detestans facta nepotis.

Hunc sequitur regnoque potens, dextraque **Rodulfus**

⁴⁵ Marie Tanner, *The Last Descendant of Aeneas: the Hapsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993); Wheatcroft, *The Hapsburgs. Embodying Empire*.

Colla superiectis ducens Othocaron ahenis
 Expirantem animam: a tergo stat proxima proles
Hernestusque, Leopoldusque et maxima patris
 Effigies, iam digna Deo, nigrisque vehuntur
 Armentis, circumque atros ponuntur ad ignes.

La sequenza degli antenati si può dividere in due sezioni di eguale lunghezza: ai vv. 237-246, gli antenati Franchi necessari a Massimiliano per stabilire la propria discendenza da Carlo Magno e confutare quindi la pretesa al trono imperiale dei sovrani di Francia e ai vv. 247-256, gli antenati Asburgo. Il nome del capostipite, Priamo, re di Francia e di Germania, riassume anche l'ascendenza troiana già ricercata da Carlo Magno per garantirsi la continuità con gli imperatori romani. A lui segue Marcomirone per il quale l'espressione *sequi uestigia patris* (v. 240) non solo offre un'indicazione spaziale e genealogica in relazione alle figure che sfilano in processione, ma evidenzia anche la sostanziale identità dei loro regni. Segue il figlio Faramondo, primo a essere dichiarato dai Franchi re delle Gallie, per il quale l'aggettivo *excelsior* congiunge un'indicazione spaziale con una riguardante l'accrescimento del potere e del prestigio rispetto al padre e al nonno. Si avverte a questo punto una lacuna genealogica tra i personaggi descritti, visualizzata dall'avverbio *longe* indicante la distanza tra i ritratti, con l'introduzione di Clotario. Il ritratto di Clotario, unificatore del regno (per questo è detto *potens* che si colloca in una sequenza ascendente rispetto al *paulo excelsior* attribuito a Faramondo), è imbrattato di sangue a causa delle lotte che hanno funestato la sua famiglia. Il verbo *aspicit* visualizza attraverso l'idea dello sguardo distante un legame con il ritratto del figlio e quindi con la generazione successiva che Clotario guarda da lontano, perché Otoberto abbandonò la Gallia fuggendo nell'Argovia, dove fondò una nuova illustre città chiamata Apis, cioè la rocca di Habichtsburg culla della casa imperiale.⁴⁶ Con Otoberto, del quale Bartolini non menziona il nome, si lascia la Gallia per addentrarsi nella sezione moderna e storica dell'albero genealogico. Dopo un'omissione genealogica, che possiamo parzialmente colmare se ricorriamo a un catalogo di Asburgo assunti in cielo inserito nel libro 9 in cui è narrato il concilio degli dei⁴⁷, ciascuno dei

⁴⁶ Il nome della località è fatto derivare anche dal colle Aventino, sede della famiglia dei Crescenzi, antenati romani degli Asburgo: cfr. Tanner, *The last descendant of Aeneas*, p. 100; Roberto Pizzocchi, *Genealogie incredibili. Scritti di storia nell'Europa moderna* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1995), pp. 44-45.

⁴⁷ *B.N.*, 9, 825-840: 'Ecce autem astrifera, qua tollitur altior axis | Sede, choro descendit auum, tua maxuma proles | **Alberte, Ernestusque** suos veneratur Othones, | Henrici

ritratti riassume un episodio della storia della dinastia. Alberto I imperatore è raffigurato con il petto squarciato dalla ferita infertagli dal nipote Giovanni duca di Svevia, che Alberto aveva defraudato della sua legittima eredità. Gli aggettivi *impia* e *crudelis* denunciano la posizione di Bartolini schierato in difesa della linea primogenita. Accanto ad Alberto, avanza il fratello Rodolfo II duca di Svevia, vittorioso dopo la battaglia di Marchfeld (1278), che, all'uso dei trionfi romani, si trascina dietro Ottocaro di Boemia in catene, come Massimiliano trionfante è seguito dal corteo dei prigionieri di guerra in ceppi. Alle loro spalle seguono i figli e vendicatori di Alberto ('proxima proles', *iunctura* ambivalente perché dà sia un'informazione sulla successione delle statue sia dichiara il rapporto di parentela) e, proseguendo la genealogia, Leopoldo III ed Ernesto I duchi d'Austria e, infine, il ritratto più importante, ormai degno dell'assunzione al cielo, cioè quello di Federico III imperatore, padre di Massimiliano, del quale il poeta ha già tessuto le lodi in occasione del concilio degli dei nel libro IX considerandolo tra i membri della casa d'Austria in odore di santità.

La *pompa funebris* ha la funzione di evocare agli occhi di Massimiliano i capisaldi genealogici sui quali il suo potere si fonda. In questo senso è uno strumento celebrativo, ma ancora più rappresentativo del potere imperiale nella sua connotazione di sacralità e continuità con l'antico, così come gli enormi apparati iconografici che Massimiliano personalmente ideò e commissionò ad Albrecht Dürer e Hans Burgkmair contemporaneamente alla stesura del poema.

L'amore di Massimiliano per le genealogie divenne nel corso della vecchiaia quasi ossessivo al punto che solo la lettura delle gesta della casa d'Asburgo riuscì ad alleviare le pene dei suoi ultimi giorni. Per questo commissionò ai migliori artisti della sua corte delle incisioni di apparati celebrativi all'antica, quali archi trionfali e cortei, che, esposti nelle maggiori città dell'Impero, visualizzassero e glorificassero la legittima continuità del potere della sua famiglia. La *pompa funebris* di Bartolini si colloca nello stesso contesto culturale di Dürer e Burgkmair e fu sicuramente molto gradita se non proprio voluta dall'Imperatore.

subeunt pone, et uestigia adorant | Sacra **Leopoldi**, sed longe excelsior ibat, | **Cum bello tum pace grauis, qui infanda parantes** | **Oceani domuit populos, Morinumque subegit.**
 | Hic est qui sapiens olim sine Marte furorem | Vicit Pannonium, et cunctando restituit rem,
 | Nec dedignatus tantum est tibi maxime Caesar | Virtutum decus, in partem te iungere regni,
 | Hic numero Dium insigni, trabeaque decorus | Sydereo in solio iuxta micat astra Tonantis.
 | Vt late fulsere Dei, et quaeque ordine notis | Numina consederet locis, caetuque silente,
 | Talia depromit toruo Saturnius ore'.

In *Ehrenpforte Maximilians I* di Dürer (1512-1518) sopra l'arco centrale è collocato un albero genealogico comprendente tutti gli imperatori romani, i sovrani carolingi, i santi di casa d'Absburgo e sulla sommità i quattro imperatori della dinastia. Del pari il *Triumphszug* (1516-1518), per lo più opera di Hans Burgkmair, presenta decine di statue di antenati della casa d'Austria culminanti con Massimiliano sul carro trionfale. Nonostante tale presenza degli antenati nelle due incisioni più note, sono le *Genealogien*, pubblicate nel 1509 come repertorio genealogico e iconografico, l'opera di Burgkmair più vicina alla processione di Bartolini. Si tratta di una teoria di novantadue antenati in successione patrilineare da Priamo, il capostipite e re dei Franchi, fino a Massimiliano. Ogni ritratto è accompagnato dalle armi e dall'emblema del personaggio.

Per quanto sia insidioso indagare i rapporti tra un'opera letteraria e un'opera figurativa, soprattutto quando entrambe si muovono all'interno di una convenzione rappresentativa, tuttavia l'ipotesi di una conoscenza delle *Genealogien* da parte di Bartolini è plausibile e non è da escludere che queste abbiano incoraggiato la sua volontà di conservare la processione funebre staziana. In alcuni casi le concise descrizioni del *Bellum Noricum* fanno pensare a delle didascalie dei ritratti di Burgkmair.⁴⁸ Per esempio, 'excelsior (...) auo' (vv. 240-241) detto di Faramondo compendia il ritratto del personaggio coronato e assiso in trono con lo stemma che congiunge le rane ai leoni rampanti, a differenza del padre e del nonno raffigurati stanti e senza corona e recanti nelle proprie armi solo le rane. Clotario è rappresentato assiso in trono circondato dalle vecchie e dalle nuove armi della sua casa, il leone rampante e i gigli introdotti da suo padre Clodoveo, e volge lo sguardo con espressione corrucciata in basso a destra, così come lo descrive Bartolini 'lumine toruo' (v. 243). Suo figlio Otoperto, re di Provenza e fondatore della rocca d'Asburgo, è stante e volge le spalle al padre come a sottolinearne l'attrito che lo portò alla fuga ('natum fugientem', v. 243). Otoperto porta armi diverse dal padre, precisamente quelle della Provenza: i gigli di Francia sormontati dal lambello, armi degli Angiò, e inquartati con le strisce della bandiera di Provenza. Il suo emblema è la fonte, simbolo del ruolo di capostipite della casa d'Asburgo ('Vnde genus fuit Austriadum', v. 247). Anche Burgkmair mette in risalto la virtù bellica di Alberto I e di Rodolfo II, l'uno, imperatore, ritratto stante con la spada dietro la gamba sinistra, interpretabile forse come spia dell'assassinio a tradimento ('image moesta', v. 251), e l'altro vittorioso assiso in trono con la spada ritta in mano. Le loro armi

⁴⁸ Klecker, 'Kaiser Maximilian Homer', p. 632, preferisce suggerire una connessione con il *Miniaturentriumphszug*, che non è stato possibile vedere.

presentano l'aggiunta del leone rampante di Boemia, regno conquistato a Ottocaro II. Alberto reca come emblema il cinghiale simbolo di audacia e Rodolfo con la corona ducale il leone simbolo di nobiltà e coraggio. Le *Genealogien* si concludono con i ritratti affrontati di Federico III e Massimiliano I i cui volti rappresentati di profilo esibiscono nella loro somiglianza la continuità dinastica. Federico, ormai defunto, è rappresentato con il manto della consacrazione simile a un paramento papale e con la corona imperiale che gli conferiscono un aspetto ieratico ('effigies iam digna Deo', v. 255), mentre regge lo scettro con la destra e tiene la spada in grembo con la sinistra, a significare la pace che regnò durante la sua vita, virtù già riconosciutagli nel catalogo del libro 9 in cui una citazione lo assimila a Quinto Fabio Massimo.⁴⁹ Al suo fianco lo scudo con l'aquila bicipite e in alto a destra l'emblema del collare di perle inscritto in una corona d'alloro. Massimiliano invece, pur assiso in trono con la corona imperiale e il manto della consacrazione, è rappresentato in aspetto bellicoso vestito d'armatura e con la spada ritta in mano. Nelle sue armi figura l'aquila a una sola testa e la sua impresa è la ruota dentata con il frutto del melograno.



da Hans Burgkmair, *Triumph des Kaisers Maximilian I* (Wien: A. Holzhausen, 1883-1884)

⁴⁹ B.N., 9, 829-833.

Se un rapporto generativo o di influenza è difficile da affermare, è invece certo che la processione condivide l'obiettivo delle incisioni di Burgkmair. Attraverso i cataloghi genealogici, i due artisti di corte legittimano il potere imperiale di Massimiliano provandone la discendenza dai Troiani e, di conseguenza, attraverso Enea, dai Romani e da Carlo Magno, rifondatore dell'Impero, realizzando quella politica delle immagini che consolidò l'idea imperiale quanto le imprese belliche e l'insuperabile politica matrimoniale dell'Imperatore.

4. La gara dei carri

Finita la processione, è la volta del carosello equestre che si svolge intorno alla pira (vv. 275-277), come in *Theb.*, 6, 213-219 e dei giochi che cominciano il giorno dopo in un anfiteatro naturale (vv. 303-315), come in *Theb.*, 6, 254-260. Le gare sono sette come nella *Tebaide*, ma si svolgono in due giorni: il primo i carri, il pugilato, la corsa e la lotta; il secondo il nuoto, il tiro con l'arco e il lancio del disco. In ciascuno dei due giorni la prima competizione gode della trattazione più articolata: la gara dei carri (vv. 275-504) che segue da vicino il modello staziano e il nuoto (vv. 742-882) che rielabora la corsa di *Aen.*, 5.

La gara dei carri è la più lunga a riprova del gradimento riservato agli sport equestri e dell'aderenza al modello staziano e idealmente a quello omerico. Lo spettacolo si apre con il catalogo degli aurighi (vv. 316-349): sono sette, come nella *Tebaide*, e provengono da tutte le parti dell'Impero (e.g. Frisia, Pannonia), ma portano nomi che richiamano gli aurighi staziani. Lo svolgimento della gara è reso dinamico e vivace dal motivo dell'incidente, che era stato omissso da Verino: ai vv. 384-395, infatti, Ermonte, cavaliere di forza e grandezza spaventose ricoperto da una pelle di leone (come Polinice) e alla guida di cavalli traci (come Ippodamo in *Theb.*, 6, 348) è sorpassato da due avversari. Il poeta a questo punto vuole esprimere in modo mostruoso la rabbia del personaggio e quasi ne anima il cimiero che riesce a trattenere gli avversari, vv. 418-421:

Ecce Medusaeis iterum serpentibus horrens
Crinalem attollit contracta fronte cerastam,
transabeuntque fuga, vicinos territat axes
improbis **Hermontes**, aliosque coercet euntes.

La presenza di un mostro anguicrinito richiama il modello staziano (vv. 486-490); in questo passo tuttavia non si tratta di una visione avuta dal cavallo o di un fantasma evocato da qualche divinità, come nel modello, ma piuttosto, in aderenza alla realtà del tempo, il poeta trasforma realisticamente l'apparizione nell'idra che fa da cimiero all'elmo di Ermonte. Nondimeno, Bartolini non intende omettere del tutto la natura infernale dell'apparizione staziana e vi allude attraverso la similitudine in cui paragona Ermonte a Plutone, vv. 422-426:

Isque volat, veluti nigrantis Iuppiter aulae
Cum pulchram Sicula praedam devexit ab Enna.
Quem circum Eumenides flammas per inane rogales
Extollunt, visoque polus pallescit ab hydro,
Et curru excutitur subita formidine Titan.

Lo schiudersi degli Inferi e le tenebre che s'impongono sulla luce fanno pensare al repentino mescolamento tra mondo della luce e mondo dell'oscurità operato da Apollo quando il dio in *Theb.*, 6, 496-500 suscita il mostro per provocare l'incidente di Polinice. L'espedito di Ermonte non ha però completo successo perché i destrieri s'impossessano della mano dell'auriga portandolo fuori strada e sbalzandolo infine mentre tenta di riprendere il controllo. Allora Ermonte rovina a terra, vv. 432-434:

In caput elapsus, pronusque in verbera terram
Ore ferit; **gemit excussis serpentibus atra**
Phorcynis, virusque altum vomit, et ferit auram.

L'autore intende conferire una grandezza mostruosa alla scena chiamando per sineddoche il cimiero Phorcynis, una delle Erinni. Dall'elmo caduto a terra guizzano le serpi e sprizzano fiotti di veleno che guasta l'aria, ma Ermonte è ancora più terribile di questo cimiero al punto che Bartolini ne esprime la rabbia con un'immagine composta dalla citazione quasi letterale di Verg. *Aen.* 8, 649, che assimila Ermonte a Porsenna e con l'allusione alla figura di Sergesto bestemmiatore di *Aen.* 5, e soprattutto al terribile atto cannibalico di Tideo in *Theb.*, 9, 441-443,⁵⁰ prontamente esplicitato dalla similitudine dei vv. 436-440:

Ille indignanti similis, similisque minanti
Iniustos vocat ore deos, iniustaque mundi
Sidera, et anguicoma denudat casside crines,

⁵⁰ Cfr. *B.N.*, 12, 441-443: 'Non secus excussus Dyrcaeis moenibus heros | Oenides, canibus diris agitatus Averni, | Ore cruentato tristem Menalippon adibit'.

Impingitque solo: ferit ungue reuincta colubris
Tempora, vipereumque furens terit ore venenum.

Bartolini quindi conserva l'incidente dandogli una regia meno complessa di quella staziana e privandolo della causa divina, tuttavia non ne vuole perdere la spettacolarità mostruosa che ottiene ingigantendo l'accaduto attraverso il richiamo di paradigmi mitologici e attraverso la citazione di Stazio. In questo caso, Bartolini ben si allontana da Stazio, poiché dà all'incidente una causa reale che mistifica attraverso allusioni e citazioni che il lettore riconosce arricchendo il significato del passo. In verità, accade semplicemente che un auriga, sbalzato dal carro, se la prende con il suo elmo dal cimiero a forma di serpente.

Alla fine, Massimiliano concede al vincitore, Argilora, un paio di falere decorate a rilievo con il mito di Piramo e Tisbe, la cui *ekphrasis* costituisce un piacevole intermezzo di tono ovidiano tra una gara e l'altra.

In conclusione, nonostante la vicinanza al modello staziano, la gara dei carri del *B.N.* si rivela un puro intrattenimento dal momento che è privata dell'intensità semantica della gara delle quadrighe della *Tebaide*, ma è connotata in modo diverso come un momento felice piuttosto che come un momento pregno di presagi tragici.

Da questa rassegna emerge che Bartolini è il primo a realizzare il recupero del motivo del funerale congiunto ai giochi e anche al trionfo, in modo tale da dedicare un poema Romano all'Imperatore il cui sforzo propagandistico tesse a presentarsi in ogni senso come legittimo successore degli imperatori Romani.

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ACTITUDES HACIA LA MUJER EN LA POESÍA DE PEDRO RUIZ DE MOROS: FUENTES PARA UNA MISOGINIA¹

Pedro Ruiz de Moros (Alcañiz, ca. 1515-Vilna, 1571)², a lo largo de su extensa producción poética, presenta diversos personajes femeninos, con caracteres tan variados como la propia tipología de su obra. El estudio de los mismos permitirá conocer la concepción de los roles de género propia del poeta, así como la actitud del mismo hacia determinadas conductas femeninas, todo ello en relación con las ideas transmitidas por los clásicos grecolatinos, que los humanistas de su talla tan bien conocían. En ese sentido, uno de los poemas en el que mejor se aprecia su forma de pensar es el *De officio feminae*, donde, siguiendo una concepción tradicional sobre el papel de la mujer en la sociedad, relega a ésta al desempeño de las tareas domésticas y la aparta de la vida pública:

Servet clausa domum, non tangat femina limen,
Curas hos fines discat habere suas.
Et lanae imperium, non illam publica pulsant
Munera, non et res huius et huius agat.
5 Quin assueta colo potius calathisque Minervae,
Immunes operis non sinat ire manus.
Impigrae peragant curet sua pensa puellae,
Intentasque operi cogat habere manus.

¹ Este trabajo se inserta en el Proyecto de Investigación HAR 2008-01368 HIST, dirigido por la Dra. Almudena Domínguez (Universidad de Zaragoza).

² Sobre Pedro Ruiz de Moros y su obra cf. J. Guillén Cabañero, 'Un gran latinista aragonés del siglo XVI: Pedro Ruiz de Moros', *Cuadernos de Historia "Jerónimo Zurita"*, 12-13 (1951), 129-160, M. Brahmer, 'Un docteur espagnol à la cour de Cracovie', en *Hommage à Marcel Bataillon, Revue de Litterature comparée*, LII, n° 2-4 (1978), 245-246, S. Gostautas, 'Dos humanistas españoles del siglo XVI en Italia, Polonia y Lituania: Antonio Agustín y Pedro Ruiz de Moros', en E. Verdera y Tuells (ed.), *El cardenal Albornoz y el Colegio de España*, Studia Albornotiana, 37 (Bolonia: Real Colegio de España, 1979), VI, 379-447, J. M^a Maestre Maestre, *El humanismo alcañizano del siglo XVI. Textos y estudios de latín renacentista* (Cádiz: Universidad-Instituto de Estudios Turolenses - Ayuntamiento de Alcañiz, 1990), pp. 69-123.

- Castigetque moras, clametque nigrescere caelum
 10 Et fusos linum vix operire suos.
 Cristato famulas prior excitet alite, solem
 Ante ortum multum clमितet esse diem.
 Obiurget, minus esse domus si munda videtur,
 Atque suo si quid non videt esse loco.
 15 Femina curarum discat, quae meta suarum est,
 Quaeque est imperii femina meta sui.
 Hoc praeter, quicquid molitur femina peccat,
 Cura nurus decet haec, non decet illa nurus.
 Illis cura domus, non illis cura senatus,
 20 Lataque cur sit lex illa vel illa magis;
 Ictum Sauromatas cum Turca foedus habere
 Praestet, an hostili bella movere manu;
 Inclitus aut quid agat Caesar, rexve ipse Quiritum,
 Ductor uterque hominum, miles uterque Dei,
 25 Quid Gallus bellaxque Anglus, quid Turca sub Istro,
 Quid fidei Danus, Saxo Lutherus agat,
 Debellare modo nova quo papa monstra procuret,
 Quae caelo infestas opposuere manus.
 Hic labor hae curaeque virum, queis mascula corda:
 30 Femina tractat acus clausa colosque suas. (II, pp. 394-395, 14)³

No voy a extenderme en el comentario del poema, cuestión a la que he dedicado un trabajo presentado al V Congreso sobre Humanismo y Pervivencia del Mundo Clásico celebrado recientemente en Alcañiz (del 18 al 22 de octubre de 2010) y de próxima publicación. Sin embargo, me ha parecido interesante volver a llamar la atención sobre el mismo, dado que refleja la opinión de muchos humanistas, como Luis Vives en sus *De institutione feminae christianae* (Lovaina, 1523) y *De officio mariti* (Brujas, 1528), sobre el papel que deben desempeñar las mujeres en la sociedad renacentista y que entronca directamente con la doctrina de autores como Aristóteles y Jenofonte.⁴ Asimismo, dentro del propio Ruiz de Moros, este tipo de ideas aparece de forma constante en los poemas que tratan acerca de figuras femeninas de toda índole. Dichos poemas son esencialmente de dos tipos. Unos de carácter serio, generalmente laudatorios y de circunstancias, pertenecientes a géneros como el epitafio o el

³ Citado por la edición de Bronislav Kruczkiewicz, *Petri Royzii Maurei Alcagnicensis carmina* (Cracovia: typis Universitatis Jagellonicae, 1900).

⁴ Era bien conocida por los humanistas la opinión de Aristóteles sobre la inferioridad natural de la mujer, expuesta en diversos pasajes de su *Política* (1254b, 1259b, 1260 a). Asimismo, buena parte de sus ideas sobre los roles de género se inspiran en obras como el *Económico* de Jenofonte o los *Económicos* del *Corpus Aristotelicum*. Sobre la cuestión cf. R. De Maio, *Mujer y Renacimiento*, trad. M. Vivanco (Madrid: Mondadori, 1998), p. 28.

epitalamio, presentan personajes femeninos dotados de aquellas virtudes tradicionales constantemente alabadas en la literatura y la epigrafía latinas.⁵ Otros, cómico-satíricos, a la manera de Marcial y Juvenal, se ocupan de la crítica de diversos vicios o actitudes femeninas.⁶ Tanto en unos como en otros se hace especial énfasis en la idea de que la mujer ocupa una posición preestablecida en la sociedad que en ningún momento debe ser transgredida. Para el alcañizano los roles de género están claramente marcados, y la armonía conyugal depende precisamente de que cada cual se dedique a aquellas tareas para las que supuestamente está mejor dotado por naturaleza. Un claro ejemplo de ello puede verse en el siguiente epitafio, dedicado a Catalina Tencinia:

EPITHAPHIUM
CATHARINAE TENCINIAE
uxoris ANDREAE TARLONIS.

- Hic Catharina cubo stirpis Tencinia clarae:
Andrae Tarlonis eram dulcissima coniux;
Urbis signa tulit, cui dat Leo nomen honestum.
Illa ego bis decies uterum natisque replevi
- 5 Tarlonum fecunda domum, longa unde propago
In multam crevit gentem, vivetque, polonae
Dum nomen stabit terris et gloria gentis.
Quattuor adieci lustris bis quina; nepotes
Vidi plena annis et eorum pignora felix.
- 10 Res tractare foris fortem sum passa maritum:
Sub tecto mihi cura fuit, quae recta gerantur.
Arma vir et vir equos et longas strenuus hastas
Tractabat, calathos uxori et pensa Minervae,
Pingere acu studium parvosque educere natos.
- 15 His curis agitans et sollicitudine vitam
Putre cadaver humi, vivendo fessa, reliqui.

⁵ Sobre la poesía de circunstancias cf. Paul van Tieghem, *La littérature latine de la Renaissance. Étude d'histoire littéraire européenne* (Ginebra: Slatkine, 1966), pp. 86-115 y Maestre, *El humanismo alcañizano del siglo XVI*, pp. 98-102. Sobre los epitalamios humanísticos cf. Antonio Serrano Cueto, 'La novia remisa y el novio ardiente en el epitalamio latino: una imagen que pervive en el Renacimiento', *Cuadernos de Filología Clásica. Estudios Latinos*, 23 (2003), 153-170; Id., 'El Epithalamium de Jerónimo Ramírez en honor de la boda (1570) de Felipe II y Ana de Austria', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 58 (2009), 103-124.

⁶ Sobre la presencia de Marcial en Ruiz de Moros cf. Rosa M^a Marina Sáez – Óscar Íñigo Florido Grima, 'Presencia de Marcial en la creación, recepción y crítica literaria de los poetas humanistas alcañizanos', *Calamus renascens*, 3 (2002), 115-145; Óscar Íñigo Florido Grima - Rosa M^a Marina Sáez, 'Influencia de Marcial en los poetas humanistas alcañizanos: tipología epigramática y elementos temáticos', *Calamus renascens*, 5-6 (2004-2005), 25-44; Ausra Tamošiuniene, 'Senosios Romos atgarsiai Lietuvos renesanso poezijoje: Markas Valerijus Marcialis ir Petras Roizijus', *Respectus Philologicus*, 11 (16) (2007), 81-90.

Hincque anima ingratae libitinae et funeris expers,
Ad vitam properans meliorem, se intulit astris. (II, p. 150, 49)

El poema recoge los tópicos habituales de los epitafios latinos antiguos dedicados a matronas ilustres: noble linaje, fecundidad, dedicación a las tareas domésticas y a la crianza de los hijos, etc.⁷ Lo que destaca dentro del mismo es el contraste que el poeta establece entre los deberes del marido y los de la esposa (vv. 10-14), así como la alabanza a la protagonista por aceptar ese reparto de tareas: 'Res tractare foris fortem sum passa maritum | Sub tecto mihi cura fuit, quae recta gerantur' (vv. 10-11). Como se puede apreciar, dicho reparto se basa en la tradicional asignación de las tareas externas y públicas al varón (*foris*) y las vinculadas al hogar a la mujer (*sub tecto*), de las que Ruiz de Moros había tratado en su poema *De officio feminae*. En los versos siguientes, redundando en la misma idea, especifica cuáles son dichas tareas aludiendo metonímicamente a los instrumentos con los que se llevan a cabo: 'Arma vir et vir equos et longas strenuus hastas | Tractabat, calathos uxori et pensa Minervae, | Pingere acu studium parvosque educere natos' (vv. 12-14)⁸, es decir que al varón se le atribuyen aquellos vinculados a la guerra, mientras que a la esposa el tejido y el cuidado de sus hijos. Es evidente que el poeta con estos versos aprovecha para alabar al esposo atribuyéndole cualidades viriles, como la valentía, y al mismo tiempo recalca la idea de que una mujer de la posición de Catalina Tencinia hubiese sabido asumir su papel.

El tema es tratado también en poemas de carácter satírico y de vituperio, en los cuales se refiere, a la manera de Marcial, a personajes-tipo y no a mujeres concretas como en el caso de sus obras de circunstancias. Dentro de ellos destaca un epigrama dedicado a una tal Nevía, incluido en el apartado titulado *Cetera epigrammata*, bajo el epígrafe *De mulieribus*:

In Naeviam.

Ne tuus hic nostros discat hic, Naevia, mores,
Credo times, ne illi, Naevia, displiceas.
Namque meos fuerit mores quicunque secutus,

⁷ Sobre estos tópicos cf. Eva Cantarella, *La calamidad ambigua. Condición e imagen de la mujer en la antigüedad griega y romana*, trad. A. Pociña (Madrid: Ediciones Clásicas, 1991), pp. 221-227.

⁸ En este pasaje, así como en *De officio feminae*, vv. 5-6, aparece el calco de Verg., *Aen.*, 7, 803-807, donde se describe el personaje de Camila, que, frente al prototipo de mujer propuesto por Ruiz de Moros, prefiere las artes bélicas a las textiles propias de Minerva.

- Et quicunque, mihi quod placet, illud amat,
 5 Huic tua garrulitas minus, huic tua vita placebit
 Prava nihil, nihil huic, Naevia, quicquid agis.
 Non bene distinctus remis mare verrit arator,
 Non bene saxosos navita versat agros,
 Non bene sacra Deum miles trux tractat ad aras,
 10 Non bene turifera sumpta stat hasta manu.
 Sic nec femineo tractari publica sensu
 Convenit, et quis sint illa regenda modis.
 Ista decent poscuntque viros et mascula corda,
 Hectors res haec, non postulat Andromachen.
 15 Praeter acus calathosque et nexae vellera lanae
 Pertinet ad te nil, Naevia, quicquid agis.
 Parce! meos liceat mores hic et ille sequatur,
 Sectetur mores, Naevia, nemo tuos. (II, p. 464, 22, I)

El epigrama comienza con la interpelación a la protagonista, a la que supone temerosa de que un personaje masculino representado por *tuus hic*, conozca las costumbres del poeta, 'nostros (...) mores', porque parecen ser totalmente opuestas a las de la dama en cuestión (vv. 1-5), por lo que el contraste entre las mismas le causaría desagrado⁹. Entre dichas costumbres en primer lugar señala su exceso de locuacidad (*garrulitas*) y su vida disipada 'vita (...) prava', defectos achacados habitualmente a las mujeres en la literatura misógina, y de los que, como se verá más adelante, trata Ruiz de Moros en otros epigramas, pero sobre los que en esta ocasión no se extenderá más. A continuación añade un nuevo elemento, presente ya en el poema *De officio feminae* y en el epitafio anteriormente comentado, concretamente la descripción de la posición propia de la mujer en la sociedad. Para ello, en primer lugar, en los vv. 7-10 propone una serie de *exempla* tradicionales, recogidos tanto en obras clásicas de carácter eminentemente literario como en la paremiología, con la intención de señalar la ineptitud de quienes se dedican a un oficio para desempeñar otro que les es ajeno: el agricultor para navegar, el marinero para arar, el sacerdote para la guerra o el soldado para el sacerdocio.¹⁰ Dichos *exempla* en este

⁹ El comienzo de poema es calco de los siguientes pasajes de Marcial: 'sed non vis, Mamurra, tuos cognoscere mores' (Mart., 10, 4, 11), 'Uxor, vade foras aut moribus utere nostris' (Mart., 11, 104, 1).

¹⁰ El tópico de oposición entre la vida del agricultor y marinero se remonta a la literatura griega, y puede verse en un epigrama atribuido a Isidoro de Egea (*AP*, 7, 532) o en Crinágoras (*AP*, 7, 636). Asimismo, aunque con sentido diferente, el siguiente dístico de Propertio, llegó a hacerse proverbial: 'navita de ventis, de tauris narrat arator: l enumerat miles vulnera, pastor oves' (Prop., 2, 1, 49).

caso sirven para explicar que la naturaleza femenina ('femineo (...) sensu') no está dotada para la vida pública, adecuada en cambio para los varones y los espíritus masculinos (*mascula corda*).¹¹ Así pues, tras identificar los roles masculinos y femeninos con las figuras mitológicas de Héctor y Andrómaca, pasa a definir las tareas propias de la mujer, 'acus calathosque et nexae vellera lanae', es decir, aquellas relacionadas con el tejido. Los dos versos finales retoman el comienzo del poema. Ruiz de Moros, aunque formalmente se dirige de nuevo a Nevia, en realidad interpela a los varones. El poema por un lado ataca a las mujeres excesivamente locuaces y amantes de inmiscuirse en los asuntos públicos, que gozan de influencia y son capaces de manejar a los hombres a su antojo, pero por otro también alude a aquellos que permiten esta situación. En ese sentido, en otro de los epigramas incluidos bajo el epígrafe *De mulieribus* Ruiz de Moros aduce la inferioridad natural de la mujer como el motivo de no rendirle pleitesía a una tal Lesbia:

Cur te non venerer, cur te non, Lesbia, curem
Contemnamque tuum, Lesbia, iudicium,
Non longe repetam causas; breve, Lesbia, dictum est:
Imperfectum animal, parce mihi, est mulier. (II p. 465, 22, VI)

Parece ser que Ruiz de Moros sentía especial desprecio por aquellas mujeres acostumbradas a ser admiradas, que se permitían expresar sus opiniones públicamente y que participaban activamente en la vida social. El poema, que tal vez presenta en su comienzo ecos de Marcial¹², recoge en su final una cita que en último término procede de Aristóteles¹³, que aparece de forma reiterativa en las adaptaciones cristianas del aristotelismo¹⁴, así como en todo tipo de textos misóginos medievales

¹¹ La expresión, presente en su *De officio feminae*, v. 29, puede ponerse en relación con las ideas expuestas en el *Económico* de Jenofonte (7, 25) o los *Económicos atribuidos a Aristóteles* (1, 1344 a), donde se considera el valor como una cualidad masculina que hace al varón más dotado para el gobierno. Cf. además Vives, *De institutione feminae*, II 4, 6. Contra la presencia femenina en las instituciones públicas cf. Lact., *epit.*, 33, 4-5, que cita a Cic., *Rep.*, 5: 'quin etiam feminis curiam reservavit, militiam et magistratus et imperia permisit. Quanta erit infelicitas urbis illius, in qua virorum officia mulieres occupabunt'. Ruiz de Moros pudo encontrar también argumentos en la literatura jurídica: 'Foeminae ab omnibus officiis civilibus vel publicis remotae sunt' (*Dig.*, 50, 17, 2). Sobre estos testimonios cf. Cantarella, *La calamidad ambigua*, pp. 276-277.

¹² Cf. Mart., 2, 33, 1: 'Cur non basio te, Philaeni?'.

¹³ Aristóteles, *Sobre la generación de los animales*, 775 a, 15.

¹⁴ Cf. Entre otros Tomás de Aquino, *Summa Theologica*, 1, qu. 92, art 1, ob. 1.

y renacentistas¹⁵: 'Imperfectum animal (...) est mulier', considerando así a la mujer un ser incompleto.

De ahí también la crítica a aquellas que se inmiscuyen en los asuntos religiosos, de candente actualidad durante la época, que se observa en el epigrama titulado *In mulieres sacra procurantes* (II, p. 353, 3). Este tipo de mujer, interesada en las cuestiones de índole público y con influencias, debía abundar en el ambiente cortesano en el que se desenvolvía Ruiz de Moros, y cuyo modelo era la propia reina de Polonia, Bona Sforza, a la que describe del modo siguiente:

De SIGISMUNDO I rege, et BONA, regina Poloniae

Maiestate gravis stat rex ubi turbinis instar
Regina huc illuc instabilis volitat:
Hoc regnum non poenituit me forte rogatum
Schacorum regno dicere persimile. (II, p. 9, 3)

Es sabido que en la época de los humanistas existieron mujeres poderosas, incluso reinas que gobernaban países, como Isabel la Católica, o la propia Bona como consorte de Segismundo I de Polonia¹⁶, lo que iba en contradicción con la doctrina clásica que transmiten autores como Aristóteles. Dicha realidad lleva a unos autores a buscar argumentos diversos para la defensa y justificación del poder de tales mujeres¹⁷, mientras que otros como Ruiz de Moros, tal vez debido a sus propias circunstancias personales¹⁸, utilizan las fuentes clásicas para su ataque y denostación.

El tópico de la locuacidad femenina es tratado en varios poemas de Ruiz de Moros. Siguiendo fuentes tanto aristotélicas¹⁹ como cristianas²⁰,

¹⁵ Cf. por ejemplo el siguiente pasaje de Enea Silvio Piccolomini, dentro de la epístola a Hipólito de Milán o *Remedia amoris*, publicada como apéndice a su *Historia de duobus amantibus: Mulier est animal imperfectum, varium, fallax, multis morbis passionibusque subiectum, sine fide, sine timore, sine constantia, sine pietate* [ed. Maria Luisa Doglio, *Storia di due amanti e Rimedio d'amore* (Turin: UTET, 1973), p. 138].

¹⁶ Sobre la magnificencia del banquete nupcial, celebrado en 1517, y sobre el viaje de Bona a Polonia da cuenta Isabella Nuovo, *Esperienze di viaggio e memoria geografica tra Quattro e Cinquecento* (Bari: Laterza, 2003), pp. 50-85. Agradezco al Prof. Antonio Serrano Cueto (Universidad de Cádiz) la información sobre este libro.

¹⁷ Cf. Inmaculada López Calahorra, 'Fortuna, tu nombre es mujer: un análisis del topos en Ugolino Verino', en J. M^a Maestre, J. Pascual Barea y L. Charlo Brea (eds), *Humanismo y pervivencia del Mundo Clásico III: Homenaje al profesor Antonio Fontán*, 5 vols. (Alcalá: Instituto de Estudios Humanísticos-Madrid: C.S.I.C.- Laberinto, 2002), V, 2609-2616.

¹⁸ Cf. Gostautas, 'Dos humanistas españoles', pp. 69-123.

¹⁹ Cf. Aristóteles, *Política* I, 13, 1260 a, 30, donde cita un verso de Sófocles (*Ayante*, 293) en el que se considera el silencio como un adorno de la mujer.

²⁰ Uno de los textos más conocidos a ese respecto es el de San Pablo, 1 *Tim.* 2, 11-13.

y bien conocidas por humanistas como Vives²¹, el alcañizano la considera como un defecto propio de las mujeres en general — que fueron creadas de la lengua de Adán y no de su costilla (II, p. 465-466, VII) —, y de las polacas en particular, defecto especialmente molesto para los hombres y que es preciso erradicar:

De mappa mulierum Sarmaticarum

- Argutas sexum muliebrem solvere linguas,
 Implere ac urbes garrulitate sua,
 Sarmatici videre senes, prudentia corda,
 Occursum magno huic et voluere malo.
 5 Inde domo exiret si quando ob sacra deorum,
 Iusserunt mappa clauderet ora nurus.
 Scilicet extra tecta domus voluere tacere
 Hunc sexum linguas et cohibere suas.
 Ergo quid ex mappa deceat proba femina discat,
 10 Qua sine sarmaticas mos vetat ire nurus.
 Ancillas satis est inter lanasque sequentes
 Garriat, atque suas clausa loquatur acus.
 Fas illic semperque loqui nunquamque tacere,
 Extra sitque suam femina muta domum. (II p. 256, 2)

Contrasta la locuacidad de estas mujeres (*garrulitas*) con los *prudentia corda* de los ancianos polacos, que, en su sensatez trataron de poner remedio a semejante mal ordenando que las mujeres portaran un velo (*mappa*) para salir a la calle y que les impidiera hablar fuera de casa. Este último elemento presenta un especial interés, ya que representa la exclusión incluso física de las voces femeninas del ámbito público. En estas ideas redunda Ruiz de Moros en uno de sus epigramas en el que desarrolla la idea clásica de que la mejor mujer es la que no habla, ilustrando dicha idea mediante el ejemplo de las hembras de las cigarras, que son mudas, lo que, para cierto poeta griego²², es motivo de felicidad para los machos de la especie:

De mulierum loquacitate

- Ut muliebre loquax genus est, ut femina tundit
 Aures, si inceptat non tacitura, virum,

²¹ Vives, en *De institutione feminae christianae* IV, 6, siguiendo a San Pablo, opina que las mujeres no deben hablar entre hombres o erigirse en maestras fuera del ámbito familiar. Cf. además *De officio mariti*, IV, 9.

²² La noticia pudo tomarla de Ateneo, *Banquete*, 13, que cita un fragmento del *Hypnos* del comediógrafo Xenarco. Cf. además Claudio Eliano, *Hist. An.*, 1, 20, Plin., *Nat.*, 11, 92.

Muta cicadarum in genere est quod femina, vates
 Graius felices iudicat inde mares. (II, p. 466, VIII)

Al defecto de la locuacidad se añade el de la perfidia, de modo que en el siguiente epigrama recomienda no creer a las mujeres:

Mulieri non credendum

Femina decepit primum decepta parentum,
 Humanumque genus traxit ad omne nefas.
 Inde fidem sexus muliebris perdidit omnem;
 Credereque haud tutum est, femina quicquid ait. (II, p. 465, IV)

El tópico aparece tanto en fuentes clásicas, ya desde Homero y Hesíodo²³, como cristianas, donde frecuentemente se alude al primer engaño de la historia de la humanidad, el de Eva, que provocó la expulsión del paraíso.²⁴ Aparte de las fuentes literarias, hay que tener en cuenta además la existencia de una rica tradición paremiológica latina, muy conocida entre los humanistas. Adagios como el recogido por Erasmo ‘mulieri ne credas, ne mortuae quidem’²⁵, con sus múltiples variantes, debían repetirse con asiduidad en época de Ruiz de Moros. Otra de sus fuentes es la literatura jurídica, en la que el alcañizano era un reconocido especialista, y que concedía escasa credibilidad a los testimonios femeninos.²⁶

Otro tipo de epigramas son aquellos en los que se trata sobre la mujer en su faceta de esposa y madre. Aparte de un poema de relativa extensión y en forma dialogada en el que nos presenta a una madre parricida (II, p. 435, 8), en general se trata de textos breves y de tono sentencioso. Por ejemplo, en el siguiente epigrama incluido bajo el epígrafe *De matrimoniis* se habla de la ventaja que supone disfrutar de una buena esposa y las desgracias que acarrea tener una mala:

De uxore (De matrimoniis)

Nil uxore bona melius; sed quae mala contra est,
 Illam tormentum dixeris esse viri. (II, p. 464, VI)

²³ Cf. *Odisea*, 11, 454-456, Hesiodo, *Teogonía*, 592, *Los trabajos y los días*, 83, comentados en Cantarella, *La calamidad ambigua*, pp. 39-61.

²⁴ Cf. entre otros Ambrosio, *De paradiso*, 4, 24 (CSEL, 32/1, 280): ‘Denique extra paradisum factus, hoc est in inferiore loco uir melior inuenitur et illa quae in meliore loco hoc est in paradiso facta est inferior reperitur; mulier enim prior decepta est et uirum ipsa decepit’.

²⁵ Cf. Erasmo, *Adagia*, 2, 10, 21.

²⁶ Cf. M. Graziosi, ‘En los orígenes del machismo jurídico. La idea de inferioridad de la mujer en la obra de Farinaccio’, *Jueces para la democracia*, 30 (1997), 49-56.

De nuevo la literatura sapiencial es fuente de inspiración del texto, con paralelismos en Albertano de Brescia²⁷ o Pedro Abelardo.²⁸

De carácter marcadamente misógino son dos epigramas en los que, jugando con el tópico sepulcral del *thalamus/tumulus*, que alude a la felicidad conyugal hasta la muerte²⁹, considera que toda mujer es intrínsecamente mala, salvo en la cama o en la sepultura. Como muestra veamos el primero de ellos:

De muliere quando bona

Omnis cum mulier mala sit, bona creditur horis
Esse duabus, id est, et thalami et tumuli. (II, p. 465, II)³⁰

Aparte de los poemas comentados, de tono moralizante y con clara influencia de la filosofía grecolatina, del pensamiento cristiano y de la literatura sapiencial, existe otros que entroncan más directamente con la tradición marcial. Un ejemplo de ello es el siguiente epigrama, recogido bajo el epígrafe *In cunctatores promissorumque oblitos*, calco prácticamente literal de otro del bilbilitano:

In Acerram

Das numquam, semper promittis, Acerra, roganti;
Si fallis semper, semper, Acerra, nega. (II, p. 434, V)

El epigrama original de Marcial es el siguiente:

Das numquam, semper promittis, Galla, roganti;
si semper fallis, iam rogo, Galla, nega (Mart., 2, 25)

Ruiz de Moros sólo cambia el nombre de la protagonista, Gala, por Acerra, también de tradición marcial³¹, así como el orden de palabras y la expresión *iam rogo* por *semper* en el pentámetro, sin alterar en absoluto el sentido del modelo.³² Asimismo, en algunos epigramas de Ruiz

²⁷ 'Sicut nihil est superius benigna coniuge, ita nihil est crudelius infesta muliere' (*Liber Consolationis*, 5).

²⁸ 'Nihil melius muliere bona'. (*Ad Astrolabium*, A 430).

²⁹ Este tópico puede verse en *CLE*, 142, 25-26, *CIL*, 6, 25427: 'fortunati ambo — si qua est, ea gloria mortis — | quos iungit tumulus, iunxerat ut thalamus', y tiene su origen en la tradición epigramática griega (Apolónides, *AP*, VII 378). Cf. Ricardo Hernández Pérez, *Poesía sepulcral de la Hispania romana: estudio de los tópicos y sus formulaciones* (Valencia: Universidad, 2001), pp. 54-55.

³⁰ Cf. además II, p. 465, III.

³¹ Mart., 1, 28, en este caso una borracha.

³² Sobre el sentido sexual de *dare* cf. E. Montero Cartelle, *El latín erótico. Aspectos léxicos y literarios* (Sevilla: Universidad, 1991), pp. 203-206.

de Moros aparecen personajes-tipo propios del bilbilitano, como por ejemplo la cazatestamentos:

In Chlorim

Nocte dieque senum nimium quod tecta frequentas,
Haec non luxuria, o Chloris! Avaritia est. (II, p. 465, V)

Se trata de una adaptación de un tema recurrente en Marcial, donde generalmente son los hombres los que tratan de seducir a una vieja enfermiza o de trabar amistad con un hombre rico o una viuda sin descendencia.³³ Al cambio de género de la protagonista se une un elemento de adaptación cultural dentro de un ámbito cristiano, consistente en el juego que establece entre los pecados capitales de la lujuria y la avaricia.³⁴

Volviendo al tema de las mujeres avariciosas, es preciso destacar un epigrama algo más extenso en el que se presenta a la viuda Pola que llora no la pérdida de su esposo, sino de su nivel de vida:

Ad Pollam

Defuncto Petro noctes fles, Polla, diesque
Et tua continuís fletibus ora madent.
Miramur lacrimas causamque requirimus omnes,
Quid tantum Petri funera, Polla, fleas,
5 Quantum non fratrum, quantum non, Polla, sororum,
Flesse olim fama est, non quoque, Polla, patris;
Quantum non matris penetrabile funus amatae,
Non, cecidit si quid carius ante tibi.
Fallimur: haud tuus hic luctus nam pertinet illuc;
10 Decipimur: luctu non ea causa tuo est.
Funera non Petri, Petri fles munera, fatum
Abstulit ablato quae tibi, Polla, Petro.
Donabat Petrus vivus tibi multa: sepultus —
Hinc istae lacrimae — nil tibi, Polla, dedit. (II, p. 466-467, X)

Se trata de una argumento ya utilizado en un epigrama de Marcial³⁵ dirigido contra Saleyano, que lamenta la pérdida de la dote de su esposa al morir ésta:

³³ Sobre el primer tipo cf. Mart., 1, 10; 2, 26; 10, 8, sobre el segundo 4, 56; 6, 62; 63; 8, 8 (9), etc.

³⁴ Este mismo recurso aparece en un epigrama contra una tal Pola, que prefiere los cocineros a los jurisperitos, y en este caso el contraste se establece entre una de las virtudes cardinales, la justicia, y el pecado capital de la gula: 'Udos, Polla, coquos iuris praeferre peritis | Temnere iustitiam est hoc, et amare gulam'. (II, p. 466, XI).

³⁵ Cf. además Mart., 1, 33, sobre las lágrimas falsas.

- Cur tristiozem cernimus Saleianum?
 “An causa levis est?” inquis, “extuli uxorem”.
 O grande fati crimen! O grauem casum!
 Illa, illa diues mortua est Secundilla,
 5 centena decies quae tibi dedit dotis?
 Nollem accidisset hoc tibi, Saleiane. (2, 65)

Otro tema epigramático que cultiva Ruiz de Moros es el de la transgresión de las normas del *decorum*, en este caso de aquellas propias de la sociedad polaca, y, por ejemplo, critica a una mujer que ya ha tenido un hijo, pero que lleva el cabello suelto como las doncellas:

In Choris

- In cunis vagit partus, tu fusa capillos
 Incedis. Virgo est sic et mulierque, Choris. (II, p. 467, XII)³⁶

En esta ocasión Ruiz de Moros imita un epigrama de Marcial de distinta temática pero en el que se recurre a un juego de palabras similar en el pentámetro:

- Digna tuo cur sis indignaque nomine, dicam.
 Frigida es et nigra es: non es et es Chione. (3, 34)

La sátira de las profesiones es un tema habitual en las literaturas occidentales. Los médicos son especialmente vulnerables a estas críticas ya desde Marcial. Ruiz de Moros, por su parte, nos ofrece un epigrama contra una mujer médico que, al igual que sus colegas masculinos, suele llevar a sus pacientes a la tumba. Casualmente está casada con un enterrador, lo que hace al negocio de éste especialmente lucrativo:

- Uxori est studium medicina, pioque marito
 Ars est defunctis aedificare domos.
 Illa homines uno centenos mactat in anno,
 Singula vix anno vir monumenta facit.
 5 Ergo ne iaceant homines sine honore sepulcri,
 Supremo cassi scilicet officio,
 Aedifica, o vir, plus, minus aut tua saeviat uxor,
 Aut uno centum conde, vir, in tumulo. (II, p. 422, XVIII)

Aunque no se ha encontrado ningún ejemplo en Marcial de tan provechosa colaboración, existen algunos epigramas que podrían haber inspirado a Ruiz de Moros, y, por ejemplo, en 1, 30 nos presenta a Diaulo, antes médico y ahora enterrador.

³⁶ Sobre el mismo personaje cf. II, p. 467, XIII.

En conclusión, a lo largo de este estudio se ha podido comprobar la diversidad de registros que presentan los poemas de Ruiz de Moros que tratan sobre figuras femeninas así como la gran variedad de sus protagonistas. En mi caso me he centrado sobre todo en aquellos ejemplos que mejor muestran las actitudes propias del autor respecto a los roles de género, y que desarrollan una serie de tópicos presentes en la tradición literaria grecorromana y europea cuyo elemento común es el hecho de relegar a la mujer al ámbito doméstico y de denostar la presencia femenina en la esfera pública. En esos casos Ruiz de Moros recurre a fuentes literarias clásicas y humanísticas, bíblicas y cristianas, así como a los textos jurídicos que tan bien conocía, o a la paremiología. Asimismo, se han comentado otros textos que entroncan directamente con la tradición epigramática latina, esencialmente con Marcial, y, en los que, frente a los anteriores, de tono más serio y admonitorio, se da un predominio de lo cómico y lo satírico. En todo caso, aunque las actitudes hacia la mujer propias de Ruiz de Moros son bastante comunes en su época, y refrendadas por obras didácticas como los tratados de Vives, es muy posible que parte de su misógina estuviera influida por su propia experiencia en Polonia y sus malas relaciones con la reina Bona y sus favoritos. A pesar de que ésta era conocida como protectora de artistas y literatos y principal introductora del humanismo en Polonia, el alcañizano no llegó a gozar del favor de su círculo, y durante un tiempo hubo de vivir entre estrecheces económicas, hasta que finalmente el príncipe Segismundo Augusto, del que era buen amigo, ocupó el trono en 1548 y le otorgó cargos y honores.

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LA CUESTIÓN DEL PLAGIO EN LA OBRA TEOLÓGICA Y HOMILÉTICA DE FRAY LORENZO DE VILLAVICENCIO

Fray Lorenzo de Villavicencio¹ ha pasado a la historia de las complejas relaciones hispano-flamencas del XVI principalmente por su labor como

¹ Este trabajo se ha realizado en el marco del Proyecto del Plan Nacional de I+D FFI2009-10133 y del Proyecto de Excelencia de la Junta de Andalucía con referencia PAI09-HUM-04858.

Sobre Lorenzo de Villavicencio (c. 1518-1583) hay información en fuentes muy diversas, de las que espigo algunas relevantes. La trayectoria del fraile se recoge con más o menos detalle ya desde el XVI en distintos repertorios eclesiásticos (los de Sixto de Siena, Jerónimo Román, Tomás de Herrera, Philippe Elsen, Johannes Felix Ossinger, Hugo Hunter, etc.), que se ocupan del fraile de forma escueta, como Nicolaus Crusenius, *Monasticon Augustinianum* (Munich: Hertfroy, 1622), p. 204, o más detallada, como Tomás de Herrera, *Alphabetum Augustinianum*, 2 vols (Madrid: Rodríguez, 1644), II, 17-18. También se recoge información en Nicolás Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova*, 2 vols (Madrid: Ibarra, 1788), II, 10-11; Enrique Flórez, 'Notitia auctoris et monitum editoris', en *De recte formando Theologiae studio libri IIII per R. P. Mag. Fr. Laurentium a Villavicentio. Tertia Editio. Curante R. P. M. Fr. Henrico Florez* (Madrid: Ibarra, 1768), fols. [a2-a8]; Diego Ignacio Parada y Barreto, *Hombres ilustres de la ciudad de Jerez de la Frontera* (Jerez: Guadalete, 1878), pp. 457-460; Gregorio de Santiago Vela, *Ensayo de una bibliografía iberoamericana de la Orden de San Agustín*, 8 vols (El Escorial: Imprenta del Monasterio, 1931), VIII, 315-321; Rafael García de Castro, 'El Maestro Fray Lorenzo de Villavicencio', *Revista española de estudios bíblicos*, 31 (1929), 217-336; David Gutiérrez Morán, 'De fratribus Laurentio de Villavicentio et Bartholomaeo de los Ríos: vitae curriculum et documenta', *Analecta Augustiniana*, 23 (1953-1954), 102-121, que aporta un valioso material documental, y Víctor Herrero – Lolita Aguayo (eds), *IBEPI, Índice biográfico de España, Portugal e Iberoamérica*, 2ª ed. (CD-Rom, 1995). Para el conocimiento de la labor político-religiosa del fraile son de utilidad los siguientes títulos: Paul Gachard, *Correspondance de Philippe II sur les affaires des Pays-Bas*, 4 vols (Bruxelles: Librairie Ancienne et Moderne, 1848-1861), II (1851), XVI-LIV; Bruno Ibeas, *El espionaje en el imperio (El Padre Lorenzo de Villavicencio)* (Tánger: Publicaciones de la Sociedad de Estudios Históricos Jerezanos, 1941); Th. M. Roosenboom, 'Fray Lorenzo de Villavicencio en zijn invloed op Filips II, 1563-1566', *Archief voor de Geschiedenis van de Katholieke Kerk in Nederland*, 21 (1979), 147-174; Ronald W. Truman – Gordon Kinder, 'The Pursuit of Spanish Heretics in the Low Countries: The Activities of Alonso del Canto, 1561-1564', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 30 (1979), 65-93; Gabrielle Dorren, 'Lorenzo de Villavicencio en Alonso del Canto. Twee Spaanse informanten over de Nederlandse elite (1564-1566)', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, 111 (1998), 352-376;

espía, informante o agente secreto de Felipe II, a quien sirvió con eficacia en la represión del protestantismo en los Países Bajos, según consta en los documentos que en forma de cartas e informes salidos de su pluma se conservan en el Archivo General de Simancas.² Su implacable celo en la detección de herejes junto a su profunda implicación en la gestión del problema político y social flamenco han perfilado la compleja imagen de un clérigo extremista e inmisericorde —‘mischievous bigot’ le llamó Preston³—, infiltrado y delator de herejes, odiado a muerte por los flamencos, aunque a la vez clarividente consejero real, de ilimitada sinceridad e innegable compromiso en la defensa de la integridad del estado al que servía.

Pero fray Lorenzo fue, además, un notable intelectual de su tiempo cuya bibliografía⁴ abarca cinco obras publicadas en latín de tema teológico,

Gustaaf Janssens, ‘Barmhartig en rechtvaardig’. Visies van L. de Villavicencio en J. Hopperus op de taak van de koning’, en W. P. Blockmans – H. van Nuffel (eds), *Staat en Religie in de 15e en 16e eeuw. Handelingen van het colloquium te Brussel van 9 tot 12 oktober 1984* (Bruselas, 1986), pp. 25-42, y Yolanda Rodríguez Pérez, *The Dutch Revolt through Spanish Eyes: Self and Other in Historical and Literary Texts of Golden Age Spain (c. 1548-1673)* (Berna: Lang, 2008), pp. 53-54.

² Véase Marqueses de Pidal y de Miraflores – Miguel Salvá (eds), *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, 113 vols (Madrid: Viuda de Calero, 1842-1895), XXXVII (1860), 40-70. Santiago, *Ensayo*, pp. 323-323, ofrece una lista exhaustiva de documentos (cartas, informes, censuras de libros, etc.) que permiten reconstruir la trayectoria profesional del fraile.

³ Véase William H. Prescott, *History of the Reign of Philip the Second, King of Spain*, 2 vols (Londres: Bentley, 1855), I, 281.

⁴ La bibliografía de Lorenzo de Villavicencio aparece enumerada y comentada de manera parcial o total en muy diversas fuentes, entre las que se encuentran algunos repertorios de autores agustinos: de este grupo el artículo que le dedicó Johannes Felix Ossinger en su *Bibliotheca Augustiniana* (Ingolstadt – Augsburg: Kraetz, 1763), pp. 946-947, resulta de especial utilidad al ofrecer un listado de otros trabajos previos sobre Villavicencio. En el XVIII y XIX se ocuparon de las obras del fraile: Antonio, *Bibliotheca*, II, 10-11, aunque con numerosas inexactitudes e incluso confusiones entre obras; Flórez, ‘Notitia auctoritis’, fols. [a2-a8], cuyo exhaustivo trabajo aún no ha sido superado hoy día; Bartolomé José Gallardo, *Ensayo de una biblioteca de libros raros y curiosos*, 4 vols (Madrid: Gredos, 1968), IV, 1063 (edición facsímil de la impresa en Madrid: Rivadeneyra-Tello, 1863-1889) y Miguel de San José, *Bibliographia critica, sacra et prophana in tres tomos et volumina*, 4 vols (Madrid: Marín, 1740-1742), III (1742), 177. No se le cita, en cambio, en Gregorio Mayans y Siscar, *Specimen Bibliothecae Hispano-Maiansianae* (Hannover: Schmid, 1753), ni en Francisco Cerdá y Rico, *Commentarius de praecipuis rhetoribus Hispanis* (Madrid: Sancha, 1781). Más modernamente recogen, entre otros, su bibliografía total o parcialmente: Julio Cejador y Frauca, *Historia de la Lengua y Literatura castellana (Época de Felipe II)*, 14 vols (Madrid: Sáez, 1917-1935), III (1930), 83; Santiago, *Ensayo*, VIII, 316-321; Gutiérrez, ‘De fratribus’, pp. 102-108; Félix Olmedo, *Don Francisco Terrones del Caño. Instrucción de Predicadores* (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1960), pp. LX-LXIII; Segundo Folgado, ‘Fray Lorenzo de Villavicencio y los estudios teológicos’, *La*

todas ellas conservadas hoy día, y dos obras manuscritas de las que sólo conocemos los títulos.⁵ El ofrecimiento que hizo a Felipe II para escribir una historia encomiástica de su reinado⁶ nunca, que sepamos, llegó a materializarse y tampoco pasaron a letra impresa los sermones con los que, a decir de los testimonios contemporáneos, ganó fama en el púlpito.⁷ No parecen, en fin, tener peso los argumentos que se han esgrimido para atribuir al fraile la autoría del primer arte impreso para la enseñanza del castellano a hablantes de francés, la *Vtil, y breve institution para aprender los principios y fundamentos de la lengua hespañola*, cuya aprobación firmó

ciudad de Dios, 177 (1964), 335-344; Antonio Martí, *La preceptiva retórica española en el Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Gredos, 1972), pp. 219-221, que le clasifica entre los autores secundarios; Antonio Palau y Dulcet, *Manual del librero hispanoamericano*, 2ª ed, 28 vols (Barcelona – Oxford: Palau – The Dolphin Book, 1976), XXVII, 244-245; Melquíades Andrés, *La teología española en el siglo XVI. II* (Madrid: BAC, 1977), pp. 407-409; Antonio Cañizares, 'La predicación española en el siglo XVI', en *Repertorio de Historia de las Ciencias Eclesiásticas en España. 6. Siglos I-XVI* (Salamanca: Kadmos, 1977), pp. 214 y 221, Félix Herrero Salgado, *La oratoria española en los siglos XVI y XVII* (Madrid: FUE, 1996), p. 140, e Id., *La oratoria española en los siglos XVI y XVII. IV. Predicadores agustinos y carmelitas* (Madrid: FUE, 2004), pp. 44-46. No aparece mencionado en Jozef IJsewijn, *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies. Part I. History and Diffusion of Neo-Latin Literature*, 2nd entirely rewritten edition (Lovaina: Leuven University Press, 1990).

⁵ La noticia sobre las obras que el fraile no llegó a imprimir ha sido transmitida por Flórez, quien menciona los títulos de ambas en latín y romance: *De concinendis in choro divinis laudibus deque organorum usu in Ecclesiis* (*Alabanzas de lo que se sirve Dios en cantarlas en el coro y comunidad*, y *de los órganos y música del coro*) y *De martyribus qui hac passi sunt aetate apud Galliam et Flandriam* (*Tratado de los Mátyres de estos tiempos, que padecieron en Francia y en Flandes*). Véase Flórez, 'Notitia auctoris', fol. [a6 v.].

⁶ La noticia se encuentra en una carta de 1575, enviada por el fraile al rey: 'También advierto a V. Magt. que tiene obligación divina y natural de prevenir a la grandeza de su honra y fama y memoria para los tiempos venideros, la cual quedará muy desamparada si V. Magt. en sus venturosos años no la encomienda alguna persona, que haga la historia de su real vida y reinado. Porque entroigo que estrangeros enemigos de la religión católica y de la grandeza de V. Magt. escriven con grande injuria de la verdad y mayor agravio del respeto que a la real persona de V. Magt. y de sus christianissimos trabajos se debe. Para esto, si V. Magt. fuere servido, podré tener ánimo y buscaré ingenio y pondré mis trabajos en hacer la historia de la vida y reino de V. Magt. porque cosa tan grave como ésta no se quede a la elección de quien quisiere escribir lo que oyó y no en verdad lo que vio. No es esto de tan poca importancia que no la hayan encomendado los reyes passados a grandes personas. Porque don Rodrigo Arzobispo de Toledo escribió la historia y muchos santos escribieron las cosas de sus tiempos, V. Magt. sea servido mandar considerar esto, pues tanto importa a la perpetua memoria de su real vida y reino y nombre'. Véase Ibeas, *El espionaje*, p. 9.

⁷ En 1570 Villavicencio ya ejercía de predicador real, según se atestigua en una carta del Prior General de los Agustinos (Véase Gutiérrez, 'De fratribus', p. 105). Herrera, *Alphabetum*, p. 17, confirma la fecha. Santiago, *Ensayo*, p. 316, data en 1567 el nombramiento. Elsen sitúa el primer éxito oratorio de Villavicencio en el capítulo de su orden celebrado en Lieja en agosto de 1561 (Véase Ibeas, *El espionaje*, p. 9).

el 7 de noviembre de 1555.⁸ Dentro de la obra conservada puede establecerse una línea divisoria entre el tratado político-teológico en tres libros dedicado a Felipe II con el título *De oeconomia sacra circa pauperum cura a Christo instituta libri tres* (Amberes: Plantino, 1564)⁹, donde, en oposición a la tesis de Wyts, el agustino defendió con un abrumador bagaje teológico y escriturario el derecho a la mendicidad y la legitimidad de la iglesia como responsable del reparto de bienes¹⁰, y las otras cuatro obras restantes, dedicadas a la formación del predicador y el ejercicio de su ministerio: las *Tabulae compendiosae in Evangelia et Epistolas* (Lovaina, 1563), los *De recte formando Theologiae studio libri IV* y los *De formandis sacris concionibus libri III* (ambos salidos en Amberes, 1565), y, en fin, las *Phrases Scripturae Sacrae* (Amberes, 1570). Este segundo bloque, en el que me centro en el presente trabajo, aporta una bibliografía de importancia excepcional para el estudio de la oratoria sagrada del XVI, por

⁸ La obra, también conocida como el 'Anónimo de Lovaina', fue impresa en dicha ciudad en los talleres de van Grave en 1555. La posible autoría de fray Lorenzo fue propuesta por Antonio Roldán Pérez, autor del estudio preliminar inserto en la edición facsímil de la obra: *Vitil y breve institution para aprender los principios y fundamentos de la lengua hespañola, Lovaina 1555* (Madrid: CSIC, 1977), p. CXXXV. Sobre este texto, véase <http://cvc.cervantes.es/obref/fortuna/expo/lengua/lengu0113.htm>

⁹ El título completo es *De oeconomia sacra circa pauperum curam a Christo instituta, Apostolis tradita et in universa Ecclesia inde ad nostra usque tempora perpetua religione observata, cum quarundam propositionum, quae huic sacrae oeconomiae adversantur, confutatione libri tres*. También hubo edición ese año en París en la imprenta de Sonnius. Aprovecho la presente nota para advertir al lector que, dada la variedad de uso tipográfico en los títulos de obras y textos en lengua latina citados a lo largo de este artículo, he optado por regularizar las grafías v/u para la variante consonántica y vocálica respectivamente. Mantengo, en cambio, la grafía i tanto para el uso vocálico como consonántico.

¹⁰ El problema de la mendicidad había sido tratado años antes desde la perspectiva reformista por Andreas Hyperius, que había publicado en Amberes y París en 1531 una obra titulada *Forma subventionis pauperum quae apud Hyperas Flandrorum urbem viget, universae reipublicae christiana longe utilissima*. Hyperius fue también autor de un tratado sobre la formación del teólogo y un manual de homilética que, como veremos más adelante, Villavicencio pudo de herejías y publicó a su propio nombre. El *De oeconomia sacra* de Villavicencio ha despertado principalmente interés, porque en el libro tercero de esta obra el fraile critica duramente las propuestas expresadas por Luis Vives en *De subventionem pauperum*, una obra escrita a instancias de las autoridades municipales de Brujas y considerada hoy de capital importancia en el estudio de las políticas sociales del XVI. Sobre Villavicencio y Vives, véase Juan Luis Vives, *De subventionem pauperum sive De humanis necessitatibus libri II*, eds. C. Matheeußen – C. Fantazzi – J. De Landtsheer (Leiden: Brill, 2002), p. XXVII, y Henry de Vocht, *History of the Foundation and the Rise of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense 1517-1550. Part the third: The full Growth, Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 12 (Lovaina: Librairie Universitaire, 1954), pp. 291-293. Sobre Villavicencio y Wyts, véase Ibeas, *El espionaje*, pp. 60-67.

ser toda ella adaptación de obras protestantes, algo ya conocido desde antiguo, pero que ha sido a veces olvidado en las valoraciones modernas de los méritos del fraile, tradicionalmente considerado como un reformador de los estudios teológicos.

El contexto en que se produjo el trasvase de materiales de los tratados tenidos por heréticos a los católicos ha sido claramente descrito por John O'Malley.¹¹ Los protestantes se adelantaron en unos veinte años a los católicos en la publicación de nuevos manuales formativos que superaran el reputado *Ecclesiastes* de Erasmo: sus principales tratados salieron en la década de los cincuenta, mientras que los equivalentes en el mundo católico, donde el arte de predicación erasmiano figura en los índices inquisitoriales desde 1551, no proliferaron hasta la década de los setenta. Ello creó durante años una especie de vacío de novedades editoriales en el lado de la iglesia romana que llevó a los predicadores católicos a servirse de los manuales reformistas, donde la doctrina oratoria se presentaba entremezclada con proposiciones teológicas heterodoxas. En esta situación, para tratar de cortar la lectura de algunos de estos libros de alto riesgo aprovechando su potencial formativo en la técnica del púlpito, Fray Lorenzo procedió a podarlos, retocarlos y publicarlos a su propio nombre.

Cuando el agustino inició este proyecto bibliográfico llevaba ya años inmerso en el conflicto político y religioso flamenco y había tenido ocasión de conocer de primera mano los textos de ahí emanados. Había llegado a Flandes en 1551, siendo ya un sólido teólogo formado en Salamanca, para instruir en la fe a los comerciantes españoles residentes en Amberes y Brujas¹², y en 1553 residía en Lovaina, en cuya universidad realizaba estudios de teología, disciplina en la que obtuvo los grados de bachiller y maestro en marzo y mayo de 1554 respectivamente y el doctorado en 1558.¹³ De su inmersión en las controversias teológicas en

¹¹ Véase John W. O'Malley, 'Saint Charles Borromeo and the *Praecipuum Episcoporum Munus*: His Place in the History of Preaching' y 'Erasmus and the History of Sacred Rhetoric: The *Ecclesiastes* of 1535', ambos trabajos en John W. O'Malley, *Religious Culture in the Sixteenth Century. Preaching, Rhetoric, Spirituality, and Reform* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 1993), VI, 139-157 (140-141) y VII, 1-29 (17).

¹² El propio fray Lorenzo lo dice en una carta a Gregorio XIII fechada en 1580: 'Anno quinquagesimo primo Belgium sum ingressus: Hispanos Antuerpiae et Brugis mercium causa agentes in fidei doctrinis instituendos suscepi'. La carta se encuentra editada en Gutiérrez, 'De fratribus', p. 112.

¹³ Véase Gutiérrez, 'De fratribus', p. 103. Fray Lorenzo aparece inscrito en los libros de matrículas de la Universidad de Lovaina en 1557. Véase José Ignacio Tellechea, 'Españoles en Lovaina en 1557', en W. Thomas – R. A. Verdonk, *Encuentros en Flandes* (Leuven University Press, 2000), pp. 133-155 (153), así como Henry de Vocht, *History of*

esos años no faltan testimonios, entre los que se encuentra un informe, presentado por fray Baltasar Pérez ante la Inquisición sevillana en 1558¹⁴, sobre las actividades de una célula bayanista que, dirigida por Pedro Ximénez, se reunía en Lovaina desde 1551 con el propósito de defender propuestas de sesgo heterodoxo en contra de la doctrina pro-romana que se exponía en la universidad. Este documento atestigua la participación de Villavicencio en la citada 'junta', donde defendía 'cosas ynpías y escandalosas', tales como que 'con qualquiera pecado mortal perdía onbre la fee' y que 'Ecclesia poterat errare in canonyzatione sanctorum'.¹⁵ La trayectoria anterior y posterior del fraile, marcada por un extremo celo en la persecución del protestantismo, ha llevado a interpretar estos hechos no como veleidades filoprotestantes, sino como evidencia de su papel de infiltrado, hábil en simular simpatías reformistas para dar avisos contra los herejes. De esta actividad también da cuenta la noticia de su envío por orden real en 1557 por designación de Carranza a la feria de libros de Frankfurt, para, camuflado sin el hábito, identificar a quienes compraban libros heréticos que se traían a Flandes.¹⁶ Con esta experiencia a sus espaldas, fray Lorenzo, que enseñó teología en Lovaina entre 1561 y 1564¹⁷ y jugó un papel fundamental en la condena de Bayo, comenzó una labor de purga de textos protestantes de materia teológica y homilética, a fin de hacerlos legibles por el clero católico, cuya acuciante necesidad de formación atestigua el propio fraile jerezano en el *Advertimento sobre cosas tocantes a la provisión de buenos curas en Flandes* de 1569, donde afirma que el escaso desconocimiento del catecismo y la incapacidad de distinguir la doctrina protestante y la romana eran problemas generalizados:

the Foundation and the Rise of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense 1517-1550. Part the fourth: Strengthened Maturity, Humanistica Lovaniensia, 13 (Lovaina: Librairie Universitaire, 1955), p. 153.

¹⁴ El documento fue publicado por José Ignacio Tellechea, 'Españoles en Lovaina en 1551-8. Primeras noticias sobre el bayanismo', *Revista Española de Teología*, 23 (1963), 21-45. También trata el mismo autor del tema del citado informe en 'Españoles en Lovaina en 1557', pp. 133-155.

¹⁵ Véase Tellechea, 'Españoles en Lovaina en 1551-8', p. 37.

¹⁶ La noticia está documentada en los papeles del proceso Carranza y la recoge Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles*, 2 vols (Madrid: Editorial Católica, 1978), II, 277.

¹⁷ Sobre fray Lorenzo en la Universidad de Lovaina, véase Ibeas, *El espionaje*, pp. 51-59, y Gustaaf Janssens, 'Españoles y portugueses en los medios universitarios de Lovaina (s. XV y XVI)', en J. Lechner (ed.), *Contactos entre los Países Bajos y el mundo ibérico* (= *Foro Hispánico*, 3 (1992)), 13-30 (17-18).

Mande su Magt. a los abades, obispos y curas de ánimas que provean a sus parroquias e iglesias de pastores cathólicos y que, por lo menos, sepan el cathecismo y que lo enseñen a sus ovejas. Esto es necesario, porque ha havido y hay muchos pastores heréticos, otros sospechosos y otros indiferentes (...) Una de las causas porque la religión y república han recibido tan grandes daños en los Estados Baxos de su Magt. ha sido porque los pastores de las villas y villages son mercenarios muy ignorantes, tanto que no pueden conocer qual doctrina sea cathólica y qual herética.¹⁸

Hasta aquí y hahora ha havido tanta ignorancia y rudeza, que es grandísima lástima ver abades más idiotas que sus cocineros y sus moços de caballos (...) con aver en aquellos estados gran cantidad y número de abadías y frayles, no ay diez predicadores en todos ellos.¹⁹

Como medidas para atajar esta situación el fraile propuso al rey la creación de tres colegios en Lovaina en los que los religiosos fuesen instruidos 'en letras sacras cathólicas y en doctrinas sanas con las quales pudiesen edificar los christianos y destruir los hereges y sus heregías'²⁰ e inició un proceso editorial para proveer a los predicadores católicos de textos formativos que permitieran elevar su competencia en el púlpito.

Villavicencio dio el primer paso de este proyecto bibliográfico en 1563. En ese año manda imprimir en Lovaina en el taller de Bartholomeus van Grave y Petrus Zangre una obra que contenía explicaciones de las distintas lecturas previstas para la predicación en domingos y festivos del calendario eclesial. El libro, sin embargo, no era sino la adaptación de otro publicado en Basilea unos años antes, en 1555, por Johann Spangenberg, un reputado teólogo luterano²¹, con el título de *Explicationes Evangeliorum et Epistolarum, quae Dominicis diebus more usitato proponi in Ecclesia populo solent, in tabulas succinctas et ad memoriam admodum utiles redactae, una cum tabulis Evangeliorum de Sanctis, autore Ioanne Spangenbergio, inclyti comitatus Mansfeldensis superattendente*, cuyo contenido, como reza en el propio nombre de la obra, eran resúmenes esquemáticos o *tabulae*, un tipo de formato de

¹⁸ Véase Ibeas, *El espionaje*, p. 41, nota 1.

¹⁹ Véase Ibeas, *El espionaje*, p. 41.

²⁰ El texto se encuentra en el 'Informe sobre colegios en Flandes'. Véase Ibeas, *El espionaje*, p. 43.

²¹ Véase Henry Burnard Galand – Mary Galand, *The Oxford Companion to German Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997³), p. 787; *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, 56 vols (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1875-1912), 35 (1893), 43-46, y *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexicon*, 30 vols (Herzberg: Traugott Bautz, 1975-), 10 (1995), 874-880.

clara utilidad didáctica en materia teológica, como atestigua su uso en la versión abreviada del catecismo de Lutero, presentado como *Tabulae complectentes brevissime simul et crasse catechismum Lutheri pro pueris et familia*.²² Dado que el formato en que se ofrecían las *Explicationes* constituía una buena parte de su atractivo pedagógico, fray Lorenzo cambió el título de la obra original por el de *Tabulae compendiosae*, haciendo constar que lo que publicaba era el trabajo de Spangenberg, una vez podado de errores heréticos: *Tabulae compendiosae in Evangelia et Epistolas quae dominicis festisque diebus populo in Ecclesia proponi solent concionaturis omnibus summopere utiles et necessariae. Editae quidem primum a Ioanne Spangenberg, nunc uero ab innumeris quibus scatebant, haereseon erroribus restitutae opera atque industria F. Laurentii a Villauicentio Xeresani, ordinis Eremitarum D. Augustini, S. Theologiae professoris et Hispanice nationis apud Brugenses concionatoris*.²³

Las *Explicationes Evangeliorum et Epistolarum* eran una obra destinada a la formación de los alumnos de Islebe, la patria chica de Lutero y donde Johann Spangenberg ejerció como pastor y docente, y constituían la adaptación del texto de otra de sus obras sobre exégesis bíblica, los *Postilla. Evangelia et epistolae quae in Ecclesia toto anno, dominicis et festis diebus proponuntur per quaestiones explicata*, publicados por el autor en alemán y en latín en la década de los cuarenta con un enorme éxito editorial, y posteriormente plagiados por otro teólogo católico, Johann Craendonch.²⁴ Se trataba, pues, de una obra de enorme potencial didáctico, pero beligerante con la Iglesia de Roma. Su autor, formado en Wittemberg, había producido toda una bibliografía reformista y había publicado los discursos de Lutero, por lo que figuraba en los índices de libros prohibidos como *auctor primae classis* desde 1549.²⁵ Del claro carácter reformista de

²² Véase Friedrich Bente, 'Historical Introductions to the Lutheran Confessions', en *Concordia Triglotta. The Symbolical books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, ed. y trad. F. Bente (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1921), pp. 87-91 y 270-276.

²³ Tras la *princeps* lovaniense de 1563, hubo ediciones posteriores en Venecia: F. de Francesci, 1565 y Venecia: B. Rubini, 1566.

²⁴ Craendonch justificaba la legitimidad de su plagio aduciendo que el material de Spangenberg no era original, sino que había sido escrito por un monje medieval. Véase John M. Frymire, *The Primacy of the Postils: Catholics, Protestants and the Dissemination of Ideas in Early Modern Germany* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 275-279.

²⁵ Véase J. M. De Bujanda (ed.), *Thesaurus de la littérature interdite au XVI^e siècle, Auteurs, ouvrages, éditions* (Sherbrooke: Centre d'Études de la Renaissance – Université de Sherbrooke, 1996), pp. 371-372.

las *Explicationes* da cuenta Ciríaco²⁶, el hijo de Spangenberg que publicó póstumamente el texto, en la carta que, fechada en 1554, hace las veces de prefacio y donde ataca explícitamente al Papado:

Bene igitur et pie egerunt qui his temporibus Patrum et Episcoporum primitivae Ecclesiae collectanea emendatiora in utraque lingua studiosis Theologiae communicarunt. Et optime de tota merentur Ecclesia qui hodie Lutheri, uiri Dei, per tomos digesta volumina nostrum et succedentium nobis in usum colligunt, typis edunt ac evulgant, ut eruta per hunc virum ex tenebris Papistis pietatis doctrina incorrupta et sana in his terris retineatur.²⁷

Así pues, dado que las *Explicationes* resultaban una excelente herramienta pedagógica para auxiliar a los predicadores en la composición del sermón dominical, fray Lorenzo decidió adaptarlas para el mundo católico y dotar a los predicadores de Roma de un instrumento que ya poseían los reformistas. Conocemos bien los pormenores de este proceso gracias al prefacio²⁸ de la obra, donde el agustino alaba la presentación de los materiales en el formato de llave, pero describe su peligrosidad para los predicadores católicos que, al servirse del libro para sus sermones, acababan transmitiendo a los oyentes, sin darse cuenta, ideas heréticas y abrazando ellos mismos dogmas que tenían por ortodoxos.²⁹ A decir del fraile, la razón que explicaba el uso habitual del libro no era sino la falta de una alternativa igualmente atractiva en el mundo católico, donde lo que circulaban eran unos sermonarios cuya sola mención provocaba el hastío:

²⁶ Burnard – Galand, *The Oxford Companion*, p. 787; Robert Kolb, *Bound Choice, Election and Wittenberg Theological Method: from Martin Luther to the Formula of Concord* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2005), pp. 198-200.

²⁷ Cito por la edición de las *Explicationes Evangeliorum et Epistolarum* impresa en Basilea, 1561, fol. Aiiir.

²⁸ La *Praefatio* antepuesta a la edición lovaniense de 1563 carece de paginación, razón por la cual no detallo la localización exacta de los pasajes aducidos en este artículo.

²⁹ El texto latino dice así: 'Ediderat Spangenbergus haereticus ante aliquot annos Tabulas in Evangelia et Epistolas quae festis diebus in Ecclesia populo proponuntur, elegante quidem et ingenioso artificio elaboratas, quibus etiam maximam laudem et gloriam perpetuo in Ecclesia apud viros pios et eruditos obtinuisset, nisi haereseon sordibus turpissime illas polluisset. Circumferebantur passim illae tabulae multis et impudentissimis mendaciis refertae; scatebant errore et haeretica prorsusque falsa exundabant doctrina, qua incauti et imprudentes concionatores decepti, populum, qui in doctrina fidei catholicae sui instituendi gratia ipsos accedebat, dimittebant perniciosissimis haeresibus seductum atque perversum. Nec id tantum vero et plerique concionatores, qui nihil minus in animo antea habuerant quam haeticam profiteri doctrinam, ubi illarum tabularum lectioni aliquantisper incubuissent, pestiferas contagiones inde haustas pro veris nostrae fidei dogmatibus amplectebantur'.

Mittant igitur concionatores catholici in iustissimum exilium sordidam illam sermonariorum farraginem, quorum vel sola nomina fastidium intolerabile sanis adferunt palatis.

Al análisis de cómo hacer aprovechable el material para la iglesia católica, Villavicencio dedicó, según él mismo cuenta, uno o dos meses; luego, tras mostrar el inicio del trabajo a gente de su confianza y obtener la aprobación de éstos, finalizó la labor de purga y sustitución, y puso al acceso de los predicadores de la iglesia romana³⁰ una versión cuya reelaboración seguía unos criterios minuciosamente enumerados:

Sustuli locos depravatos, falsa et haeretica dogmata refutavi, asserui catholica et, quae asserui, Christi et Apostolorum esse docui ac declaravi; ostendi etiam quae fuerit vera et genuina Spiritus Sancti mens Evangelicis et Epistolaribus lectionibus comprehensa, quam ita Spangenbergus obscuraverat et corruperat, ut in suis tabulis non quod Christus ipse docuit, nec quod Apostoli et Evangelistae praedicaverunt et scripserunt, sed temerario ausu, quod ipse fingere aut comminisci fuit ausus, pro verbi Christi in tabulis praesumpsit vindicare.

y cuya dependencia del original de Spangenberg se hacía explícita al lector:

Ediderat Spangenbergus haeticus ante aliquos annos Tabulas in Evangelia et Epistolas [...]

De primario artificio harum tabularum nihil prorsus mihi arrego; nihil usurpatum aut mihi attributum cupio, ne maledicus obiiciat me alienis, qui propriis non potuerim, voluisse ornari plumis. Illibatum relinquo suum honorem Spangenbergi [...]

El mecanismo de adaptación de la obra de Spangenberg al formato católico ha sido estudiado recientemente por Delville. Su cotejo entre los formatos primario y secundario indica que fray Lorenzo mantuvo la estructura del original aumentando bastante el caudal exegético, pero corrigió el texto en un sentido católico moderado ('sans outrance'), inspirándose en Erasmo o aduciendo sin empacho ideas luteranas.³¹

Con la acomodación, pues, de las *Explicationes* de Spangenberg al ideario católico fray Lorenzo dio a esta obra una segunda vida. Pero con

³⁰ El texto latino dice así: 'Absolvi tandem tabularum castigationem, repurgatis sordibus et erroribus eliminatis, ut illa ratione haeretici Spangenbergi tabulae piorum concionatorum manibus eriperentur. Et ne prorsus earum Ecclesia privaretur beneficio, has easdem ab haeresi vindicatas evolvendas in posterum concionatoribus catholicis tradidimus'.

³¹ Jean-Pierre Delville, *L'Europe de l'exégèse au XVI^e siècle* (Louvain: Leuven University Press, 2004), pp. 383-388.

ello, además, abrió el camino a toda una secuela de publicaciones vinculadas con la suya. Así, por ejemplo, el flamenco Jacob van de Velde (Veldius), también agustino, publicó unas *Tabulae compendiosae in Evangelia et Epistolas, quae per totam quadragesimam populo in Ecclesia proponi solent, concionaturis omnibus summopere utiles et necessariae* (Venecia: Francisco y Gaspar Bidoni, 1566), en cuyo prefacio explicaba que estas tablas, elaboradas en principio para su entrenamiento homilético particular, venían a suplir una laguna dejada por Spangenberg, quien no dio a la luz una compilación de *tabulae* específicas con los materiales predicables en la Cuaresma. Veldius, cuyo libro salió tres años después de que el español publicara el suyo, se cuidó bien en dichos preliminares de elogiar la excelencia de su precedente, las *Tabulae* de Villavicencio, frente a la modestia de la suyas.³² Muy pronto los materiales de ambas obras fueron a su vez aprovechados por el dominico flamenco, Gilles van den Prielee (Aegidius Topiarius), quien publicó varios libros de *conciones*. El primero salió de la imprenta parisina de Sonnius en 1565 con el título de *Conciones in Evangelia et Epistolas quae dominicis diebus populo in Ecclesia proponi solent, Ecclesiasticis omnibus moderni temporis summopere utiles, e tabulis D. Laurentii a Villavicentio Xeresano elaboratae, nunc uero plurimis in locis cum sacrarum litterarum, tum Catholicorum antiquorumque patrum scriptis diligenti cura auctae et locupletatae per D. Aegidium Topiarium Flan-drum*, y en él presentaba desarrolladas parafrásticamente las ideas que aparecen esquematizadas en las *Tabulae* de fray Lorenzo, ofreciendo así una especie de sermones abreviados o en germen sin acudir al formato

³² 'Nihil enim minus cogitaveram quam hasce Tabulas in Evangelia quadragesimalia et Epistolas, quas exercitii causa tantum congesseram, evulgaveram, cum agnoscerem quam sterili essent ingenio profectae, quam nullo rhetorices artificio digestae, quam raro Scripturarum patrocinio munitae. Quae omnia videbam a studiosis observari in eis, quas nuper castigatas emisit eruditissimus S. Theologiae professor M. N. Laurentius Villavicensis, celeberrimae nationis Hispaniae in nostra hac civitate Ecclesiastes celeberrimus, mihi ob singularem eruditionem et qua me meaque studia est complexus, benevolentiam ac parem religionem charissimus. Quare suppressere aut Vulcano tradere potius quam praelo subiicere cogitabam. Verum cum simili methodo studiosi aliquot optassent ea Evangelia quae sacro Quadragesimae tempore tractari solent, neque hoc Iohannes Spangenbergus homo haereticus fecisset, hortatu amicorum ipse sum aggressus, impari quidem dextérité, eruditione, ornatu, non minori tamen labore, ut facile candidus lector, nulla scilicet invidiae labe foedatus, agnosceret'. Véase *Tabulae compendiosae in Evangelia et Epistolas, quae per totam Quadragesimam populo in Ecclesia proponi solent, concionaturis omnibus summopere utiles et necessariae* (Venecia: Francisco y Gaspar Bidoni, 1566), 'Epistola dedicatoria', fols. [A5 r – A6 v].

del esquema, a veces farragoso y difícil de seguir. Por lo que el predicador dice en los preliminares, la razón de que publicara el material de las *Tabulae* sin la disposición que las caracteriza fue la necesidad de ofrecer un libro facilitado y más barato, dado que muchos clérigos ni podían pagar el precio de la obra de Villavicencio, ni tenían la capacidad de poner en pie un discurso bien ordenado tomando como referencia la disposición en llaves de las *Tabulae*:

Hac nimirum commendatione quasi stimulis agitati, primo statim colloquio veluti hoc ipsum etiam prius meditati, rogare, hortari atque instare coeperunt, quatenus vellem eas tabulas omissis lineamentis paraphrasticôs tradere, nimirum hoc persuasum habentes permultos infimae sortis ecclesiastas fore, qui aut tantam non haberent nummorum copiam, ut Tabulas illas priores (quae pluris aequo constant) sibi comparare possent, aut tam perspicacis ingenii non essent, ut ex eis aliquam sermonis eutaxiam ad rudioris plebeculae instructionem formare valerent.³³

A partir de ese año Van den Prielee publicó varios sermonarios en la misma línea, que se publicitaban como reelaboraciones mejoradas: en 1566 hizo salir en el mismo lugar e imprenta una edición de las citadas *conciones* ‘diligenti cura supra primam editionem aucta et locupletata’, que posteriormente se publicaron divididas en dos partes³⁴, así como otro tomo titulado *Conciones in Evangelia et Epistolas, quae in praecipuis et aliis totius anni diebus populo in Ecclesia proponi solent e Tabulis D. Laurentii a Villavicentio, Xerezani (...), magno studio auctae et locupletatae*, impreso de nuevo en 1567. Las reimpresiones se repitieron con frecuencia a lo largo del XVI (1568, 1571, 1572, 1577, 1579...) y continuaron en el XVII, testimoniando así el acierto comercial de Van den Prielee al facilitar el material de fray Lorenzo.

Pero, además de las tablas de Villavicencio, Topiarius reelaboró y publicó como *Conciones* las tablas de Veldius, que sacó a la luz en 1567 en París en el taller de Sonnius con el título de *Conciones in Epistolas et Evangelia, quae per sacram quadragesimam populo in Ecclesia proponi solent, Ecclesiasticis omnibus atque praesentis temporis fidelibus summo opere utiles et perquam necessariae, e tabulis D. Jacobi Veldii concinnatae atque nunc primum plurimis in locis cum sacrarum literarum tum catholicorum antiquorum neotericorumque scriptis diligenti cura auctae*

³³ Fol. a iii. Cito por la edición de Lyon: Rouille, 1568.

³⁴ El material, dividido en *Pars aestivalis* y *Pars hyemalis*, se imprimió en numerosas ocasiones, entre ellas en Amberes en la imprenta de Plantino en 1568, 1569 y 1574.

et locupletatate per D. Aegidium Topiarium, cuyo título declara sin tapujos que las tablas originales utilizadas fueron las de Van de Velde.³⁵ El éxito de venta de esta publicación debe de estar en la base de las distintas reimpresiones posteriores, como las de 1573 y 1577.

Esta primera labor de fray Lorenzo como adaptador de una obra luterana debe ser, por tanto, encuadrada como una pieza más de lo que en la literatura clerical de la época era práctica común. La forma en la que, sin embargo, adaptó las dos publicaciones que siguen en su bibliografía fue sensiblemente distinta y ello le acarreó su controvertida reputación de plagiador. En 1565 el agustino publicó en Amberes en la imprenta de Birckmann un manual sobre la formación del teólogo, los *De recte formando Theologiae studio libri quattuor*³⁶, y uno sobre homilética, los *De formandis sacris concionibus seu De interpretatione scripturarum populari libri III*.³⁷ Ambas obras eran las versiones retocadas de otras dos salidas de la pluma de Andreas Gheeraerds, conocido como Hyperius³⁸

³⁵ Hubo reedición posterior en el mismo lugar e imprenta en 1577. También el libro salió en Lyon: Rouille, 1568.

³⁶ La *princeps* antuerpiense, titulada *De recte formando Theologiae studio libri quatuor, restituti per Fratrem Laurentium a Villavicentio*, tuvo una doble emisión en 1565: hay ejemplares de la imprenta de Birckmann y de la de la Viuda y Herederos de Steels. La segunda edición de ambas obras vio la luz conjuntamente en Colonia en la imprenta de los Herederos de Birckmann en 1575 y llevaba por título *De recte formando studio theologico libri quatuor ac De formandis sacris concionibus libri tres, omnes collecti et restituti per fratrem Laurentium a Villavicentio*. La tercera y última edición es la matritense, impresa en el taller de Martín de Ibarra en 1768, y se titula *De recte formando Theologiae studio libri IV, collecti ac restituti per Fr. Laurentium a Villavicentio*. Estuvo a cargo del padre Enrique Flórez y agrupaba en dos volúmenes las dos obras de Villavicencio.

³⁷ La *princeps* antuerpiense salió en el taller de los Herederos de Birckmann en 1565, en cuya imprenta de Colonia se hizo la segunda edición en 1575. Hubo posteriormente una edición integrada en la miscelánea *Dell' Eloquenza Ecclesiastica* impresa en Venecia en la imprenta de Salicata en 1643, y E. Flórez imprimió a su cuidado la obra en Madrid en el taller de Martín de Ibarra en 1768. La Bibliothèque Nationale de France conserva, además, un ejemplar sin lugar ni año que incluye el tratado de homilética junto a obras de Beda y San Agustín. En J. J. Murphy, *Renaissance Rhetoric. A Short-Title Catalogue of Works on Rhetorical Theory from the Beginning of Printing to A.D. 1700* (New York – London: Garland, 1981), p. 298 se anota la existencia de una edición antuerpiense de 1564, que yo no he conseguido localizar, así como una de 1570 sin indicación de lugar.

³⁸ Sobre Hyperius existe una abundante bibliografía de la que selecciono algunos trabajos que considero útiles para el acercamiento a su biografía y obra: Pierre Bayle, *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, 5ª ed., 4 vols (Amsterdam: Brunel, 1730), II, 766-767; Charles L. Carton – Ferdinand van de Putte – Octave Delepierre (eds), *Biographie des hommes remarquables de la Flandre Occidentale*, 4 vols (Brujas: Vandecasteele – Werbrouck, 1849), IV, 225-229; John Alkin – William Enfield, *General Biography or Lives, Critical and Historical, of the Most Eminent Persons of all Ages, Countries, Conditions, and Professions, Arranged According to Alphabetical order*, 10 vols. (Londres: Smeeton,

por ser natural de Ypres, tituladas *De recte formando Theologiae studio libri IV* (Basilea: Oporino, 1556)³⁹ y *De formandis concionibus sacris seu De interpretatione Scripturarum populari libri II* (Marburgo: Kolbe, 1553)⁴⁰ respectivamente. Al igual que Spangenberg, Hyperius era un afamado teólogo agustino convertido a la Reforma⁴¹ y figuraba en los índices inquisitoriales, donde entraba en la clasificación de *auctor primae classis* y sus *opera omnia* estaban proscritos desde 1554.⁴² En esta ocasión, Villavicencio apenas realizó cambios en los títulos, aunque sí lo hizo en la estructura del tratado de homilética, que amplió con la adición de un libro más. Tampoco hizo constar la autoría de las versiones originales ni en los nombres de las obras ni en los preliminares, sólo existentes en el tratado sobre la formación del orador sagrado, donde la *praefatio*, cuidadosamente hilada sobre la escrita por Hyperius para su propio texto, tenía por objeto explicar el propósito de los cuatro libros (a saber, abrir una vía a la formación teológica, ‘aditum patefacere’) y detallar su contenido, pero no su procedencia.⁴³

1818), V/2, 354-355; Samuel M. Jackson (ed.), *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, 13 vols (Gran Rapids: Baker Book House, 1953), V, 432-433; Gerhard Krause, *Andreas Gerhard Hyperius: Leben - Bilder - Schriften*, Beiträge zur Historischen Theologie, 56 (Tubinga: Mohr, 1977), y *Andreas Gerhard Hyperius: Briefe 1530 – 1563* (Tubinga: Mohr, 1981); Irena D. Backus, *Historical Methods and Confessional Identity in the Era of Reformation (1378-1615)* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2003), pp. 197-203; Thomas A. Howard, *Protestant Theology and the Making of the Modern German University* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 75-77; Wim Janse – Barbara Pitkin (eds), *The Formation of Clerical and Confessional Identities in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden – Boston 2006), pp. 144-146; Roelf Th. te Velde, *Paths beyond tracing out. The Connection of Method and Content in the Doctrine of God, Examined in Reformed Orthodoxy, Karl Barth, and the Utrecht School* (Delft: Eburon, 2010). Puede consultarse una amplia lista de fuentes sobre la bio-bibliografía de Hyperius en http://www.kirchenlexikon.de/h/hyperius_a.shtml

³⁹ La obra, que conoció un doble título, tuvo numerosas reediciones, entre las que se encuentran las de Basilea: Oporino, 1559, 1562, 1572 y 1582.

⁴⁰ La obra tuvo un gran éxito editorial. Tras la *princeps* salieron ejemplares en Basilea: Oporino, 1573 y 1579. También se imprimió en Marburgo: Kolbe, 1562; en Basilea: Guérin, 1563 y en Dortmund: Sartor, 1554 y 1555. Fue traducida al inglés por John Ludham (Londres: East, 1577) con el título de *The Practice of Preaching*. La obra ha sido estudiada por G. A. D. Scott, *La première homilétique protestante: le De formandis concionibus sacris seu De interpretatione Scripturarum populari libri duo, 1553 et 1562 d'André Gerard Hyperius (1511-1564)* (Estrasburgo: Faculté de Théologie protestante, 1971).

⁴¹ Véase Owen Chadwick, *The Early Reformation on the Continent* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 115-116.

⁴² Véase *Thesaurus de la littérature interdite*, p. 232.

⁴³ Fray Lorenzo siguió en la *praefatio* un *modus operandi* similar al usado en la adaptación del resto de la obra. Abrió el prefacio con un párrafo original tras el cual fue

La evidencia del parentesco entre las obras y el silencio sobre la fuente, que sigue hoy día siendo objeto de interés⁴⁴, fue pronto denunciado por parte de los protestantes. El repertorio de lugares minuciosamente enumerado por Bayle⁴⁵ señala como primera noticia impresa la que se encuentra en los *De Romanae Ecclesiae idololatria libri duo* de John Reynolds (Oxford, 1596).⁴⁶ Otros eruditos como Keckermann, Valère, Voet y Placcius recogieron el testigo, que recibió el espaldarazo definitivo en el *Polyhistor litterarius, philosophicus et practicus* de Morhoff⁴⁷, donde se calificaba al fraile de 'impudentissimus homo'. En el bando católico, en cambio, la noticia fue omitida, como hicieron, entre otros, Schott⁴⁸, Le Mire⁴⁹, y Lampillas⁵⁰, o bien mencionada sin la calificación de plagio, como se lee, por ejemplo, en N. Antonio⁵¹, en Hervás y Panduro⁵², y más modernamente en el Padre Olmedo, para quien fray

intercalando con su propio texto abundantes pasajes de Hyperius que no suponían conflicto teológico (así, por ejemplo, la descripción del contenido de los cuatro libros). Dentro de los pasajes propios de Villavicencio merece destacarse el análisis de las causas de la mala formación de los teólogos: de una parte, los profesores, indiferentes hacia el aprovechamiento de los alumnos; de otra, los alumnos, carentes de la motivación de profesores y familiares hacia los estudios teológicos, y de un buen método de aprendizaje. Véase *De ratione studii theologici libri quattuor* (Colonia: Birckmann, 1575), pp. 2-3.

⁴⁴ Véase Luisa López Grigera, 'Diego Pérez de Valdivia y las Artes de predicación de su época', en M.D. Rincón González (ed.), *Doce calas en el Renacimiento y un epílogo* (Jaén: Universidad de Jaén, 2007), pp. 211-242, y Leonhard Hell, 'Das Plagiat als Form interkonfessioneller Begegnung: Die Einführungen in das Theologiestudium von Andreas Hyperius und Lorenzo de Villavicencio', en H. J. Selderhuis – M. Wriedt (eds), *Konfession, Migration und Elitenbildung. Studien zur Theologenausbildung des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2007), pp. 231-243.

⁴⁵ Véase Bayle, *Dictionaire*, II, 766-767.

⁴⁶ Véase *Johannis Rainoldi De Romanae Ecclesiae idololatria in cultu sanctorum, reliquiarum, imaginum, aquae, salis, olei aliarumque rerum consecratarum, et sacramenti Eucharistiae, operis inchoati libri duo, in quibus cum alia multa variorum papismi patronorum errata patefiunt, tum inprimis Bellarmini Gregoriquae de Valentia calumniae in Calvinum ac ceteros Protestantes, argutiaeque pro papistico idolorum cultu discutiuntur & ventilantur* (Oxford: Barnes, 1596), pp. 119-120.

⁴⁷ Véase Daniel Georg Morhoff, *Polyhistor literarius, philosophicus et practicus* (Lubeck: Böckmann: 1714), p. 988.

⁴⁸ Véase Andreas Schott, *Hispaniae Bibliotheca seu De Academiis ac Bibliothecis*, 3 vols (Frankfurt: Marne y Aubry, 1608), II, 264-265.

⁴⁹ Véase Aubert Le Miré, *Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica* (Amberes, 1639), p. 78.

⁵⁰ Véase Xavier Lampillas, *Ensayo histórico-apologético de la literatura española, contra las opiniones preocupadas de algunos escritores modernos italianos, parte segunda de la literatura moderna, tomo primero* (Zaragoza: Miedes, 1783), p. 206.

⁵¹ Véase Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova*, II, 10-11. Nicolás Antonio citó literalmente lo que leyó en la *Bibliotheca Belgica* de Deselio (Lovaina, 1643), p. 49.

⁵² Véase Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro, *Historia de la vida del hombre, continuación de la segunda parte* (Madrid: Villalpando, 1796), IV, pp. 272-273.

Lorenzo hizo las obras ajenas enteramente suyas ‘por el espíritu que les infundió y por el caudal de conocimientos propios con que las enriqueció’⁵³, y en S. Folgado, quien juzgó la acusación de plagio como fruto de una ‘campana de descrédito urdida contra el agustino’.⁵⁴ Ninguno, sin embargo, de estos defensores ha logrado aventajar el empeño del padre Enrique Flórez, quien en 1768 publicó en Madrid la tercera edición de los *De recte formando Theologiae studio libri quattuor*, sirviéndose del manuscrito del fraile⁵⁵, y de los *De formandis sacris concionibus libri tres*. En el jugoso estudio introductorio que antepuso al texto del manual de estudios teológicos⁵⁶, Flórez defendió la honestidad de fray Lorenzo señalando que el agustino, aunque no dijera explícitamente que tomaba materiales ajenos, lo hizo saber añadiendo al título de los *De recte formando Theologiae studio libri quattuor* el participio *restituti*, que apuntaba inequívocamente a la reutilización mejorada de un texto previo⁵⁷, y argumenta que, al ser tan conocidas las obras de Hyperius en su momento, el español no vio la necesidad de aclarar la autoría original, de sobras conocida por los lectores.⁵⁸ Flórez señala, en fin, que hay indicios de que Villavicencio no fue el responsable último de lo impreso, sea porque le sustrajeron los materiales, sea porque él mismo decidió no encargarse personalmente de revisar el proceso de impresión.⁵⁹ Esa falta de *limae labor* explicaría también, según Flórez, que la adaptación del tratado de formación teológica adolezca de descuidos tales como la conservación en el texto del español de un pasaje del original donde Hyperius dice

⁵³ Véase Olmedo, *Instrucción de Predicadores*, p. LXI.

⁵⁴ Véase Folgado, ‘Fray Lorenzo’, p. 338.

⁵⁵ Así consta en la propia portada del libro (‘ex autographo postrema auctoris manu concinnato’) y en la advertencia de Flórez en la ‘Notitia auctoris’, fol. [a7 v.]: ‘Quod auctor sua correxit manu atque in meas devenit, Antuerpiense fuit exemplar’.

⁵⁶ En la ‘Notitia auctoris’, fol. a2 r., Flórez explica que había decidido reeditar los *De recte formando Theologiae studio* porque, aunque se habían hecho dos ediciones anteriores, el libro fue tan demandado fuera de España, que en nuestro país había escasísimos ejemplares y el autor había quedado en el olvido: ‘quod etsi non semel publici iuris sit factum, adeo tamen extra Hispaniam a doctis fuit expetitur, ut non nisi raro exemplaria inter nostrates reperias et pauci vel ipsum auctoris nomen audierint’.

⁵⁷ ‘Notitia auctoris’, fol. [a5 v.]: ‘Ipsamet librorum inscriptio restitutos eos praefert a Villavicentio: restituere autem proprie est reparare et quod alter non recte condidit, instaurare’.

⁵⁸ ‘Notitia auctoris’, fol. [a5 v.]: ‘Nam si Hyperii opus editum et saepissime recussum, ut Morhoffius fatetur, omnium terebatur manibus, qua id fronte Laurentius suum faceret absque praevia instituti et restituti operis monitione?’.

⁵⁹ ‘Notitia auctoris’, fol. [a6 r.]: ‘Surreptos igitur ei hos de Theologo et de Concionibus libros, vel eo non curante typis datos, nonnulla subindicant’.

estar escribiendo en 1546 o donde el agustino dice haber oído a los mejores teólogos de Francia, Alemania e Inglaterra.⁶⁰ En definitiva, que el proceso de limpieza de fray Lorenzo mantuvo, según Flórez por descuido, pasajes que deberían haber sido borrados. En todo caso, señala el defensor de Fray Lorenzo, el resultado fue un texto con muchas aportaciones propias y que alteraba sensiblemente la fuente original, con capítulos ampliados, pasajes eliminados y contenidos modificados, que incluyen ataques directos contra Hyperius:

uberioris quippe segetis Laurentii ager est quam Hyperii: fusiora in illo capita, sectiones aliae, mutata verba, materia adeo diversa, ut Hyperium ipsum saepius hic impletum legas.⁶¹

Las indicaciones del padre Flórez, sin embargo, no proporcionan ejemplos concretos de cómo fray Lorenzo procedió a limpiar el texto del flamenco y a entremezclar sus propias aportaciones. Es una tarea que ha quedado pendiente para el investigador moderno, pero que resulta imprescindible para analizar el proceso creativo del fraile⁶², pues el simple cotejo de la estructura del texto primario y secundario hace aflorar un método de alteración a dos niveles condicionado por la doble naturaleza de la obra: una parte técnica, que escapaba al conflicto entre protestantes y católicos y que por ello es mayoritariamente respetada, y una parte teológica, que se entremezcla de continuo con la anterior y donde fray Lorenzo procedió a alteraciones sensibles del original eliminando, añadiendo y sustituyendo los argumentos luteranos por los adversarios. Esta realidad queda oculta en una simple comparación de los índices. Sirva de ejemplo el libro cuarto, cuyo capítulo II en Villavicencio, dedicado a los concilios, los sínodos y las respuestas de los pontífices, se corresponde con los capítulos III y el IV de la obra de Hyperius y empieza igual que ésta. Sin embargo, cuando el texto de Hyperius comienza a descalificar la autoridad de los concilios, Villavicencio sustituye el texto por más de 25 páginas de factura propia, donde argumenta en sentido contrario y

⁶⁰ 'Notitia auctoris', fol. [a6 v.]: 'Videas etiam in nostro transcripta eadem de anno 1546, quo Hyperius se scribere dicebat. Videas quae de praestantissimis in Gallia, Germania, Britannia interpretibus se audivisse testatur. Quae cum Laurentii non sint, fateri oportet praemissam ab eo rationem de libro recudendo, ut erat, ubi non erat error, et de spongia vel antidoto adhibendo, ubi contagii labes imminebat'.

⁶¹ 'Notitia auctoris', fol. [a5 v.].

⁶² Louis E. Du-Pin realizó un cotejo entre las obras, cuya profundidad desconocemos, pero que resumió en unas líneas en su *Histoire de l'Eglise et des auteurs Ecclésiastiques du seizième siècle* (París: Pralard, 1703), pp. 571-573.

arremete contra las tesis del flamenco, al que cita por su nombre, pero sin identificarle como fuente principal de su obra. De tal importancia son estas citas que Flórez remitió a ellas en el índice de nombres que adjuntó a su edición.⁶³ Éste es un proceso que se repite con frecuencia: capítulos que empiezan y acaban igual que en la obra Hyperius, pero cuyo interior es radicalmente distinto.

Pues bien, el cotejo de las versiones primaria y secundaria de estas obras no es sólo la clave para entender los mecanismos de modificación utilizados por el fraile, sino, además, para aclarar el origen del libro tercero del tratado de homilética, compuesto de dos libros en la versión de Hyperius, pero de tres en la adaptación. Mientras que quienes consideran la obra entera como original del fraile español no encuentran llamativa la división en tres libros⁶⁴, Martí, que, en cambio, conoce el precedente del manual de Hyperius formado por dos, deduce y afirma que el libro tercero es creación de Villavicencio:

[...] tiene un libro más que la de Hiperio debido enteramente a la pluma del español. Se trata en este libro de la necesidad que tiene el predicador de la luz y asistencia del cielo. En estos capítulos alcanza Lorenzo una altura espiritual muy notable, que le hacen merecedor del apelativo de 'Místico de la retórica sacra'.⁶⁵

Sin embargo, el origen del libro tercero nunca ha sido una incógnita, pues el texto procede de la misma cantera que los que le preceden. Está formado por tres piezas pertenecientes al manual de teología de Hyperius que aparecen también en la edición coloniense del de Villavicencio, pero no en la matritense, ya que el padre Flórez, consciente de la repetición del material, optó por eliminarlos con la oportuna advertencia al lector.⁶⁶ Dichos textos son los capítulos XX y XXI del libro segundo y la *observatio* IX del capítulo V del libro cuarto de la edición coloniense. En la

⁶³ 'Hyperius, haereticus: 423 et seq'. Véase Flórez, 'Rerum praecipuarum indiculus', pp. 562-564.

⁶⁴ Así se lee, por ejemplo, en Herrero, *La oratoria sagrada*, I (1996), 140 y IV (2004), pp. 44-47.

⁶⁵ Véase Martí, *La preceptiva*, p. 220.

⁶⁶ Ya en la 'Notitia auctoris' en el apartado titulado 'De praesenti editione', fol. [a7 v.], Flórez advierte que ha optado por no repetir en el manual de teología los capítulos que aparecen insertos también en el manual de homilética: 'Sed et monere oportet nonnulla hic nos capita praetermittere, quae in altero simul cum isto edito libro transcripsit Auctor et eum illis servare locum nobis placuit (...)'. Una advertencia similar se encuentra en el 'Monitum editoris' que precede a la edición del manual de homilética. Sobre los capítulos repetidos, véase García de Castro 'El maestro fray Lorenzo', p. 221.

edición matritense Flórez insertó en el lugar donde debieran aparecer estos textos las siguientes aclaraciones:

CAPUT XX. *De varia Sacrarum Scripturarum expositione* (...) Caput hoc ex integro et ad litteram edidit Auctor in altero *De sacris concionibus formandis* volumine, ubi illud recudimus, libro 2. cap. 1.⁶⁷

CAPUT XXI. *Quid faciendum ubi locus occurrit intricatus* (...) Transcripsit etiam Auctor hoc caput in praecitato opere, libro 2. cap. 2, ubi consulendum.⁶⁸

Observatio IX. Hanc observationem ex integro transcripsit Auctor et edidit in altero *De Verbo Dei* populari libello, cap. ult. Ex quo petenda, ne rem longiusculam per plures distentam paginas, bis ad incudem revocemus.⁶⁹

Así pues, Villavicencio creó el libro tercero mediante la reutilización de materiales. Ahora bien, esta ingeniería textual tuvo una curiosa continuación en la edición de los *De formandis sacris concionibus libri III* preparada por Flórez, pues en ella el libro tercero se cierra con un pasaje que no existe en las dos ediciones precedentes, hechas en vida del agustino. Dicho pasaje es el final de la citada *observatio undecima* del texto de Hyperius, que Villavicencio incluyó truncada, pero que Flórez decidió incluir íntegra, por parecerle que el final de dicho libro era frío y abrupto, tal vez porque el tipógrafo o alguna otra persona había tomado el original para publicarlo antes de que el autor pudiera acabarlo por completo. Para hacer saber esta reconstrucción, Flórez añadió una nota a pie, 'Hic finis operis in prioribus editionibus; sequentia ex altero petimus volumine'⁷⁰, donde indicaba la localización del final en las dos ediciones precedentes y la procedencia del texto que él había añadido, así como un colofón, donde justificaba que había insertado al final de los *De formandis sacris concionibus* de Villavicencio un pasaje del manual sobre la formación del teólogo compuesto por Hyperius, porque ésta era una práctica de la que ya se había servido el propio fraile jerezano:

Frigidus ac ieunus quo Tractatus desinit modus subindicat typographum seu alium praeproperum rei edendae amatorem exemplar arripuisse, nondum ab auctore absolutum. Sed cum multa ex alio ipse opere *De ratione Studii Theologici* huic accommodaverit, opportune etiam poteris ultimum prioris operis caput, ubi de scopo agit ad quem omnes suum studium pii iuvenes referre debent (in propriam scilicet et aliorum utilitatem), huc

⁶⁷ Véase p. 262.

⁶⁸ Véase p. 262.

⁶⁹ Véase p. 543. Téngase en cuenta que el capítulo V del libro IV de la edición coloniense pasa a ser el VI de la matritense.

⁷⁰ Véase p. 248.

adducere, finem pro coronide cum fine componendo operis nimirum in magistro et operum in discipulo.⁷¹

El Padre Flórez, pues, fue consciente de que el libro tercero no había sido escrito por Villavicencio, sino que era una amalgama de textos seccionados de la ubicación que les correspondía en el tratado de formación teológica. Ello explica que en su intento por eximir a Villavicencio de la acusación de plagio, no usara como argumento la originalidad del libro tercero.

Dado que Villavicencio dio a la imprenta el tratado de homilética sin prefacio, carecemos de explicaciones sobre por qué estructuró la obra en tres libros y decidió aumentarla con la repetición de materiales ya presentes en el manual sobre la formación del teólogo. En todo caso, el propio título de la obra, donde a los libros se les calificaba de *collecti*, dejaba entrever que eran producto de una recopilación, aunque no se dieran indicios de la procedencia.

La cuarta y última de las publicaciones de materia teológica de fray Lorenzo no presenta, en cambio, problemas de autoría. Se titula *Phrases Scripturae Sacrae omnibus qui Sacras Scripturas in publicis scholis profitentur, vel privatim intelligere optant, vel in Ecclesiis inter concionandum populis eas interpretantur, admodum utiles ac necessariae, collectae per Fratrem Laurentium a Villavicentio* y es una obra dirigida, como dice el título, a los profesores de teología y a los predicadores eclesiásticos⁷², de la que se hizo una primera edición antuerpiense en 1570.⁷³

⁷¹ Véase p. 249.

⁷² 'Praefatio', fol. 4 r.: 'Illi praesertim qui libros sanctos in publicis scholis interpretantur et concionatores doctrinae Christi et Apostolorum, quibus popularis institutio incumbat, hunc librum familiarem in manibus frequenter terere debent, sine cuius subsidio et opera uix aut minime multa et summa nostrae religionis sacramenta in sanctis libris clausa, nisi in Hebraicis et Graecis litteris sint versati, intelligere poterunt. (...) Nam Sacrae Scripturae professor hoc libro consulto admirabili veritate et facilitate, verum et germanum sensum Sacrarum Scripturarum quas profitetur, percipiet. Concinator, autem, si literales sensus evangeliorum aut epistolarum et aliarum Scripturarum Sacrarum eruere atque percipere, semel didicerit, mirabitur quam graves et quam fructuosas conciones instituet, quam salutes et quam uberes doctrinas ex illis exhauriet'. En el presente trabajo cito siempre por un ejemplar de la edición de 1571.

⁷³ La *princeps* fue impresa en el taller antuerpiense de la Viuda y Herederos de Steels, donde también se imprimió la segunda edición un año después. En esa fecha fray Lorenzo ya no residía en Flandes, pues en 1569 Felipe II planteó al Duque de Alba la conveniencia de enviar de nuevo a fray Lorenzo a los Países Bajos por el profundo conocimiento que tenía de la zona, pero el Duque rechazó la oferta señalando que 'a fray Lorenzo de Villavicencio tengo por muy buen hombre, pero está acá muy odiado y no oirán su doctrina de buena gana'. Véase Gutiérrez, 'De fratribus', p. 105.

Tampoco esta obra era original del fraile, sino la adaptación de un libro publicado en Amberes en 1536 por Bartholomaeus Westhemer, editor e impresor de otras obras sobre lexicología bíblica⁷⁴, con el título de *Phrases seu modi loquendi divinae Scripturae ex sanctis et orthodoxis scriptoribus per Bartholomaeum Vesthemerum in studiosorum usum diligenter congestae*, cuya *princeps* salió en París en 1539 y fue seguida de varias ediciones más. La obra contenía una cuidada recopilación de léxico bíblico, ordenado por orden alfabético y con indicación de las correspondencias entre las *phrases* o expresiones hebreas y latinas.⁷⁵ El autor era, también en esta ocasión, un reconocido luterano, que figuraba en los índices inquisitoriales como *auctor primae classis* y cuyos *opera omnia* aparecían proscritos en el índice veneciano de 1554.⁷⁶ Hyperius le había citado en el manual sobre la formación teológica en un pasaje que Villavicencio borró al adaptar la obra.⁷⁷

En este caso, fray Lorenzo hizo algunos cambios en el título e informó de la vida anterior del texto en los preliminares y en el colofón, así como de la necesidad de adaptar las obras protestantes que pudieran ser de utilidad, siguiendo la premisa de San Agustín, que autorizaba a tomar para el cristianismo aquello que de bueno hubieran producido los paganos:

Oportunissime quidem dixit Augustinus quaecumque bene ac sapienter heretici vel gentiles dixissent, nostra esse, non sua. Proinde nos ea, quasi nobis furto sublata, ab illis iure optimo in usum nostrum repetere posse. Collegit Bartholomaeus Besthamerus phrases quasdam Sacris Scripturis tam familiares et communes, ut in sanctis libris tertio quoque verbo multa intercidant, quae aegre admodum aut minime sine earum subsidio intelliguntur; ignorantur tamen cum magno Ecclesiae et animarum detrimento.⁷⁸

La situación que justificaba la adaptación de la obra era la misma que se lee en el prefacio de las *Tabulae*: la mala preparación del clero católico,

⁷⁴ Así, por ejemplo, *Farrago concordantium insignium totius Sacrae Bibliae* (Basileae: Wolffius, 1528) y *Troporum, Schematum Idiomatumque Communium Liber ex omnibus orthodoxis Ecclesiae Patribus* (Basilea: Hervag, 1561).

⁷⁵ Villavicencio elogia la calidad de la obra de Westhemer con estas palabras: 'Obtuli se tunc mihi praeter spem libellus hic Sacrae Scripturae aliquot phrases continenter et quidem cum magno iudicio ac diligentia selectas, sed quae haereseon sordibus erant inspersae et commaculatae'. ('Praefatio', fol. 3v).

⁷⁶ Véase *Thesaurus de la littérature interdite*, p. 406.

⁷⁷ 'Nostra autem tempestate pariter de vocum simplicium et complexarum hebraismis, multa in unum volumen conegessit Bartholomaeus Vesthemerus, quibus rudes iuvari haud mediocriter poterunt'. Véase *De Theologo, seu de ratione studii theologici libri IIII*, Andrea Hyperio autore (Basilea: Oporinus, 1556), p. 132.

⁷⁸ Véase fol. 3v.

cuyo desconocimiento del hebreo producía disparatadas e irrisorias interpretaciones del texto bíblico ante los fieles o los alumnos.⁷⁹ También aparece el mismo método de adaptación, consistente en la eliminación de propuestas heréticas ('librum a pestibus vindicatum'), y cuyo resultado, según advierte el fraile, era en ocasiones un texto mal trabado y poco ágil:

Scripserat, candide Lector, Bartholomaeus quidam Vesthemerus extra Ecclesiae castra militans has phrases Sacrae Scripturae, quarum repurgationem iam Deo volentem absolvi. Velim autem te admonitum crassiores eius naevos, potissimum fidei contrarios, me sustulisse, ad minutiora vero et ea quae christianus lector benigne interpretari potest, me dissimulasse. Quare si quid alicubi omissum advertas aut durius vel inconcinnius, aut minus recte dictum, memineris non meum esse hoc opus, sed alterius per me, ut dixi, repurgatum. Facilius sane esset novum opus cudere quam haeretici scripta sacra tractantis sic repurgare, ut attentus lector nusquam advertat ea primo ab haeretico edita esse. Quicquid autem in his phrasibus repurgandis praestiti, hoc tui causa ob multam etiam utilitatem libens feci.⁸⁰

Fray Lorenzo, pues, publicó cuatro obras relacionadas con el mundo del predicador, todas ellas adaptaciones de otras obras previamente salidas de las filas reformistas. La empresa, sin embargo, no estaba libre de riesgos y le valió al fraile el que probablemente fue uno de los episodios más amargos de su vida: la denuncia ante la Inquisición y la investigación subsiguiente. Lo que sabemos de este tema es lo que relatan los repertorios eclesiásticos, entre los que el *Alphabetum Augustinianum* informa de que en 1575 el Obispo de Badajoz denunció a Villavicencio por sus obras, la causa llegó a Roma y de ella se ocupó el cardenal Justiniano; el fraile quedó, sin embargo, fuera de sospecha, noticia que en noviembre de 1576 le comunicó el General de la Orden, Tadeo Perusino, quien, además, en 1578 le hizo saber que las obras de su delator eran ahora objeto de expurgo y enmienda.⁸¹ El relato de los acontecimientos, dentro de su sencillez, permite entrever el origen de los problemas de fray Lorenzo.

⁷⁹ 'Cum vero inter catholicos theologos plerique inveniantur Hebraici sermonis et idiomatis imperiti indeque non raro in multis Scripturae Sacrae sententiis intelligendis vel allucinentur aut penitus fallantur, adeo, ut cum magna Sacrarum Scripturarum iniuria interdum falsos earum sensus pro veris, insulos pro germanis cum magno eruditorum hominum dolore atque cum haeticorum irrisione vel ad populum e suggestu dicentes aut in cathedris sacros libros interpretantes auditoribus proponant, non potui non graviter tantum malum et tam perniciosum dolere atque de aliquo remedio pro mea tenuitate, si possem, adhibendo coepi cogitare'. 'Praefatio', fol. a3v.

⁸⁰ Fol. 211v.

⁸¹ Herrera, *Alphabetum Augustinianum*, pp. 17-18. Véase también Flórez, 'Notitia auctoris', fol. [a7r].

Su delator, el Obispo de Badajoz en 1575, era Diego de Simancas, un dominico fiscal del caso Carranza y especialista en derecho eclesiástico, que había publicado un libro titulado *De Catholicis institutionibus* en 1554⁸², considerado una pieza clave de la literatura jurídica inquisitorial y donde establecía de forma minuciosa el marco normativo por el que debía regirse la represión de la herejía.⁸³ Así pues, fray Lorenzo, que ejercía de censor inquisitorial de libros y había dado a la luz obras supuestamente libres de errores heréticos, vio cómo se le acusaba de haber publicado escritos no conformes con la doctrina romana. Testimonio de la presencia de doctrina sospechosa en las obras del fraile es la aparición de las *Tabulae compendiosae* en el índice expurgatorio romano de 1590, donde se prohíben hasta ser sometidas a revisión: 'Laurentii a Villa Vincentio Tabulae in epistolas et evangelia, donec ex superiorum regularum norma emendentur'.⁸⁴ Asimismo, la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid posee un ejemplar de las *Phrases* donde al pie de la licencia real de impresión se anotan manuscritos dos expurgos: uno de 1616 firmado por el Maestro Olías y otro de 1632 firmado por Sancho de Moncada. Como consecuencia de estas revisiones, el ejemplar contiene varios pasajes tachados, que aparecen en la obra de Westhemer y que el agustino consideró no dañinos para la ortodoxia.⁸⁵ La obra se encuentra aún sujeta a expurgo en el índice matritense de 1873.⁸⁶ Pero, además, la fecha de la denuncia, 1575, coincide con la de la publicación en Colonia en la imprenta de Birckmann (conocida por dar a la luz obras tenidas por heréticas) de la segunda edición de los *De recte formando studio theologico libri quatuor*, donde fray Lorenzo había mantenido una serie de referencias elogiosas a Erasmo, ya existentes en los textos correspondientes de Hyperius y entre las que

⁸² Posteriormente hubo ediciones actualizadas, entre ellas el *De Catholicis Institutionibus Liber, ad praecavendas et extirpandas haereses admodum necessarius, tertio nunc editus* (Roma, 1573).

⁸³ Enrique Gacto, 'Libros venenosos', *Revista de la Inquisición* 6 (1997), 7-44.

⁸⁴ *Bulla S^{mi} D. N. Sixti Papae V. Emendationis indicis cum suis regulis super librorum prohibitionem, expurgationem et revisionem necnon cum abrogatione caeterorum indicum hactenus editorum et revocatione facultatis edendorum, nisi ad praescriptam harum regularum normam* (Roma: Blado, 1590), fol. 40r.

⁸⁵ Se trata del ejemplar R-30120. Hay expurgo en los fols. 100v., 110r., 150r, 201r. y 162r.-v.

⁸⁶ 'Villavicencio (Fr. Laurent. à), *Phrases Scripturae Sacrae collectae*, etc. Antuerpiae, corriganse como en el Expugat. de 1747'. Véase León Carbonero y Sol, *Índice de los libros prohibidos por el Santo oficio de la Inquisición Española, desde su primer decreto hasta el último, que espidió en 29 de mayo de 1819, y por los Rdos. Obispos españoles desde esta fecha hasta el fin de diciembre de 1872* (Madrid: Pérez, 1873), p. 666.

se incluían una cita del *Ecclesiastes*⁸⁷ y la recomendación de la *Paraphrases in Novum Testamentum*⁸⁸, obras a la sazón prohibidas en los índices inquisitoriales.⁸⁹

Si a ello añadimos que, como ya indiqué, Delville ha detectado ideas erasmistas y luteranas en las *Tabulae* y que en el manual sobre la formación del teólogo existe un cierto número de deslices fruto de una adaptación descuidada del texto de Hyperius⁹⁰, hay datos para concluir que fray Lorenzo no fue un expurgador minucioso ni extremista. Esta falta de celo expurgatorio pudo deberse a descuido y apresuramiento (pues las obras que adaptó de Hyperius eran de considerable volumen y salieron al mismo tiempo), pero también a una actitud más tolerante de la que sugieren las airadas cuñas antirreformistas que insertó en sus obras.

Sea cual sea, pues, la extensión del barrido de ideas protestantes que el agustino practicó (algo que sólo el estudio detallado de las similitudes y diferencias entre las obras podrá desvelar en su justa medida), es innegable que con sus adaptaciones puso en manos de los predicadores católicos un conjunto de obras de calidad que habían demostrado su eficacia en la formación de los protestantes. Con ellas fray Lorenzo fraguó un proyecto de mejora del nivel de competencia del clero católico predicante que abarcaba las dos facetas donde existían carencias: la instrucción teológica, vertida en los *De recte formando Theologiae studio libri IV*, y la instrucción homilética, contenida en los *De formandis sacris concionibus*. Para completarlas dio también a la luz dos obras auxiliares: una para la fase de la *inventio* y *dispositio* del sermón, las *Tabulae*, donde se

⁸⁷ 'Unde Erasmus Roterodamus rationem dicendi ad conciones populares necessarias spectans libro secundo de ratione concionandi iudicium de scriptoribus reliquit huiusmodi (...)'. Véase *De recte formando studio Theologico* (Colonia, 1575), pp. 601-602. Idéntico texto se encuentra en Hyperius, *De Theologo* (Basilea, 1556), pp. 740-741.

⁸⁸ 'Quantam vero gratiam habeat paraphrasis praecipueque in argumentis sacris D. Erasmus Roterodamus patefecit, qui Noui Testamenti omnia paraphrasi expressit longe doctissime'. Véase *De recte formando studio Theologico* (Colonia, 1575), p. 422. Idéntico texto se encuentra en Hyperius, *De Theologo* (Basilea, 1556), p. 550.

⁸⁹ El *Ecclesiastes* aparece prohibido en los índices parisino y español de 1551, y la *Paraphrases in Novum Testamentum* en el índice parisino de 1544. Véase *Thesaurus de la littérature interdite*, pp. 169 y 171.

⁹⁰ Sirva de ejemplo el pasaje donde Villavicencio asegura tener en proyecto un método de teología, donde tratará de forma más pormenorizada sobre los lugares comunes teológicos (Véase *De recte formando studio Theologico*, 1575, p. 580). Sin embargo, esta afirmación forma parte del pasaje que el español ha reproducido de Hyperius (Véase Hyperius, *De Theologo* (Basilea, 1556), p. 496). Así pues, el proyecto de composición de dicho método es una alusión autobiográfica de Hyperius que resulta incoherente en la biografía de Villavicencio.

explicaba cómo esquematizar las lecturas dominicales y secuenciar las ideas, y otra, las *Phrases*, que constituían un *thesaurus* del léxico escriturario, necesario principalmente para interpretar de manera correcta los textos sagrados, pero también de suma utilidad para los predicadores en la fase generadora de sermones.

El reconocimiento de la naturaleza de estas obras – adaptaciones o plagios, según el término que a cada cual más oportuno le parezca – es de crucial importancia para la valoración de las ideas del clérigo en material teológica y homilética, porque el acercamiento crítico a ellas se ha producido demasiado a menudo como si el material que contienen fuera original y representativo del pensamiento contrarreformista. Ello ha producido dos errores de enfoque: de una parte, el de considerarlo como ejemplo de la infravaloración de la retórica clásica por parte de la retórica sagrada española postridentina, como afirma M. Fumaroli,⁹¹ pese a que la doctrina sobre la formación oratoria del teólogo que reproduce Villavicencio fue tomada de Hyperius, a quien O'Malley considera 'profoundly influenced by the classical tradition'⁹²; de otra, el de considerarlo como aportación novedosa, fruto de un pensamiento innovador en teología y predicación, atribuyendo a Villavicencio unos méritos creadores que no salieron de su pluma, como ya supieron sus contemporáneos. Dado que una gran parte de las páginas del agustino proceden del mundo protestante, su infravaloración de la retórica clásica no puede ser considerada como reflejo del escolasticismo contrarreformista, y los méritos que se le atribuyen como reformador de los estudios teológicos en el XVI necesitan ser contextualizados y valorados no por su originalidad, sino por su finalidad práctica. Enjuiciar la labor de fray Lorenzo con los ojos actuales puede conducir fácilmente al anacronismo:⁹³ el fraile no hizo

⁹¹ Véase Marc Fumaroli, *L'Âge de l'Éloquence. Rhétorique et 'res literaria' de la Renaissance au seuil de l'époque classique* (Genève: Droz, 1980), pp. 126-127.

⁹² Véase 'Content and Rhetorical Forms in Sixteenth-Century Treatises on Preaching', en O'Malley, *Religious Culture in the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 238-252 (249-250).

⁹³ Un ejemplo de este tipo de valoración es el de Solana: 'Por esto, y porque no conozco ningún escritor que haya refutado las pruebas de Du-Pin, demostrando que el tratado *De recte formando Theologiae studio libri IV* es verdaderamente original del Agustino de Jerez de la Frontera, me limito a consignar que si esta obra fuera realmente de Villavicencio, éste merecería ser contado entre los grandes reformadores de los estudios escolásticos del siglo XVI; pero que, en cambio, si el Agustino andaluz hubiera sido lo que afirma Du-Pin, no merece que hablemos de él, como no sea para censurarle con la mayor dureza'. Véase Marcial Solana, *Historia de la Filosofía española. Época del Renacimiento (s. XVI)*, 3 vols (Madrid: Real Academia de Ciencias Exactas, Físicas y Naturales, 1941), III, 266.

sino seguir la senda que ya otros habían abierto en su época. Recordemos el caso de Alfonso de Zorrilla, que ya en 1543 había publicado en Roma un tratado de homilética tenido por el primero producido en el mundo católico y que, según mostró O'Malley, es una compilación de textos entresacados de Reuchlin, Melanchton, Veit Dietrich y Hoeck⁹⁴, o el del afamado catedrático de Alcalá, Alfonso García Matamoros, que también reutilizó textos protestantes.⁹⁵ Es sólo cuestión de tiempo que el avance en la investigación sobre los vínculos entre las obras protestantes y católicas vaya dejando ver otros ejemplos de este tipo que por ahora no son más que sospechas.

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⁹⁴ Véase John W. O'Malley, 'Lutheranism in Rome, 1542-43: The Treatise by Alfonso Zorrilla', *Thought* 54 (1979), 262-273.

⁹⁵ Véase Guillermo Galán Vioque, 'Humanistic Influences in the Spanish Rhetorician Alfonso García Matamoros: A Study of *De ratione dicendi libri duo* (Alcalá, 1548)', *Rhetorica. A Journal of the History of Rhetoric*, 12/2 (1994), 155-171.

Jeanine DE LANDTSHEER

FORGOTTEN LETTERS FROM HUGO BLOTIUS TO JUSTUS
LIPSIUS IN VIENNA, ÖNB, MS. 9490*

The inventory of Justus Lipsius's correspondence mentions only five letters exchanged between Hugo Blotius (1533 - Vienna, 29 January 1608) and Justus Lipsius (1547 - Leuven, 23 March 1606).¹ They were all written between February 1589 and March 1591. By the time of his first letter, Blotius was well settled in Vienna, where he had obtained the post of head of the imperial court library (1575) and the chair of Eloquence at the university (1576). Lipsius, on the other hand, had been teaching Latin and Ancient History at Leiden University from April 1578 onwards, but would leave that city around the time when Blotius wrote his last (preserved) letter.² The aforementioned correspondence is published in the appropriate volumes of the series *Iusti Lipsi Epistolae*³; their manuscript versions are either preserved in Leiden, University Library, ms. Lips. 4 (Blotius's original letters) or in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, ms. 9737^z, 14-18, IV (Lipsius's originals), and ms. Ser. nov. 362 and 363 (Blotius's drafts). Recently, though, Gábor Almási (Budapest, Eötvös Loránd University) and Paola Molino (Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung of the University of Vienna) came by chance upon some more manuscript material from Blotius to Lipsius, also

* This article forms part of the FWO-Vlaanderen project G.0340.08, *Justus Lipsius (1547-1606): his Life, his Works, his Ideas, his Network*, promoted by Dirk Sacré (KU Leuven) and Jan Roegiers (KU Leuven - KVABWK).

¹ Aloïs Gerlo and Hendrik D. L. Vervliet, *Inventaire de la correspondance de Juste Lipse 1564-1606* (Antwerp: Éditions scientifiques Érasme, 1968), p. 519.

² The two humanists never met. Lipsius had visited Vienna in the summer of 1572, but left the city before Blotius arrived.

³ Sc. In *Iusti Lipsi Epistolae Pars III: 1588-1590*, ed. Sylvette Sué and Hugo Peeters (Brussels: Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, 1987) and *Pars [IV]: 1591*, ed. Sylvette Sué, recognovit Jeanine De Landtsheer (Brussels: Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie van België voor Wetenschappen en Kunsten, 2012) [henceforth abbreviated as ILE III and IV, respectively].

shelved in Vienna, ÖNB, but now as part of ms. 9490. Their discovery, which they kindly brought to my attention, was even more promising than they suggested, for instead of one new letter, there were two of them and a hitherto unknown version of what is beyond doubt the first item of the Blotius - Lipsius correspondence. Although the new letters hardly contain any new factual information about the world of learning or historical events, they are interesting for two reasons: firstly, because they offer the reader an insider's view on how cautiously Blotius phrased his first letter in the hope that Lipsius would answer him and his growing confidence with successive attempts, and secondly, because they are a clear example of how difficult it could be for correspondents living at a considerable distance of each other to have a letter reach its addressee. The newly found material is examined here from these points of view and embedded in the already known correspondence.⁴

1. ÖNB, ms. 9490, f. 5r-6r

The first letter of the triad preserved in ÖNB, ms. 9490, is obviously the least important because it is an unknown draft of a letter known from both its original, preserved in Leiden, ms. Lips. 4, and a second version, preserved in Vienna, ÖNB, ms. Ser. nov. 363, f. 143r-v, published already more than twenty years ago as number 674 of the ILE series.⁵ Nevertheless this new version is more interesting than one would suppose. First of all, one must wonder why Blotius kept two drafts or rather, as we shall see, a draft and a copy in his own hand of what is obviously the same letter. Even a cursory glance will prove beyond doubt that the new version, with its countless erasures and other corrections, is a draft indeed, a clear indication of Blotius's efforts to phrase his first letter to the great Lipsius as elegantly as possible, despite the rather common modesty topos in characterizing the style of his letters as 'indoctis, incultis, inconditis' (l. 12-13).

⁴ The text is published according to the editorial techniques of the ILE series outlined in *Pars I: 1564-1583*, ed. Aloïs Gerlo, Marcel A. Nauwelaerts and Hendrik D. L. Vervliet (Brussels: Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, 1978), pp. 10-12. The new letters will later be incorporated in ILE XIX, which is to include, besides the correspondence from 1606, a small collection of letters that could not be dated and the letters discovered in recent years, after the appropriate volume of the series had already appeared.

⁵ Sc. ILE III, 89 02 12 (see p. 159-160).

The version of ms. Ser. nov. 363, on the other hand, is fluently written, with only the single erasion of about two lines at the bottom of the recto side. Hence it cannot be considered a 'draft', as stated by the editor of this part of ILE III, following the *Inventaire* (p. 87), but probably was the original letter intended for Lipsius, until Blotius became aware that he had misunderstood the plans of his guests, crossed out this passage, and started all over again, for he surely would not have wanted to send a sloppily written letter to introduce himself to the humanist whom he held in such high esteem. Instead of throwing away the version with the erasures, he shelved it among other documents. Blotius stressed his address by adding the flattering 'vere Magne atque Illustris' and motivated his wish to begin a correspondence with his learned colleague by invoking his awe for Lipsius's erudite and stylistically refined works ('aureoli tui libelli'), an admiration met and encouraged by a number of visitors. Nevertheless, his poor skills kept him apprehensive of contacting his estimated colleague, until finally two visitors rebuked his timidity and insisted that he pen a letter. Hence his plea that Lipsius list him among his loving and respectful friends.

2. ÖNB, ms. 9490, f. 6r-7r

Five months later, there was still no response from Lipsius. Hence Blotius presumed that his letter had not reached its destination, quite rightly, as is confirmed by Lipsius in his first, encouraging letter to Blotius, ILE III, 90 03 15 B. The Viennese scholar used the fortunate coincidence of two pairs of Dutch students, great admirers of Lipsius, to send his letter a second time, covered by a new one (the second item of ms. 9490, hitherto unknown). Yet before doing so, he went once again through the draft of the previous one, making some further alterations before copying it neatly again and attaching it to his new letter (cf. *infra*, 89 07 29, l. 4: 'Mitto igitur easdem iterum').⁶ The tone of his new letter is more confident, perhaps thanks to the encouraging testimonies two former students of

⁶ This hypothesis is confirmed by the collation of the versions. The *apparatus criticus* proves that the copy of ms. ser. nov. 363 corresponds with the draft without all its additions, whereas the original in Leiden corresponds with the draft and all its changes. I cannot explain, though, why Lipsius preserved the first letter, but not the covering ILE 89 07 29.

Lipsius made about their tutor. This time the (pseudo-)apologies for his poor style are embedded in a complaint at the end of the letter, that the Muses have left Austria and are now freezing in more northern regions at the end of the civilised world.

In his brief answer, ILE III, 90 03 15 B, Lipsius confirmed that he never received the first version of Blotius's letter, but only the one(s) entrusted to his *commensales*, Everardus Pollio and Henricus Wiltius.⁷ He gratefully acknowledges his correspondent's pledge of friendship and his praise, albeit exaggerated, and encourages him to write more frequently. It would be a great pleasure if Blotius would dwell upon what is happening in his part of the world, focusing more particularly on fellow humanists and their projects.⁸ The fact that Lipsius only answers during the month of March can be explained by the distance between both correspondents: apparently, Pollio and Wiltius took their time in returning home and probably did not arrive before September.⁹ Hence Lipsius waited until he had a reasonably secure way of sending his letter to Blotius, i.e. until the agents of his Leiden printer, Franciscus Raphelengius, were ready to leave for the semi-annual book fair in Frankfurt, where they were to pass the letter to the botanist Carolus Clusius, who would hand it over to a printer or a visiting scholar from Vienna.¹⁰

3. ÖNB, ms. 9490, f. 9r-10v

Of course, all this meant another serious delay before Lipsius's letter finally reached Vienna and in the meantime, Blotius had again lost his patience rather than his hope. Once again, after having met a possible intermediary, an admirer of Lipsius, at the imperial library, he reached for his quill and approached his highly esteemed colleague for the third time,

⁷ Cf. ILE III, 90 03 15 B, 1-3: 'Vere divinasti. Perierunt litterae tuae quas Thisio dedisti; nec ego ullas praeter has a συμβιωταις meis vidi'. The lemma 2 συμβιωταις] should be corrected: Lipsius is not referring to Pollio's letters, but to Blotius's, i.e. the second version of ILE 89 02 12 and the accompanying ILE 89 07 29, forwarded with Pollio and Wiltius.

⁸ Cf. ILE III, 90 03 15 C, 7-8: 'si me litteris tuis saepius appellaveris et in iis rerum etiam aliquid asperseris quae istic geruntur (praesertim siquid ad nos et haec studia), beabis'.

⁹ The extant correspondence does not allow us to establish even an approximative date of their return.

¹⁰ This is mentioned in a later letter of Lipsius, ILE III, 90 06 14, 2: 'Spero te litteras meas accepisse, mi Bloti, quas hisce Nundinis per Clusium ad te dedi'.

on 26 May 1590. This is the third item preserved in ms. 9490. By now, Blotius was more daring in his approach: 'Keep silent as much as you want, magnanimous Lipsius, yet you will never achieve that your contempt of me (if, indeed, this is the reason of your silence) will dispel my affection for you. To such a degree have I become a constant man through your Constancy.' He also underlined the suitability of a possible friendship, because they had many things in common, despite a number of differences as well.¹¹ An extra leaflet contains the draft of a number of parallels and differences between the two scholars. The letter itself is written on the first half of a folded folio leaflet; the recto side of the second half is blank, and its verso side has the address, suggesting that it is the original letter as it was intended for Lipsius. And indeed, the already published correspondence explains what has happened: the ink had hardly dried (and the letter was not yet handed to the intermediary), when Lipsius's long-expected answer finally arrived. Blotius instantly penned a new one, published as ILE III, 90 05 18¹², paraphrasing a few sentences (l. 2-4) of the discarded one, which he promised to append (l. 7-8) but forgot to do so. He immediately complied with Lipsius's wish by reporting a number of historical events concerning the war between the Habsburg and the Ottoman Empires, an unsuccessful expedition from Austria against Poland, and the appalling behaviour of an Hungarian commander-in-chief towards his enemy in a battle in the neighbourhood of Komáron. This is followed by a few brief remarks about the humanist world and a promise to offer Lipsius's greetings to an absent baronet, as soon as the latter returns to Vienna.

4. The Sequel

When in the middle of June 1590 a young relative of Blotius, Barent Jansz. van Ryverdinck, set out for Vienna, Lipsius used the opportunity to write a second, short letter to Blotius and offer him a copy of the newly appeared *Epistolarum centuriae Ia et Ila* (Leiden: Franciscus Raphelengius, 1990) with the promise of sending a copy of the *Politicorum libri VI* as well, as

¹¹ Cf. l. 1-3 and 6-11 respectively. In fact, Blotius elaborated on the opening phrase of his first letter. Apparently, he had tried to work his comparison out even more, for the fragment on ÖNB, ms. 9490, f. 11r contains more elements. It is published as appendix to ILE 90 05 26.

¹² Unless Vienna, ÖNB, has more surprises in store, only the draft of this letter is preserved in ms. Ser. nov. 362, f. 76r-77v.

soon as the more correct, second edition was available.¹³ Since the young man was passing through Frankfurt anyway, he was also given a letter to Clusius. In a letter of 20 March 1591 Blotius confirmed the arrival of both Lipsius's letter and his book, and, in return, he offered his colleague a copy of Hieronymus Arconatus' *Epigrammata*, recently published in Vienna.¹⁴ Now that contacts had been established, the tone of Blotius's letter became more informal. After forwarding greetings from two persons, the imperial librarian compliments Lipsius that even kings are interested in his scholarly achievements. For, when he was asked recently by Archduke Maximilian of Austria, then king-elect of Pologne, to organize his library in Wiener Neustadt, he came across most of Lipsius's works, all in splendid maroquin bindings and gold stamped. Because of the uncertainty of the roads, he preferred not to write to Theodorus Leeuwius, Bonaventura Vulcanius, and a few other scholars in the Netherlands whose letters he had received¹⁵, and hinted that Lipsius act as an intermediary to ensure himself of Janus Dousa's friendship. As the date of Blotius's letter more or less coincides with Lipsius's departure from Leiden, it can be assumed that it never reached him. Anyway, there is no trace of it among the original correspondence, gathered in ms. Lips. 4 of Leiden University Library, nor is Arconatus's booklet listed in Lipsius's library catalogue. Apparently, it was also the last letter exchanged between the two scholars.

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¹³ Cf. ILE III, 90 06 14.

¹⁴ Cf. ILE IV, 91 03 20.

¹⁵ Leiden, UB, ms. Vulc. 106 / II still preserves the draft of a letter Vulcanius wrote to Blotius on 16 July 1590, venting his disappointment that, although they had known each other many years ago, Blotius seems to have completely forgotten him, hence his urgent request to write him: 'Nam ex auditu accipio interdum de te quae non ingrata mihi, gratiora tamen futura si ex te ipso quod tu facias aliquando. Te etiam atque etiam rogo et si te novi, impetrabo [et] et cum ad Collegam [meam], [D[ominum]] Lipsium scribes (quod te interdum facere audio), me quoque, veterem tibi amicum, verbulo uno non dedignaberis'. Vulcanius also informed his correspondent about a new project, asking for his collaboration: 'Molior editionem Bibliothecae codicum Graecorum m[anu]s[criptorum] qui passim in bibliothecis Europae nostrae exstant; hanc ad rem varios undique conquirere indices quos in unum opus conseram. Magno itaque me, imo et universam rem literariam beneficio affeceris, si Caesareae bibliothecae cui magna cum laude tua praees, [catalogum transmiseris] simulque Sambuci nostri τοῦ μακαρίτου et aliorum, si qui istis sunt quibus codices veteres suppetunt, Catalogum transmiseris'.

5. Edition

5.1. 89 02 12 — *Hugo Blotius (Vienna) to Lipsius (Leiden)*¹⁶

Attracted by Lipsius's splendid works Blotius has longed to strike up a friendship with him for many years without ever venturing to do so. Friends of Lipsius, who visited the imperial library in Vienna, have only increased this wish: Cornelius Werdenburg from Utrecht, Jacobus Thisius from Antwerp, and, one year before, Hieronymus Beck, Lord of Leopoldsdorf. Blotius was hesitant about how to approach Lipsius: by his letters which lack learning and elegance, or via presents? The two young men, one of whom is staying with Blotius, whereas the other plans a journey to Italy, have strongly insisted that he take the opportunity and write. Hence his sole question: is Lipsius willing to include him in the circle of friends whose affection and sincere respect he really enjoys and esteems?

o: Leiden, Univ. Bibl., ms. Lips. 4; ma: Vienna, ÖNB, ms. 9490, f. 5r-6r; c: *ibid.*, ms. Ser. nov. 363, f. 143r-v; d₁: Burman I, p. 423, no. 390; d₂: ILE III, 89 02 12.

Hugo Blotius Iusto Lipsio S[alutem] D[icit].

- Multae sunt caussae, Iuste Lipsi (Lipsi, inquam, vere Magne atque Illustris), cur in tuam me amicitiam insinuare iampridem gestierim; multae cur non sim ausus. Cupiditatem excitabant maxime aureoli illi tui libelli,
- 5 admirabiles elegantis ingenii lepores et doctrinam sapientis animi reconditam spirantes. Augebant amici tui ad nos Augustae Caesaris Bibliothecae, cui sum praefectus, visendae causa venientes, nuper Cornelius Werdenburgius Ultraiectinus, nuperrime Iacobus Thisius Antverpiensis et anno maecenas ille noster, Hieronymus Beck, liber Baro, Leopoldstorffii
- 10 Dominus. Inflammabant alii quamplurimi ut iam totus arderem tui studio, tui amore, tui admiratione. Sed infelix Corydon mihi displicebam ipse, nec *quid sperare habebam*. Litteris te provocarem? Quibus? Indoctis, incultis, inconditis? Non decuit. Muneribus delinirem? Non licuit. Tandem tamen haesitantem nutantemque hisce diebus impulerunt duo illi, quos
- 15 modo memoravi, Werdenburgius et Thysius, docti ambo iuvenes, ambo amantissimi tui, ambo etiam nescio qua de causa studiosi mei, quorum ille hospitio et mensa utitur mea, hic in Italiam cogitat. Hi, inquam, timiditatem desperationemque increpantes meam autores ut hasce ad te litteras dare auderem exstiterē. Si igitur pecco, peccatum autores luant.

¹⁶ I followed the edition in ILE III, apart from some minor changes, but I have extended the *apparatus criticus*. Except for the allocation of the reference, I could not add any more information to the annotations.

- 20 Quid autem tu tandem tibi vis, inquires, quid hisce verborum ambagibus opus? Dicam et quo tendam paucis expediam. Recipe, oro te, humanissime Lipsi, me tui studio et amore flagrantem in eorum numerum, a quibus te et vere amari et singulari coli affectu cupias. Sic te ament Gratiae, sic te Deus nobis et Reipub[licae] litterariae diu incolumem conservet.
- 25 Prolixior nunc esse nolo. Nam si preces locum apud te invenerint meae, si voti compos factus fuero, postea verbis et rebus hunc primae scriptionis defectum supplere studebo. Sin minus, quod abominor, etiam hoc quod modo scripsi, nimium est et taediosum. Vale, orbis nostri decus. Vienna, ex bibliotheca imperatoria. Pridie Idus Februar[ias] (I.I).XXCIX.

[Address:] Magno Iusto Lipsio. Lugdunum Batavorum.

[Altera manu:] Tot Leijen in Hollant.

2 atque: et **m**, **c** 4 maxime: *suprascr.* **m**; *om.* **c** || 4-5 [animi tui] elegantis ingenii lepores [spirantes et] et **m**; 5 ingenii: tui *add.* **c** 5 tui [istinc] ad nos [visendae] Augustae **m** 6 venientes [Cornelius] [nuper Come] nuper **m** || Ultraiectinus: *om.* **c** 9 Leopoldstorffii **m** 11 [sibi] mihi displiceba[t]m ipse **m** 13 Muneribus [te] delinirem? [Per facult] Non **m** || 14 nutantemque: instantemque **d**, 15 ambo [studiosissimi et] amantissimi **m** 17 mea [Academiae nostrae Viennensi, uti equidem spero, operam navaturus] *omn.* **m** || Italiam [profec-turus] cogitat *omn.* **m** 17-18 timiditatem [desperationemque meam increpantes] desperationemque meam [exem] **m** 20 [R] Quid [igitur] autem **m** 21 Dicam... expediam: *add.* **m** postea; *om.* **c**; Dicam [Recipe] et quo **o** 24 te [diu] Deus **m** 24-25 conservet [Vale, orbis nostri decus. Vienna, [ad Biblioth] ex Bibliotheca Imperatoria. Prid[ie] Idus Februar[ias] M.D.XXCIX] [Verbum nunc non amplius addam, nam si vota, si locum apud te meae [inve] f] [Nam hoc tamen solum] [Nam si] Prolixior **m** 26 posthac **c**; post[hac]ea **m** || defectum [corrige] supplere **m** 27 quod [omen Deus avertat] abominor): *suprascr. et corr.* **m**; (quod omen Deus avertat) **c** 28 et taediosum: *suprascr.* **m** 30 Magno... Batavorum: Cl[arissi]mo et vere Magno atque Illustri viro, Iusto Lipsio. Lugdunum Batavorum **c** *sup. lit.* 31 Tot... Hollant: *add.* **o**; *om.* *lit.*

12 quid... habebam] After Verg., *ecl.*, 2, 2.

5.2. 89 07 29 — Hugo Blotius (Vienna) to Lipsius (Leiden)

Since there is no response from Lipsius, Blotius is afraid that Thisius has not kept his promise to take care of the letter he wrote to Lipsius. Fortunately, a new opportunity presented itself: Everardus Pollio and Henricus Wiltius, two trustworthy young men and former students of Lipsius, have arrived from Italy, where they distinguished themselves by their learning and merits. Hence he will send the same letter once again. Two other gifted students, one from Middelburg and one from Haarlem, have also offered to do him a favour and take his letter with them to the Netherlands. There is no need to dwell upon present day events, since Lipsius can have the information he wants from their young friends. Blotius nevertheless complains that the Muses have left Austria for more northern and more frigid regions, what explains his rather rude style.

In the left upper corner of f. 5r, Blotius noted: 'Eidem [= Iusto Lipsio]. Leidam, 28 [sic] Iulii 1589'.

Answer in ILE III, 90 03 15 B.

m: Vienna, ÖNB, ms. 9490, f. 6r-7r.

Amor in te meus non quiescit, Iuste Lipsi. Timor namque me invasit sollicitus, litteras quas nuperrime ad te dedi non esse redditas. Timorem auxerunt amici quidam fidem Thisii qui eas ad te curandas susceperat suspectam habentes. Mitto igitur easdem iterum, non aliam sane ob causam quam quod tam misere cupio meum tibi animum aperire tuamque mihi amicitiam conciliari. Ut Thisius me luserit, certe hi quibus eae nunc commissae sunt ferendae non fallent, Pollio et Wiltius, Ultraiectini, tui olim (ut ipsi affirmant) discipuli domestici, iuvenes probi et modesti, nec vulgariter, sed ita ut excellant eruditi atque adeo digni qui magnis parentibus et ipsi aliquando magni in capessenda repub[lica] succedant. Doc-
 10 turae insignia ex Italia reportant, non tam gratia aut pecunia quam suo ipsorum merito conquistata.

Quod si duo hi fortassis in patria substiterint, en adest alterum par iuvenum ad te proficiscentium: Harlemius alter, alter Middelburgensis,
 15 quorum uterque eam in curandis literis operam mihi libens navabit. Sunt enim et ipsi plane ingenii, eruditi menteque elegante praediti, tum tui quoque studiosissimi. Et quis tandem inveniri in Europa queat, qui litteris vel mediocriter tinctus, qui Lipsium non amet, non colat, non suspi-
 20 ciat, non veneretur? Gratias igitur tibi ago, magna Fors, quae mihi hosce quatuor obtuleris iuvenes quadriiugos simul ad Batavos iter facientes, quorum vel unus haud dubie vel fortean plures meum erga Lipsium amorem testatum sint relicturi.

De rebus novis nihil addo. Quis enim rectius huiusmodi quam quatuor iidem hi testes oculati et auriti edocere poterit? Hoc tamen fortassis nunc
 25 scire desideras — an iam antea inaudisti? — bonas Musas in Austria olim sanequam gratiosas, nescio qua de caussa transfugas factas ex temperata regione (res mira) in plagas Europae extremas migrasse gelu aspero rigentes atque hosce nostros *κακοσόφους* aspernatas Batavis, Cimbris et toto divisis orbe Britannis sui copiam fecisse. Ne mireris igitur,
 30 Lipsi doctissime, me hisce absentibus in Austria viventem ita ut facio hiulce atque incondite scribere. Tu vero non verba sed mentem aspice. Interim salve atque vale mihique, o sol venuste, faustus exorere. Vienna, IIII Kal[endas] Sextil[es] 1589.

1 [Animus amans] Amor [erga] **m 2** ad te [scripsi] dedi **m 3-4** susceperat [susp] suspectam **m 4** [ead] easdem **m 7-8** tui [ut] olim **m 8** domestici [et doctrinae insignia] iuvenes **m 9** adeo [dig] digni **m 16-17** tui[que itidem amantissimi] quoque **m 17** queat [tam vecors qui modo vel tinctus leviter] qui **m 18** vel [leviter] mediocriter **m** || tinctus [sit litteris] qui **m** || non [colat, no] amet **m 20** iuvenes [quadrig] quadriiugos **m 20-21** facientes [meamque erga Lipsium] quorum [haud dubie] vel **m 21** vel [forsan] fortean plures [meas ad L] [cum meas a] [tes] meum **m 24** oculati [satis] et **m** || auriti [huiusmodi significare] edocere **m** || fortassis [nunc] [iam] nunc **m 26** gratiosas [transfugas esse factas] nescio **m** || factas [et] ex **m 29-30** igitur [me] Lipsi **m 30** me [in Austria [vive] uti facio hiulce] hisce **m 31** [hiulte] hiulce **m** || incondite [et ut semel] [et ut semel vocem] [dicam] [absolvam] [inepte] scribere **m**

2 nuperrime] Sc. ILE III, 89 02 12.

7 Pollio et Wiltius] Sc. Everardus Pollio and Henricus Wiltius, both citizens of Utrecht. Pollio matriculated at Leiden university as a student of Law on 1 June 1580, cf. Willem N. Du Rieu (ed.), *Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduno-Batavae, 1575-1875* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1875), p. 7. Hence he continued to Heidelberg, where he matriculated on 15 November 1587, to Orléans, Bourges, Basle (matriculation on 23 January 1588), Padua (cf. ILE III, 88 09 02 P), and Bologna (Lipsius recommended both Pollio and Wiltius to Hieronymus Mercurialis, who was then lecturing in Bologna, cf. ILE III, 88 09 02 M). Henricus Wiltius matriculated on 31 May 1580 (cf. *Alb. Stud.*, 7) They left Leiden by the end of 1582 (cf. ILE I, 83 01 28 W, when Wiltius was back in Utrecht). According to H. J. Witkam, *Immatriculatie en recensie in de Leidse Universiteit van 1575 tot 1581* (Leiden, 1975), p. 71, no. 125 he stayed with Commandeur Van Waert. After his return, Wiltius hesitated where he was going to complete his studies. Hence, after a few months he returned to Leiden, where he was promoted *licentiatius utriusque iuris* on 18 September 1584, after having defended *Theses de Solutionibus et Liberationibus*, cf. M. Ahsmann, *Collegia en Colleges. Juridisch Onderwijs aan de Leidse Universiteit, 1575-1636, in het bijzonder het disputeren* (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1990), p. 558. In this second period, he stayed with the physician Johannes Heurnius (cf. ILE I, 83 05 12, 6-9). Wiltius too went travelling before settling down in his native town. Francesco Benci, who lectured at the *Collegium Romanum*, sang his praise in ILE III, 89 03 12, written shortly after Wiltius's departure the Eternal City; according to ILE III, 89 04 29 he afterwards visited Naples. In this letter Lipsius asks about Pollio's whereabouts; he has been informed that the latter intends to go to Vienna, a plan he cannot approve: it would be better if they returned home.

9-10 magnis parentibus] Everardus' father, Herman van de Poll, was secretary of the city of Utrecht for many years, until his death by the end of 1597 (cf. Lipsius's letter of consolation, ILE [XI], 97 12 05 P). His uncle on mother's side was syndicus Floris Thin.

10 ipsi... magni] On 16 October 1592, Wiltius became a member of the Utrecht city council (cf. Arnoldus Buchelius, *Diarium, 1560-1599*, ed. Gisbert Brom - Lambrecht A. van Langeraad, *Werken uitgegeven door het Historisch Gezelschap gevestigd te Utrecht*, 3, 12 (Amsterdam: Müller, 1907), p. 332); both Pollio and Wiltius became advocates at the Court of Utrecht on 13 September 1593 (cf. Buchelius, *Diarium*, p. 349); later Pollio was appointed syndicus (city advocate) of Utrecht.

14 Harlemius... Middelburgensis] Not identified.

20 quadriiugos] Literally 'forming a four-horse team', poetical.

20 ad Batavos... facientes] It is not known when exactly Pollio and Wiltius returned home.

29 toto... Britannis] After Verg., *ecl.*, 1, 66.

5.3. 90 05 26 — *Hugo Blotius (Vienna) to Lipsius (Leiden)*

Blotius cannot believe that contempt is the reason of Lipsius's silence. His affection is inspired by Lipsius's learned writings and by his friends who praise him to the skies. Moreover, they have numerous things in common, which should stimulate their friendship: there native country, their weariness of public affairs, their longing for privacy and leisure, their love of gardens. Yet there are differences as well: Blotius is physically, Lipsius mentally stronger; Blotius still has to learn philosophy, whereas Lipsius is teaching it. Hence either Blotius's letters or Lipsius's answers have not reached their destination. This letter is entrusted to Jan Boelen, who once was close to Lipsius. He is looking forward to a response from him.

Folio leaflet folded in half. The letter is on f. 9r-v; f. 10r is blank; f. 10v gives the address.

In the left upper corner above the letter Blotius noted: LIPSIO 26 Maii 1590. The date is repeated above the address.

An original letter intended for Lipsius, but withdrawn because Lipsius's answer on the previous letter arrived before it was given to the messenger, or before the latter's departure.

o: Vienna, ÖNB, ms. 9490, f. 9r-10v.

Iusto Lipsio Hugo Blotius S[alutem] D[icit].

- Silebis tu quidem quantum voles, Lipsi magnanime, numquam tamen efficies ut tuus mei contemptus (si hic forsán silentii caussa est) meum tui amorem adimat; adeo me constantem tua reddidit Constantia. Hunc autem
 5 tantum amorem mihi tui cum libri eruditissime scripti, tum amici te laudibus ad caelum ferentes peperere. Huc accedit quod multa inter nos sunt, ut inaudio, communia, amicitiam facile conciliare solita: patria nempe (litterae non ausim dicere), fuga negotiorum publicorum, solitudinis et otii cupiditas, hortorum amor multaque huiusmodi alia. In hoc sane dispares sumus,
 10 quod ego corpore, tu animo valentior; ego discere, tu docere potes philosophiam. Et haec quidem ita sint, abominer tamen caussam silentii tui esse contemptum aut superbiam. Aut igitur meae interciderunt litterae, aut tuae mihi non reddita. Paenultimas ad te meas Wiltio et Pollioni et Dierthio istuc euntibus Viennae dedi curandas. Hasce Ioanni Buleno, ingenii elegantis iuveni, origine Brabanto, patria Rotomagensi, tuo olim, ut affirmabat, familiari amico, commisi. En unquam ero tam felix, ut ex tam multis reddantur tandem unae tuum ad meas responsum elicientes? Ero sane, nisi omnia me fallent. Hac spe fretus te salvere et valere, Lipsi, Musa[rum] decus, iubeo. Datae Viennae Austriae, VII Kal[endas] Iunias M.D.X[C].

[Address:] Cl[arissi]mo Viro, D[omino] Iusto Lipsio, philosopho summo et in academia Batavorum Lugdunensi publico eloquentiae doctori celebr-rimo.

5 mihi [cum] tui o 5-6 amici [hac com] te [iur] laudibus o 7 amicitiam [in] facile [comp] conciliare o 12 igitur [non] meae o 13 [Postremas] Paenultimas o 13-14 et [di] Dierthio [Viennae istuc dedi curandas] istuc o 14 Hasce [ipsas] Ioanni o 15 origine [Belgo] Brabanto o 17 unae tu[i]um o 18-19 valere [iubeo], Lipsi, Musarum [Deu] decus o

4 Constantia] Blotius refers to the first of Lipsius's philosophical works, the very popular *De Constantia libri duo. Qui alloquium praecipue continent in publicis malis* (Leiden: Chr. Plantin, 1584).

7 patria] Blotius was born in Delft (a town in the province of Holland, Northern Netherlands), Lipsius in Overijse (a hamlet of the province of Brabant, Southern Netherlands). Despite the political and religious troubles from the mid-sixties onwards, both Netherlands were theoretically still one and the same country, ruled by the king of Spain.

8-9 solitudinis... cupiditas] The longing for a quiet, peaceful neighbourhood, preferably in the countryside, where he could devote all his time to studying and writing is a theme that frequently returns in Lipsius's letters. See in especially ILE I, 75 09 29, written to Willem Breugel, a kinsman and councillor to the States of Brabant.

9 hortorum amor] Lipsius was particularly fond of flowers, as becomes clear from his correspondence with Carolus Clusius, among others, cf. Jeanine De Landtsheer, 'Justus Lipsius and Carolus Clusius: a Flourishing Friendship', in Marc Laureys e.a. (eds), *The World of Justus Lipsius: A Contribution towards his Intellectual Biography. Proceedings of a Colloquium held under the Auspices of the Belgian Historical Institute in Rome (Rome, 22-24 May 1997)*, Bulletin van het Belgisch Historisch Instituut te Rome, 68 (Brussels – Rome, 1998), pp. 273-295. Moreover, after his first, frustrated attempt to leave Leiden in the autumn of 1586, the University of Leiden granted Lipsius a plot that he could use as a garden, with all expenses for the development reimbursed. It would be his for as long as he stayed in Leiden; the only condition was that part of the lectures in Botany could take place there. After he had settled in Leuven, he bought a large property built on two parcels, to accommodate students but especially to be able to enjoy a large garden.

10 animo valentior] Obviously, Lipsius's health was somewhat fragile: in his letters he time and again complains of colds and infections of the respiratory tract, especially in early spring. Moreover, between August 1584 (ILE II, 84 08 30 D) and March 1585 (ILE II, 85 03 00) he suffered from a serious liver disease, forcing him to interrupt his lectures (ILE II, 84 11 06 L).

13 Dierthio] Not identified. He might have been the student from Haarlem or Middelburg, mentioned in the previous letter.

14 Ioanni Buleno] This information confirms the hypothesis formulated in ILE III, 90 05 28, 5.

5.4. Appendix to ILE 90 05 26

A draft in which Blotius expounded on the similarities and the differences between himself and Lipsius mentioned in l. 5-9 of the letter.

Vienna, ÖNB, ms. 9490, f. 11r

- Multa inter nos co[m]mun]ia: litterae, fuga communium et a vulgo nimis interdum stolidè appetitarum rerum. Tu uxorem vetulam, ego iuven-
 lam, in hoc pares ambo quod habemus imperatrices, nos tamen impera-
 tores esse nequeamus. Sed huic hominum generi est concedendum, quod
 5 tantopere cupiunt, nobis satis sit si nobis ipsis imperare queamus. Quod
 mihi sane interdum difficillimum, tibi esse audio facile. Felicem te qui
 vere philosophum agere didiceris; ego idem iam discere aveo, senex 56
 annos natus. Nam adhuc nescio an in Ethicis Aristotelis esse queam. Tu
 non tantum auditor, sed doctor esse potes.
- 10 Nullus contemptus (qui tamen in te non cadit) efficere poterit ut quoad
 vivam te colere cessem, ut amicitia si non sit mutua, a me tamen erga te
 procedat firmissima.

1 communium [rerum, solitudinis et otii cupiditas etc. Tu hortos duos, ego duos etc. Hoc interest ego corpore, tu t[ame]n animo valentior] o 3 ambo [quod γυνεκοκρατούμενοι volentes nolentes] o 7 senex [65] 5[5]6 o 8 Ethicen [po] o 10 contemptus [nulla protervia] o || poterit ut [de] o

2 Tu... vetulam] In the course of August - September 1573 Lipsius had married his former landlady in Leuven, Anna van den Calstere, the widow of Hendrik Lottijns, cf. Hendrik D. L. Vervliet, *Lipsius' jeugd, 1547-1578: analecta voor een kritische bibliografie*, Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Akademie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren, 31, 7 (Brussels, 1969), pp. 37-43. Lipsius was then 26 years old; Anna, whose year of birth is not attested, was a few years older than her husband and was probably born in Leuven c. 1540.

2-3 ego iuvenulam] On 28 September 1578, Blotius had married Barbara Eberspergerin, the rich widow of Thomas Siebenburger, one of Emperor Rudolph II's architects, but he lost his wife, who was already 73 years old, hardly two months after their wedding. In May 1580 he chose a much younger bride: Ursula, the daughter of Christoph Ungelter von Theisenhaussen, a member of the imperial chancellery. Despite the difference in age — Blotius was by then 47 years old, his spouse barely twenty — the marriage apparently was a happy one. Two years after Blotius's death in 1608, she married his former helper and successor, Sebastian Tengnagl. She died in 1628. Cf. Ottokar Smital, 'Miszellen zur Geschichte der Wiener Palatina', in *Festschrift der Nationalbibliothek in Wien, herausgegeben zur Feier des 200jährigen Bestehens des Gebäudes* (Wien: Österreichische Staatsdruckerei, 1926), pp. 771-793 (esp. p. 774; 788-789). Cf. also two letters in appendix (to Joachim Camerarius in Nürnberg and Marcus Antonius Muretus in Rome, respectively), in which Blotius discusses his marriages (*ibid.*, pp. 789-792).

Christopher JOBY

THE USE OF GREEK IN THE CORRESPONDENCE OF
CONSTANTIJN HUYGENS (1596-1687)

In the United Provinces during the early modern period, it was expected that members of the intellectual elite would know Greek as well as Latin.¹ One member of this elite was the statesman, Constantijn Huygens (1596-1687)², and indeed Huygens did have an excellent knowledge of Greek, as well as of Latin. In a previous article, I considered how Huygens acquired Greek and the nature and extent of his use of the language in his poetry.³ In this article, I want to consider Huygens' use of Greek in his extensive correspondence.

With reference to an earlier classical scholar, Nicholas of Cusa, Walter Berschin writes, 'The great stylists of the time were (...) fond of ornamenting their own humanistic Latin with scattered Greek words, taking the practice of late antiquity as a model here: Traversari imitated his Lactantius, and Erasmus his Jerome'.⁴ This is also true of Huygens, for in many of the cases we shall consider, he inserts Greek words and phrases into letters otherwise written in Latin.⁵

¹ For an introduction to the use of Greek in the Netherlands in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see L. D. Reynolds and N. G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars, A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. 177-184.

² For a good, though now slightly dated, biography of Huygens, see Jacob Smit, *De Grootmeester van Woord- en Snaarspel: Het Leven van Constantijn Huygens* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1980).

³ 'The Use of Ancient Greek in the Poetry of Constantijn Huygens', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 60 (2011), 219-241. I also detail studies of Huygens' work in Latin in this article.

⁴ Walter Berschin, *Greek Letters and the Latin Middle Ages: From Jerome to Nicholas of Cusa*, trans. Jerold C. Frakes (Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1988), p. 279.

⁵ That said, though, as we shall see, Huygens did insert Greek into letters otherwise written in French and Italian, and he wrote at least two letters entirely in Greek. I say 'at least two letters' for it is generally recognized that, despite the extensive work in collecting and publishing Huygens' letters by J. A. Worp, Huygens wrote a large number of other

I shall make a start by detailing those correspondents, to whom Huygens sent letters, which included at least some Greek. As well as giving us an account of the correspondents of Huygens who knew Greek, this will also provide us with a good overview of the range of intellectuals in the United Provinces in the seventeenth century, who used or understood Greek. Often, the Greek phrases, which Huygens used in his letters, were derived directly from other sources, and I shall go on to discuss the range of sources, primarily biblical and classical, from which Huygens drew in his correspondence. Finally, I shall consider whether we can discern patterns of usage in Huygens' Greek: for example, whether he uses certain words more than others, and whether his correspondence points to a preference for certain types of words. Here, it is his frequent use of words, which begin with the prefix ἀ-, denoting an absence or lack of something, which is particularly striking.

One thing that we need to bear in mind during this discussion is the reason for Huygens learning and using Greek. Unlike some of correspondents, such as Daniel Heinsius (1580-1655), who was Professor of Greek at Leiden University, Huygens was not a classical scholar in the sense of studying and teaching classical texts for a living. Rather, he was brought up and educated for a life at court and learnt Greek, in part at least, because this was expected of a courtier.⁶ Herman Roodenburg eloquently summarizes the broader objective of the education of prospective courtiers, such as Huygens, when he writes, 'their education was aimed at (...) a world of civility in which they could converse both with princes and courtiers and with the urban elite of the Dutch Republic'.⁷ As we

letters not included in his edition of Huygens' correspondence (J. A. Worp (ed.), *De Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens (1608-1687)*, 6 vols (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1911-1917)). I should also note that Worp's collection is problematic in that he often does not reproduce the entirety of a letter or merely summarizes its contents in Dutch. Wherever possible I have returned to the original manuscript. However, given that we do not have Huygens' entire correspondence and that it can be difficult to identify the complete original contents of certain letters, I have to add the caveat that my survey is probably not comprehensive and consequently I have avoided making definitive statements about how many letters Huygens wrote containing some Greek, both to particular correspondents and as a whole.

⁶ For example, in Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* the learning of Greek is recommended. This book was originally published in Venice in 1528, and Huygens owned a French translation of it, *Le parfait courtisan*, published in Paris in 1585. See Herman Roodenburg, *The Eloquence of the Body: Perspectives on Gesture in the Dutch Republic* (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2004), p. 37.

⁷ Roodenburg, *The Eloquence*, p. 36.

shall see, Huygens certainly put his knowledge of Greek to good use when communicating with the 'urban elite of the Dutch Republic'. But, this should not lead us to think that he merely used the language in his correspondence to oil the wheels of society, as it were, but he did so for other reasons as well, such as his clear love of the language⁸ and the opportunities it afforded him to play word games. So, with this in mind, let us begin our survey with a discussion of those people to whom Huygens sent letters, which included at least some Greek.

1. Correspondents to whom Huygens sent letters, which included Greek

The correspondent, to whom Huygens sent the largest number of letters containing some Greek, was Caspar Barlaeus (1584-1648), Professor of philosophy and rhetoric at the Amsterdam Athenaeum. Of the correspondence that we have, which is in Latin, Huygens received 123 letters from Barlaeus and sent 81 letters to him.⁹ The first letter, which Huygens sent to Barlaeus, is dated 11 May 1625 and the last letter is dated 4 December 1647.¹⁰ It should be noted that Barlaeus used far more Greek in his letters to Huygens than vice versa, but of Huygens' letters to Barlaeus more than 25 of them contain one or more words in Greek. Of particular note is that Huygens includes verses, or phrases based on verses from the New Testament, and a number of quotations from Euripides in his letters to Barlaeus.

In a letter dated 8 January 1630, Barlaeus introduced to Huygens a 'virgo rari exempli', who 'pingit, scribit, versificatur, Graeca legit et intelligit'. This woman was Anna Maria van Schurman (1607-1678), who, as Barlaeus' introduction indicates, was, like Huygens, skilled in

⁸ For more on this, see the conclusion below.

⁹ For online versions of Worp's edition of this correspondence, together with information about letters received by and sent to Huygens, see <http://www.inghist.nl/Onderzoek/Projecten/Huygens> and http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/huyg001jawo03_01.

¹⁰ Worp (ed.), *Briefwisseling*, 1, lett. 266, 181, and 4, lett. 4711, 439 respectively. Huygens and Barlaeus exchanged letters on a range of subjects. To give one example here, in January 1645, they exchanged letters in relation to the preparation and publication of the first edition of Huygens' sonnet cycle, *Holy Days*. In his edition of this collection of poems, F.L. Zwaan reproduces the correspondence together with translations into Dutch. See Constantijn Huygens, *Avondmaalsgedichten en Heilige Dagen*, ed. F.L. Zwaan (Zwolle: W.E.J. Tjeenk Willink, 1968), pp. 17-37.

many different activities. Amongst her numerous accomplishments was the fact that she was the first woman to attend university in Europe and she was also a polyglot.¹¹ Between 30 June 1636 and 10 September 1669, Huygens sent 18 letters in Latin to Van Schurman¹², several of which include some Greek.

In the 1650s, Huygens engaged in an active correspondence with his fellow poet, Jacob Westerbaen (1599-1670). As with Huygens' correspondence with Barlaeus and Van Schurman, he wrote letters to and received them from Westerbaen in Latin, a number of which included one or more words in Greek.

Another very learned person to whom Huygens wrote letters containing some Greek was Daniel Heinsius (1580-1655), mentioned above. It is perhaps no surprise that Huygens included some Greek in letters to Heinsius, for in 1605 he was appointed Extraordinary Professor of Greek at the University of Leiden, and wrote and published Greek poetry.¹³ Huygens also wrote letters, which included some Greek, to Adolphus Vorstius (1597-1663), who was appointed Extraordinary Professor of Medicine at Leiden in 1624.

Most of the correspondence in which Huygens included Greek words and phrases was, as one might expect, otherwise written in Latin. But, he did include some Greek in a number of letters written in languages other than Latin; for example, in letters otherwise written in French to the French writer, Jean-Louis Guez de Balzac (1597-1654). Furthermore, he included Greek quotations from the New Testament and from Demosthenes in correspondence otherwise written in French to André Rivet (1572-1651), a Huguenot who became Professor of Theology at Leiden.

¹¹ For more on Van Schurman, including her ability at languages, see Pieta van Beek, *'Poeta laureata': Anna Maria van Schurman, de eerste studente in 1636* (Utrecht: Universiteit Utrecht, 2004), and Ead., *De Eerste Studente: Anna Maria van Schurman (1636)* (Utrecht: Matrijs, 2004).

¹² As with the other figures I give concerning the number of letters Huygens sent and received, this number is based on the correspondence handed down to us, primarily, but not exclusively, through Worp's edition of his correspondence. I will not repeat this caveat on every occasion, but merely indicate here that these numbers may well not give a full picture of the volume of Huygens' correspondence in each case. Katlijne van der Stighelen and Jeanine de Landtsheer provide translations into Dutch of the correspondence between Huygens and Van Schurman. See Van der Stighelen and De Landtsheer, 'Een suer-soete Maeghd voor Constantijn Huygens: Anna-Maria van Schurman (1607-1678)', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 25/2 (2009), 149-202, Appendix, 180-202.

¹³ For an English language account of Heinsius' life and works, see Baerbel Becker-Cantarino, *Daniel Heinsius* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1978).

He also wrote some Greek in a letter, otherwise written in Italian, to an Italian correspondent in 1632.¹⁴

On 1 January 1613, Huygens wrote a letter to his Greek teacher, Johan Dedel.¹⁵ Some 30 years later, on 19 August 1643¹⁶, Huygens wrote another letter to his son, also called Constantijn. What connects these two letters is that Huygens wrote them both entirely in Greek and of the correspondence that we have, these are the only two such letters. The letter to Dedel gives us a small window onto what material Dedel used to teach Greek to his pupil, for in it, Huygens informs Dedel that he has not been able to learn part of a Pindaric ode off by heart because it is not written in hexameters. He goes on to say that Homer is much easier to commit to memory, because he wrote in hexameters. In the letter to Constantijn Jr., Huygens praises his son's Greek, referring to a letter his son had sent him as ἑλληνικωτάτην (most Greek).

Huygens also included Greek in letters to a number of other correspondents. These include his brother, Maurits; his father; the Remonstrant preacher, Johannes Uytenbogaert; the Jesuit, Johannes Baptist Boddens; a member of the council of the Prince, and Huygens' brother-in-law, David le Leu de Wilhem; the French-born classics scholar and Professor at Leiden University, Claude de Saumaise (Claudius Salmasius); the great polymath, Hugo Grotius; the jurist, Theodorus (Dirk) Graswinckel; the poet P.C. Hooft; the Catholic priest and musician, Johan Albert Ban; the poet and lawyer, Jacob van der Burgh; the English preacher, Samuel Johnson; the preacher, Johan Smith; the scholar, Petrus Scriverius; the poet and preacher, Jacobus Revius; the professor in rhet-

¹⁴ Worp (ed.), *Briefwisseling*, 1, lett. 702, 359. At the top of the manuscript, The Hague, *Koninklijke Bibliotheek* (henceforth KB), ms. KA 45, f. 47r, Huygens wrote the name of Dom(enico) Molino, a Venetian statesman. However, Worp argues (note 6) that Huygens may have made a mistake and that the addressee was in fact Marco Molino, the brother of Domenico, rather than Domenico himself. The Greek in the letter is οὐκ ἐμὸν κρίνειν τάδε (it is not mine to judge these things).

¹⁵ Worp (ed.), *Briefwisseling*, 1, lett. 14, 7. See also KB, ms. KA 44, no. 18. I should add here that there is some uncertainty regarding the precise date when Huygens wrote this letter. Above the letter in manuscript, Huygens wrote 'Anno circiter 1616'. In his diary, Huygens made an entry in the year 1613: 'Scribo ei (Dedelio) graecam epistolam'. There may be a number of reasons for this difference in dates. One is simply that Huygens wrote more than one letter in Greek to Dedel. Another reason is that when Huygens dated the manuscript sometime later, he mis-remembered the date, which may also explain why he wrote 'Anno circiter'.

¹⁶ Worp (ed.), *Briefwisseling*, 3, lett. 3373, 432. Worp only provides a cursory summary of the letter in Dutch. The manuscript reference is KB, ms. KA 44, no. 347.

oric at Leiden, Marcus Zuerius van Boxhorn; the Walloon preacher, Andreas Colvius; and Henri Louis de Loménie Jr., Count of Brienne.¹⁷

It may be that Huygens also wrote some Greek to other correspondents in letters, which have not yet come to light. However, what we have seen is that he wrote in Greek to over twenty correspondents. Many of these, such as Daniel Heinsius and Hugo Grotius, were amongst the leading intellectuals in the United Provinces in the seventeenth century, and what is particularly striking, although not altogether surprising, is the number of these correspondents who held University chairs, particularly at the University of Leiden, at which Huygens himself had studied law.

So, having established the range of correspondents to whom Huygens wrote some Greek, let us now turn to the next part of this article, in which consideration is given to the sources on which he drew for the Greek words and phrases, which he included in his letters to these correspondents. Here, as we might expect, Huygens draws on a range of classical Greek authors, such as Euripides and Plutarch. But he also draws on the Greek New Testament, and it is with this source that I begin my analysis.¹⁸

2. Sources for the Greek in Huygens' correspondence

As noted in the previous section, Huygens used Greek in a good number of his letters to Caspar Barlaeus, and in several of these letters he refers or alludes to passages in the New Testament. For example, in a letter to Barlaeus dated 14 January 1632, Huygens quotes from I Timothy 6: 11, writing 'Σὺ δὲ ὁ ἄνθρωπε τοῦ θεοῦ ταῦτα φεῦγε'.¹⁹ A month later, in

¹⁷ Another correspondent to whom Huygens wrote a letter containing some Greek is a certain Lucas. Worp suggests that this might be a certain Lucas Fagius, who was born in Geneva and who matriculated at Leiden University in 1613. Worp (ed.), *Briefwisseling*, 1, lett. 16, 7. See also KB, ms. KA 44, no. 17.

¹⁸ Huygens owned several copies of the Greek New Testament. For an inventory of his library, made shortly after his death, visit <http://www.xs4all.nl/~adcs/Huygens/varia/catal.html>.

¹⁹ It is also worth noting that in his edition of Huygens' correspondence, Worp includes punctuation, which is in neither of the manuscripts of this letter which we have: KB, ms. KA 45, fol. 47r and KB, ms. KA 44, no. 146. In each of these, the quotation simply runs 'Σὺ δὲ ὁ ἄνθρωπε τοῦ θεοῦ ταῦτα φεῦγε', whilst in Worp's edition, it runs 'Σὺ δὲ, ὁ ἄνθρωπε, τοῦ θεοῦ ταῦτα φεῦγε'. Although Huygens' rendering of this phrase is open to interpretation, Worp should not have included punctuation, first because this is not in Huygens' rendering and secondly because the precise meaning of the text is uncertain. To give but one example here, in the Nestle-Aland New Testament, there is a comma after

a letter dated 17 February 1632²⁰, Huygens acknowledges that his friend is a little angry at his criticism of a poem that he, i.e. Barlaeus, had written. Huygens again quotes from the bible, using the Greek phrase which translates into English as ‘as innocent as doves’ from Matthew 10: 16, when he writes ‘Ego vero erubui, cum viri epistolam ἀκεραίου, ὥς αἱ περίστεραι, quam celari intererat, per manum tertij remisisti’. In a letter to Barlaeus dated 21 August 1643²¹, Huygens includes a couple of phrases in Greek. The first of these is ‘potestatem... ἦν ὁ κεραμεὺς ἔχει τοῦ πηλοῦ’ (power, which the potter has over the clay), which is derived from Romans 9: 21: ‘ἦ οὐκ ἔχει ἐξουσίαν ὁ κεραμεὺς τοῦ πηλοῦ ...’ (does the potter not have power over the clay...). Over a year later, in a letter to Caspar Barlaeus written in December 1644²², Huygens modifies a term for God, as the first and the last ‘(τὸ Α καὶ τὸ Ω)’, from the Book of Revelation 22: 13, when he writes ‘Visemus ad Penelopen proci, una cum Vicofortijs o. et a., sive mavis α καὶ ω, et explorabimus, uterone labore an utro’. A final example of Huygens’ use of the Greek New Testament in his letters to Barlaeus comes in an earlier letter, dated 23 February 1630.²³ Here, Huygens takes his inspiration from Matthew 9: 37, which runs ‘ὁ μὲν θερισμὸς πολὺς οἱ δὲ ἐργάται ὀλίγοι’ (the harvest is plenty, but the workers are few), and inverts it, writing ‘ὁ μὲν θερισμὸς ὀλίγος οἱ δὲ ἐργάται πολλοὶ’ (the harvest is little, but the workers are many).

But, as well as including references to the Greek New Testament in letters to Caspar Barlaeus, Huygens also includes such references in letters to other correspondents. For example, in a letter to the theologian, André Rivet, dated 22 October 1632, Huygens again refers to Matthew 9: 37, although this time he does not invert its central idea, writing, ‘καὶ ὁ θερισμὸς πολὺς’ (and the harvest is plenty).²⁴ In the following month, on 7 November 1632, Huygens wrote a letter in Latin to the Catholic priest, Johannes Baptist Boddens, in which he includes several phrases in Greek.²⁵ One of these is a clear allusion to the passage in the Synoptic Gospels, in

θεοῦ and not after ἄνθρωπε, giving ‘but you, o man of God, flee these things’, rather than ‘You, o man, flee these things of God’, which is a translation of Worp’s rendering. See Worp (ed.), *Briefwisseling*, 1, lett. 651, 337-338.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 1, lett. 660, 342.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 3, lett. 3377, 433-434.

²² *Ibid.*, 4, lett. 3849, 104.

²³ *Ibid.*, 1, lett. 492, 276.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 1, lett. 725, 369.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 1, lett. 731, 375-376.

which Jesus exhorts those whom he is addressing to 'give to Caesar what is Caesar's': 'Καίσαρι τὰ Καίσαρος (dare)'. On 10 April 1639, Huygens wrote a letter in Latin to Anna Maria van Schurman.²⁶ He inserted a couple of Greek words and phrases into the letter, including the phrase 'καθεύδει, οὐκ ἀπέθανε', which means 'she sleeps, but is not dead'. This phrase clearly owes something to Matthew 9: 24, 'οὐ γὰρ ἀπέθανε τὸ κοράσιον ἀλλὰ καθεύδει' (for the girl is not dead, but she sleeps), which refers to the daughter of Jairus, and here Huygens uses it to refer to his late wife, Suzanna, who died prematurely in 1637. Later, on 7 October 1667, Huygens wrote another letter to Van Schurman, in which he included some Greek inspired by the New Testament.²⁷ The phrase in question is 'κατὰ τῆς ἀληθοῦς παροιμίας ἐπὶ τὸ ἴδιον ἐξέραμα ἐπιστρέφω', which can be translated as, 'in accordance with the true proverb, I shall return to my own vomit'. This owes something to the phrase 'συμβέβηκεν δὲ αὐτοῖς τὸ τῆς ἀληθοῦς παροιμίας, κύων ἐπιστρέψας ἐπὶ τὸ ἴδιον ἐξέραμα' (But it happened to them in accordance with the true proverb, 'a dog turns back to its own vomit') in 2 Peter 2: 22.

As I have already indicated, Huygens also drew on classical Greek texts in his correspondence, making references, which he would no doubt have expected the readers of his letters to recognize and understand immediately. Amongst the classical Greek authors to whose work Huygens referred in his letters are Plutarch, Aeschylus, Euripides and Demosthenes.

In a letter written to the aforementioned 'Lucas' in Latin in 1615,²⁸ Huygens includes the Greek phrase 'Τὰς ἀρετὰς λέγουσιν ἀντακολουθεῖν ἀλλήλαις καὶ τὸν μίαν ἔχοντα πάσας ἔχειν' (they say that the virtues imply one another and that he who has one has them all). This is a slight variation on a passage from Plutarch's 'Ethics' (*Moralia*), and Huygens' insertion of this phrase shows us both that Huygens was able to manipulate Greek effectively at this point and that he was reading Plutarch.²⁹

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 2, lett. 2078, 445.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 6, lett. 6620, 214.

²⁸ See note 17 above.

²⁹ Worp (ed.), *Briefwisseling*, 1, lett. 16, 7. See also KB, ms. KA 44, no. 17. One also has to take into account variant readings of the manuscripts and therefore the editions of Plutarch's work. The reference in Plutarch's *Morals* is 1046 E, in a text on Stoic Self-Contradictions. Huygens owned two French editions of Plutarch's *Morals*, which were in the inventory made after his death (see note 18 above). However, it is not clear from the information given as to whether these were French translations of Plutarch's work or edi-

In another letter written in 1615, this time to an unknown recipient, Huygens quotes from Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound* (lines 610-611), writing, 'ἀπλῶ λόγῳ ὥς δίκαιον πρὸς φίλους οἴγειν στόμα' (in simple language, as is right when opening the mouth to friends).³⁰

In a letter to Johannes Uytenbogaert, written in 1619, Huygens includes a quotation from Euripides' *Medea* (line 332), 'Ζεῦ, μὴ λάθοι σε τῶνδ' ὃς αἴτιος κακῶν' (Zeus, do not let the one, who is responsible for these bad things, escape your notice).³¹

On 16 March 1631, Huygens wrote a letter to Barlaeus, containing a quotation from another of Euripides' works, *Iphigenia at Aulis*, 'εἷς ἀνὴρ κρείσσων γυναικῶν μυρίων' (one man is worth more than a myriad of women) (line 1394).³²

In a letter to Barlaeus written on 14 January 1632³³, Huygens includes three references to Euripides. The first of these is 'Τί με χρῆν ἔτι φέγγος ὀρᾶσθαι' (why is it necessary for me still to look at light), which is a quotation from Euripides' *Andromache*.³⁴ The second phrase is another quotation from Euripides' *Iphigenia at Aulis*, 'ὅτι τὸ βούλεσθαι μ' ἔκνιζε' (wanting to do it was sufficient reason) (line 330).³⁵ The third phrase is also based on Euripides' *Iphigenia at Aulis* (line 817). Here, Huygens takes the first half of this line 'Ἀρᾷ δ', εἴ τι δράσεις' and adds 'τάχτιον', which gives a phrase meaning 'act sooner, if you can'.³⁶

On 21 November 1639, Huygens wrote another letter to André Rivet, mentioned above³⁷, and in the letter, he includes two quotations from

tions containing the original Greek text. Furthermore, no date is given as to when they were published or indeed when Huygens acquired them. The references in the inventory are *Libri Miscellanei in Duodecimo*, 139, and *Libri Miscellanei in Octavo*, 126. Finally, there were a number of editions of works by Plutarch in the library of Huygens' son, Christiaan (see note 35 below).

³⁰ Worp (ed.), *Briefwisseling*, 1, lett. 15, 7. See also KB, ms. KA 44, no. 16.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 1, lett. 70, 42. No date is given for the letter.

³² *Ibid.*, 1, lett. 588, 314.

³³ *Ibid.*, 1, lett. 651, 337-338.

³⁴ Line 113. A variant reading is 'Τί μ' ἔχρην ἔτι (...)'.
³⁵ In the inventory of Huygens' library (see note 18 above), there is an entry 'Euripides Gr. Lat. &c' at *Libri Miscellanei in Duodecimo*, 150. There is also an entry 'Euripidis Tragiediae, gr:lat' (sic!) in the inventory of Huygens' son, Christiaan (*Libri Miscellanei in Octavo*, 75). Huygens Sr. passed on some of his books to his sons, so this may originally have belonged to him. For Christiaan's inventory, visit <http://adcs.home.xs4all.nl/Huygens/22/cat.html>.

³⁶ In truth, the first part of the phrase may not be peculiar to Euripides' work, but given that he quotes from the same play elsewhere, he will at least have encountered it there.

³⁷ Worp (ed.), *Briefwisseling*, 2, lett. 2274, 514.

classical Greek sources. One of these is a quotation from Demosthenes' speech 'Against Neaera' (κατὰ Νεαίρας), para. 1: '(τῷδ') οὐκ ὑπάρχων, ἀλλὰ τιμωρούμενος' ((in this), not as an aggressor, but as one seeking vengeance).³⁸ The second quotation comes from the *Comicus* of Philemon (4th/3rd century B.C.): 'ὥς πρόχειρον ἐπὶ τὴν γλῶτταν εὐλόγω τρέχειν'.³⁹

In some letters, Huygens uses shorter Greek phrases or simply isolated words, which clearly owe their origin to classical Greek texts, although the precise source of the Greek is not clear. For example, in a letter addressed to a certain *Nobilissime juvenum*⁴⁰, Huygens inserts the phrase 'ἐξ ἄκρου μυελοῦ ψυχῆς' (from the innermost marrow of the soul).⁴¹ He may well have taken the idea for this phrase from Euripides' *Hippolytus* line 255, in which we find the words 'πρὸς ἄκρον μυελὸν ψυχῆς' (to the innermost marrow of the soul), although given that Huygens uses a different preposition than Euripides, the possibility that he drew the phrase from another classical author cannot be excluded.

³⁸ Huygens possessed an edition which included the speeches of Demosthenes, published in 1604, entitled *Demosthenis Et Aeschinis Principum Graeciae Oratorum Opera*, and it is listed in the inventory of his library (see note 18 above) as 'Demosthenis & Aeschinis Prim. Graeciae Oratorum, Opera Omnia Gr. Lat. Franc'. See *Libri Miscellanei in Folio*, item 12. There is also an edition entitled *Sententiae de Ciceronis Demosthenis &c.* in the inventory of Huygens' son Christiaan (*Libri Miscellanei in Duodecimo*, item 136). See note 35 above.

³⁹ In fact, precisely what Huygens wrote here is unclear. Instead of εὐλόγω, Worp has συλλόγω. In favour of this reading is the fact that the first letter does seem to be a sigma. However, there are a number of factors, which mitigate against this reading. First, the quotation from Philemon has εὐλόγω (in his edition Worp does not identify a source, even though Huygens includes the word Philemon in the margin of the rough version of this letter (KB, ms. KA 49-1, 835)). Secondly, looking closely at both manuscripts of this letter (the neat version of the manuscript is in The Hague, *Koninklijk Huisarchief, Archief Constantijn Huygens*, ms. G1-12), there does not seem to be a second *lamdha*. Third, and perhaps most importantly, there is a soft breathing mark above the first part of the word in both manuscripts. In Worp's defence, I have not been able to find another occasion when Huygens writes the *epsilon upsilon* diphthong in the manner of the writing here, but for the reasons given I argue against his reading. The reference in Philemon's *Comicus* is Fragment 24, line 1. It is included in Stobaeus' *Anthology*, a copy of which, edited by Hugo Grotius, was in Huygens' library (see note 18 above). English: 'as it is easy to seek shelter in the tongue with eloquence'.

⁴⁰ Worp (ed.), *Briefwisseling*, 1, lett. 15, 7. See also KB, ms. KA 44, no. 16. At the top of the letter, Huygens has subsequently written *nescio cui*, indicating that he had forgotten to whom he had addressed this letter.

⁴¹ We also find the phrase ἐκ μυελοῦ ψυχῆς in a couple of Huygens' poems: J.A. Worp (ed.), *De Gedichten van Constantijn Huygens*, 9 vols (Groningen: Wolters, 1892-1899), 4, 257 and 260.

In a letter to Barlaeus from Maldeghem, dated 20 July 1644⁴², Huygens includes the term, *ἵπποκρήνη*. This term literally means ‘spring of the horse’ and refers to the fountain on Mount Helicon, which, it is said, was created by the hooves of Pegasus. The term is used more than once by the geographer, Strabo, although it is also used elsewhere.⁴³

A number of the Greek phrases, which Huygens uses, are also found in Erasmus’ *Adages*. It is likely that he drew the phrases from this source, as it was widely read in the early modern period, and they were included in an edition of Erasmus’ work, of which Huygens owned a copy.⁴⁴ One example comes in a letter to Anna Maria van Schurman dated 26 August 1639, in which Huygens includes the phrase, ‘οἱ ὀδηγοὶ τυφλῶν τυφλοί’.⁴⁵ It occurs in the sentence, ‘P. Marinus Mersennus, monachus Parisiensis, non de minimis ex eorum ordine, quos οἱ ὀδηγοὶ τυφλῶν τυφλοί minimos appellant’, the final clause of which can be translated ‘whom the blind leaders of the blind call the Minims’. Here, Huygens is drawing on *Adage* I, viii, 40, ‘Caecus caeco dux’, which Erasmus renders into Greek as ‘τυφλὸς τυφλῷ ὀδηγός’ (the blind [man] is the leader for the blind [man]). Erasmus writes further ‘Adagium Euangelicis quoque literis celebratum, quo lubentius etiam refero’, referring to Matthew 15: 14, one version of which runs ‘τυφλοί εἰσιν ὀδηγοὶ τυφλῶν’ (the blind are the leaders of the blind).⁴⁶

This then provides us with a good overview of the sources, which Huygens used in his correspondence, and what is of particular note is that, apart from quoting from the Greek New Testament on a number of occasions, which is perhaps to be expected, given Huygens’ deep religious convictions, the Greek author whose work he quotes most frequently is Euripides. Again, there may be those who do not find this surprising, for Euripides was a great playwright of tragedies and melancholy, a state

⁴² Worp (ed.), *Briefwisseling*, 4, lett. 3625, 8.

⁴³ Strabo, 8, 6, 21 and 9, 2, 25. Huygens’ son, Christiaan, owned an edition of Strabo’s *Geography*, with text in Greek and Latin, published in 1587. This may well have been passed onto Christiaan by his father. The inventory reference is *Libri Mathematici in Folio*, item 30.

⁴⁴ See note 18 above. The edition is *Erasmi Opera Omnia* (Basle: Froben and Episcopius, 1538-1540): Inventory item: *Libri Miscellanei in Folio*, 235.

⁴⁵ Worp (ed.), *Briefwisseling*, 2, lett. 2218, 489. In her transcription, Jeanine De Landtsheer has τυφλῶν τυφλοί, whilst manuscript KB, ms. KA 44, no. 278 has τυφλῶν τυφλοί. The transcription and copy of the manuscript can be found at <http://www.historici.nl/Onderzoek/Projecten/Huygens/brief/nr/2218>.

⁴⁶ This is taken from the Nestle-Aland New Testament, which also provides variant readings.

closely associated with tragedy, which was very much in vogue at this time.⁴⁷ Furthermore, Euripides was a popular playwright in this period, and to give but one example here, Joost van den Vondel translated two of his works, *Phoenician Women* and *Iphegenia at Tauris*, into Dutch. I return to this subject in my conclusion.

However, in relation to Huygens' Greek correspondence, it is now time to turn to the third topic, which I wish to consider in this article, namely whether we can discern any patterns in his use of Greek, such as a preference for particular words and morphemes and indeed for certain grammatical features.

3. Patterns in the use of Greek in Huygens' correspondence

I shall make a start here by considering Huygens' choice of Greek words in his correspondence and one feature which is particularly striking in this regard is the number of words he uses which begin with the prefix *ἀ-*, *alpha privative*, meaning a lack or absence.⁴⁸ In my earlier article on Huygens' use of Greek in his poetry, mentioned in the introduction, I note that he uses a number of words with this prefix, such as *ἀκαίρος*, *ἄπτερος* and *ἄχαρις*, and, as we shall see, he also does this in his correspondence.

Of those letters we have, the first to contain a word with this prefix was one, which Huygens wrote to his brother, Maurits, in 1617.⁴⁹ The word in question is *ἄμουσος*.⁵⁰ This word, which occurs frequently in Classical Greek literature, means 'without the Muses' or 'stranger to the Muses'. Other words beginning with this prefix which Huygens uses are *ἀπορεῖν* (to be want of)⁵¹, *ἄδύνατος* (powerless) (three times)⁵², *ἄτιμος* (dishonoured)⁵³, *ἄκέραιος* (innocent)⁵⁴, mentioned above,

⁴⁷ For example, Robert Burton's 'The Anatomy of Melancholy' was published in 1621.

⁴⁸ Whilst it is true that Huygens does use words with other prefixes, he does not use such words to the extent that he uses those with the prefix *ἀ-*.

⁴⁹ Worp (ed.), *Briefwisseling*, 1, lett. 27, 12. See note 2, where Worp notes that the most likely date for the letter is 21 June.

⁵⁰ Cf. Erasmus' *Adages*, II, vi, 18, *ἄμουσοι*, which begins 'Inelegantes et indoctos Graeci vocant *ἄμουσους*, hoc est a *Musis alienos*'.

⁵¹ Worp (ed.), *Briefwisseling*, 1, lett. 14, 7 (KB, ms. KA 44, no. 18).

⁵² *Ibid.*, 1, lett. 14, 7 (KB, ms. KA 44, no. 18); 1, lett. 89, 55; 2, lett. 1529, 224.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 1, lett. 651, 337-338.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 1, lett. 660, 342.

ἀθορύβως (in an unperturbed manner)⁵⁵, ἀκόρεστ[ος] (insatiate)⁵⁶, ἄκλαυστ[ος] (without (funereal) lamentation)⁵⁷, ἀνεπίγραφ[ος] (without inscription)⁵⁸, ἄρρυθμ[ος] (without rhythm)⁵⁹, ἀναναγκάστως (without restraint)⁶⁰, ἀίδηλ[ος] (unseen)⁶¹, ἀκαίρως (in an ill-timed manner)⁶², ἄθυτ[ος] (not offered), and ἄδωρος (giving no gifts).⁶³

All of these words are to be found in some form in classical Greek texts. However, Huygens also included words of his own invention in his letters and other writings, and we find that he invented a number of Greek words, one of which begins with the prefix ἀ-. The word in question is ἀτεσσελεῖν. In a letter to Caspar Barlaeus concerning the publication of his sonnet cycle, *Holy Days* (*Heilighe Dagen*)⁶⁴, Huygens makes reference to their mutual friend, Tesselschade Visscher. He writes 'Redeo igitur ad antiquum Vicimus⁶⁵, nec ausit Tessela videri ἀτεσσελεῖν'. We may assume that the word means 'not to be Tessel'. Another word of Huygens' invention is Τετραδάκρυον (tears in four-fold). This was the title, which Huygens gave to a collection of four poems, written in Latin, French, Italian and Dutch, on the drowning of the bride of Jacob van Wassenaer.⁶⁶ He included the term in a letter to Daniel Heinsius, dated 11 February 1620⁶⁷, with which he sent copies of the poems. That said, it must be admitted that Huygens' invention of

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 1, lett. 910, 460.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 2, lett. 1062, 43-44.

⁵⁷ The more normal classical form of this word is ἄκλαυτος.

⁵⁸ Both in Worp (ed.), *Briefwisseling*, 2, lett. 1343, 147.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 2, lett. 1398, 171-172. This occurs in a letter from Huygens to Anna Maria van Schurman. Van Stighelen and De Landtsheer ('Een suer-soete Maeghd', 181) translate this into Dutch as *in proza*, i.e. not in verse.

⁶⁰ Worp (ed.), *Briefwisseling*, 3, lett. 2960, 269-270. This word occurs in Arrianus' *Epicteti Dissertationes*, 3, 24, 9.

⁶¹ Worp (ed.), *Briefwisseling*, 3, lett. 3377, 433-444.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 5, lett. 5266, 163-164.

⁶³ Both in Worp (ed.), *Briefwisseling*, 5, lett. 5672, 346-347.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 4, lett. 3893, 125.

⁶⁵ This is a reference to a poem beginning with the word, *Vicimus*, addressed to Barlaeus, although as F.L. Zwaan notes, Huygens wrote more than one such poem. See Zwaan (ed.), *Avondmaalsgedichten*, p. 30, n. 3.

⁶⁶ Worp (ed.), *De Gedichten*, 1, 183. Note also that Huygens uses the term *Pathodia*, though in Roman rather than Greek script, in letter 4692 to Marchese R. Cimenenes (*ibid.*, 4, 434). This is a word of Huygens' own invention, which he uses as the title for a collection of songs set to music. For the origin of the word *Pathodia*, see Rudolf Rasch, 'Waarom schreef Constantijn Huygens zijn "Pathodia sacra et profana"?', in N.F. Streekstra (ed.), *Constantijn Huygens 1596-1996* (Groningen: Passage, 1997), pp. 5-124 (p. 103).

⁶⁷ Worp (ed.), *Briefwisseling*, 1, lett. 75, 43.

Greek words in his correspondence is somewhat limited. The same cannot be said, though, of his inclination to use particular Greek words and phrases on more than one occasion in his letters, and it is to examples of these that I now turn.

Let us look first at Greek words that occur more than once in Huygens' correspondence, and I shall consider these in the order in which they first occur. In both of the letters, which Huygens wrote entirely in Greek⁶⁸, he concluded with the valedictory term, ἔρρωσο (farewell/good health to you), which can be found, for example, in Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*.⁶⁹ In a letter written in French to Jean-Louis Guez de Balzac, dated 15 December 1633⁷⁰, Huygens included the phrase 'à la memoire du μακαρίτης'. The word 'μακαρίτης means 'blessed one' or 'one who has just passed away'. Huygens uses it again in a letter, referred to above, dated 10 April 1639 to Anna Maria van Schurman⁷¹, although on this occasion, referring to his late wife, Suzanna, Huygens uses the feminine genitive form, '(τῆς) μακαρίτιδος'.

Another word, which Huygens uses several times in his correspondence, is παρρησία, which means 'freedom of speech'. It is found in the works of a number of classical authors and was something, which was claimed as a privilege by the Athenians. Huygens uses it in a letter to Daniel Heinsius, dated 20 January 1635.⁷² He uses it again a year later, in a letter to Barlaeus, dated 23 January 1636⁷³, in another letter to Barlaeus, dated 5 March 1642⁷⁴, and in a letter to Jacob Westerbaen, dated 30 December 1660.⁷⁵ Finally, in this regard, Huygens uses a related adverb παρρησιαστικῶς (speaking freely), in a letter to Barlaeus dated 1 September 1642.⁷⁶ Given the number of times Huygens used the word παρρησία, it is clear that the concept was important to him.

⁶⁸ Worp (ed.), *Briefwisseling*, 1, lett. 14, 7 (KB, ms. KA 44, no. 18), and *ibid.*, 3, lett. 3373, 432 (KB, ms. KA 44, no. 347).

⁶⁹ Xen., *Cyr.*, 4, 5, 33. In his early prose autobiography, Huygens mentions his early contact with this work. The word is also found in the work of other authors, such as Lucian, with whom Huygens also had contact when he was learning Greek. Huygens also uses the word ἔρρωσο as the penultimate line of his multilingual poem, *Olla Podrida*, written in 1625. See Worp (ed.), *De Gedichten*, 2, 113.

⁷⁰ Worp (ed.), *Briefwisseling*, 1, lett. 853, 434-435.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 2, lett. 2078, 445-446.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 1, lett. 1064, 44-45.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 2, lett. 1343, 147.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 3, lett. 2960, 269-270.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 5, lett. 5672, 346-347.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 3, lett. 3136, 343-344.

A Greek word for ‘treasure’, *κειμήλιον*, occurs several times in Huygens’ letters: in one to Barlaeus, dated 3 July 1641, where he uses the plural, *κειμήλια*⁷⁷; in a letter to Anna Maria van Schurman, dated 8 July 1647⁷⁸; and in another letter to Van Schurman, dated 5 December 1660⁷⁹, in which Huygens again uses the plural form.

Another word, which Huygens uses in several of his letters, is *ἀρτίχυτα* (things just poured out). What is interesting is that he uses the word to refer to poems that he has written, and the choice of this word is another example of how he, like other poets of the time, would understate the value of his verses, something we also see in his use of the word *ἐρευγά[ι]*, which can be translated as ‘belches’, to refer to the sonnets in his collection, *Holy Days*, in a letter to Barlaeus, dated 12 January 1645.⁸⁰ He uses the word *ἀρτίχυτα* in a letter dated 12 January 1653 to Claude de Saumaise⁸¹; the singular form, *ἀρτίχυτον*, in a letter to Anna Maria van Schurman, dated 27 January 1653⁸²; and a little later, on 28 March, in a letter to Jacob Westerbaen.⁸³ Finally, in this regard, Huygens uses different forms of *σκάζων* (a form of iambic verse) in a couple of his letters.⁸⁴

Turning now to phrases, which Huygens uses more than once in his letters, these are, it must be admitted, few in number. One example is a phrase, which I mentioned above, ‘ἐξ ἄκρου μυελοῦ ψυχῆς’ (from the innermost marrow of the soul), which Huygens used in an early letter to his teacher, Dedel.⁸⁵ He used a similar phrase, ‘ἐκ μυελοῦ ψυχῆς’ (from the marrow of the soul), in a letter to Adolphus Vorstius dated 10 September 1653.⁸⁶ As I mentioned earlier, Huygens also used the phrase, ‘ἐκ μυελοῦ ψυχῆς’, in his poetry. Another example of a phrase, which Huygens uses in both his correspondence and his poetry, is ‘γνώθι σεαυτόν’ (know yourself). As the reader will know, this phrase was inscribed on the *pronaos*, or forecourt, of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi⁸⁷, and as I

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 3, lett. 2761, 187-188.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 4, lett. 4617, 411.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 5, lett. 5667, 344.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 4, lett. 3868, 114.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 5, lett. 5266, 163-164.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 5, lett. 5269, 165.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 5, lett. 5284, 173.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 2, lett. 1343, 147-148; 5, lett. 5749, 386.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 1, lett. 15, 7. See also KB, ms. KA 44, no. 16.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 5, lett. 5308, 184-185.

⁸⁷ Paus., *Perieg.*, 10, 24, 1.

note in my article on Huygens' Greek verse, he includes this phrase, or variants of it, in a number of his poems. It is also to be found in a short epigram on the back of a portrait of Huygens⁸⁸, preceded by the definite article τὸ. I have only found one example of the phrase in Huygens' correspondence, in a letter to Jacob van der Burgh, dated 5 August 1645⁸⁹, although there may well be other examples elsewhere in his correspondence, which have not yet come to light. The phrase is discussed by Erasmus in *Adage*, I vi 95, entitled 'Nosce teipsum', and it is likely that as with the phrase 'οἱ ὁδηγοὶ τυφλῶν τυφλοί' discussed above, Huygens was inspired to use 'γνώθι σεαυτόν' by the work of Erasmus, which he very much admired.

Shortly, I shall look at grammatical features, which occur regularly in the Greek of Huygens' correspondence. However, before I do that, it is also worth noting that he sometimes takes a particular root, and uses a range of words based on that root in his letters. One example of this is his use of the root μουσ-, referring to the Muses. We have already seen that Huygens used the term, ἄμουσος, in a letter to his brother, Maurits, in 1617.⁹⁰ In a letter dated 15 February 1641⁹¹, which Huygens wrote to Adolphus Vorstius, asking him for his opinion of his treatise on the playing the organ in Reformed church services, *Gebruyck of ongebruyck van 't orgel in de kercken der Vereenighde Nederlanden*, Huygens uses the terms μουσική and μουσικῶς, to refer to 'music' and 'musically' respectively.⁹² Huygens also refers to the μοῦσαι in a letter dated 24 March 1653 to Jacob Westerbaen.⁹³

Another example is the root κρίσι-. In a letter to Barlaeus dated 4 May 1642⁹⁴, Huygens tells his friend, 'sed κρίσιν ipsam, et ipsam aliquando κατάκρισιν τῇ ἀποκρίσει misceas', i.e. you are mixing up judgment (κρίσιν) itself, and occasionally condemnation (κατάκρισιν) with defence (τῇ ἀποκρίσει). Further examples are the use of the root καίρ-, discussed in more detail below; the root κακ- (bad) in the form κακῶν, in the word

⁸⁸ E. W. Moes, 'Een nog onbekend portret van Constantyn Huygens', *Oud-Holland*, 18 (1900), 185-187.

⁸⁹ Worp (ed.), *Briefwisseling*, 4, lett. 4057, 186.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1, lett. 27, 12.

⁹¹ Rudolf Rasch (trans. and ed.), *Driehonderd Brieven over Muziek van, aan en rond Constantijn Huygens*, 2 vols. (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007), I, 500-501.

⁹² In the Liddell and Short Greek-English Lexicon, the term τὰ μουσικά is given for 'music'. This is found, in the dative, in *Xen., Cyr.*, 1, 6, 38.

⁹³ Worp (ed.), *Briefwisseling*, 5, lett. 5283, 172.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 3, lett. 2994, 282.

κακόηθες (malicious people)⁹⁵, and in the form κακὸν discussed below; the root λογ- (word) in λόγ[ος], λογομαχία (disputation) and σπερμολόγος (gossip)⁹⁶; the root μυρίο- (countless) in the genitive plural μυρίων, and the word μυριότοκος (bearer of countless people)⁹⁷, in a letter to Barlaeus, dated 16 March 1631⁹⁸; the root πολυ- in the words παμπόλλαι (very many), πολλάκις (many times) and πολυποικιλία (many-coloured or variegated things), as well as the adverb πολὺ⁹⁹; the root χολ- (bile), in the word μελαγχολία (melancholy) and in the phrase τῆς χολῆς τῆς ξανθῆς (yellow bile) in the same letter to Barlaeus, dated 4 December 1647¹⁰⁰; the root ὠφελ-, denoting 'use' or 'help', which Huygens uses four times in a letter to Dedel, mentioned above:¹⁰¹ ὠφέλησις (use or advantage), ὠφέλιμος (useful), ὠφελούμενος (receiving help), and ἀντῳφελεῖν (to benefit in turn); and the root σκληρ- (hard) in the words σκληρά, σκληρός and σκληρότερος.¹⁰² This last word is a comparative form of the adjective and it is noteworthy that Huygens uses a number of other comparative and superlative forms in his correspondence. He also uses a striking number of adverbs in his letters and I now consider his use of both of these parts of speech before drawing the article to a conclusion.

In a letter to Barlaeus just mentioned, dated 16 March 1631¹⁰³, Huygens uses the comparative form of κρατὺς (strong), κρείσσων, in the phrase 'εἷς ἀνὴρ κρείσσων γυναικῶν μυρίων' (one man is stronger than ten thousand women).¹⁰⁴ In a letter to Dirk Graswinckel dated 1

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 1, lett. 70, 42; and 1, lett. 92, 56-57.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 1, lett. 15, 7 (KB, ms. KA 44, no. 16); 1, lett. 24, 10; 1, lett. 588, 314. The third word has a number of meanings and it is not clear from the context precisely which one Huygens is referring to in this case. It can also mean a 'rook' and 'picking up seeds'.

⁹⁷ There is a slight possibility that the latter term is an invention of Huygens. I can find no reference to it in lexicons of Classical Greek, and only one reference to it in post-Classical literature, in the *Πονημάτων* of Eustathius Thessalonicensis, who lived in the 12th Century AD. As it happens there were two copies of Eustathios' commentaries on Homer in the inventory of Huygens' son, Constantijn Jr., which may well have originally been owned by Huygens himself, so it is possible he came across the word in these editions. For Constantijn Jr.'s inventory, visit <http://adcs.home.xs4all.nl/Huygens/varia/biblz.html#21>. The works are listed as *Libri Miscellanei in Folio*, item 621 and item 742.

⁹⁸ Worp (ed.), *Briefwisseling*, 1, lett. 588, 314.

⁹⁹ The first two of these and the final one are to be found in Worp (ed.), *Briefwisseling*, 3, lett. 3373 (KB, ms. KA 44, no. 347); the third example is in *ibid.*, 5, lett. 5557, 295-296.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 4, lett. 4711, 439-440.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 1, lett. 14, 7 (KB, ms. KA 44, no. 18).

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 2, lett. 1012, 23; 3, lett. 2994, 282-283.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 1, lett. 588, 314.

¹⁰⁴ The final term can also mean 'countless'.

November 1637¹⁰⁵, Huygens uses the comparative χείρων (worse). He uses it again in a letter to Barlaeus, dated 4 May 1642.¹⁰⁶ Here, he writes ‘Superest tamen, ut grammaticam plenius adhibeas, ut τὸ κακὸν, χεῖρον, χείριστον non semper negligas’, and as the reader will note he uses the neuter adjective, κακόν, followed by the comparative and superlative forms of it. Huygens uses the comparative meaning ‘worse’ once more in the phrase ‘τὰ ἔσχατα τῶν πρώτων χείρονα’ (the last ones are worse than the first), which he inserts in a letter to Anna Maria van Schurman, written on 7 October 1667, referred to above.¹⁰⁷ In the surviving letter to his son, Constantijn Jr., written entirely in Greek¹⁰⁸, Huygens uses several superlatives. At the start of the letter, he uses the vocative of the superlative derived from the substantive, κῆδος, when he addresses his son, κήδιστε Κωνστάντινε (most cared for Constantijn). He then praises his son’s Greek, referring to the letter his son had sent him as ἐλληνικωτάτην (most Greek) and he concludes the letter with the valediction, Φίλτατον κάρα (my dearest man)¹⁰⁹, which he also used in a letter to Barlaeus dated 1 September 1642.¹¹⁰ A further example of a comparative in Huygens’ correspondence is to be found in a letter to Marcus Zuerius van Boxhorn, written in November 1652.¹¹¹ Here, Huygens includes the comparative form of ἀνεκτός (tolerable). A final example is μᾶλλον (rather), the comparative of μάλα.¹¹²

Having considered the range of comparatives and superlatives that Huygens uses in his correspondence, let us now turn to the second part of speech I want to consider here, namely adverbs. What is particularly noteworthy about Huygens’ use of adverbs is that he often inserts them into his letters on their own. For example, he does this with the adverbs

¹⁰⁵ Worp (ed.), *Briefwisseling*, 2, lett. 1757, 330-331.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 3, lett. 2994, 282-283.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 6, lett. 6620, 214. In their account of Huygens’ correspondence with Van Schurman, Van der Stighelen and De Landtsheer (‘Een suer-soete Maeghd’, p. 197, n. 185) note that this is not a quotation, but is of Huygens’ own invention. However, it is very similar to a phrase in Luke 11: 26, ‘καὶ γίνεται τὰ ἔσχατα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκείνου χείρονα τῶν πρώτων’ (and the last state of that man is worse than the first) and it may well be that here again, when inserting Greek into his correspondence, Huygens was inspired by a biblical verse.

¹⁰⁸ Worp (ed.), *Briefwisseling*, 3, lett. 3373, 432 (KB, ms. KA 44, no. 347).

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Aeschyl., *Ag.*, 905: Φίλον κάρα.

¹¹⁰ Worp (ed.), *Briefwisseling*, 3, lett. 3136, 343-344.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 5, lett. 5254, 157.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 1, lett. 14, 7 (KB, ms. KA 44, no. 18); and 3, lett. 3373, 432 (KB, ms. KA 44, no. 347) (πολὺ μᾶλλον).

ἀθορύβως (in an unperturbed manner), ἐπιτηδεῖως (carefully), παραφύρως (in a frenzied manner), παρρησιαστικῶς (speaking freely), and ἐπικαίρως (opportunely).¹¹³ In a letter to Barlaeus, dated 4 May 1642¹¹⁴, Huygens includes the adverbs εὐκαίρως (opportunely) and ἀκαίρως (in an ill-timed manner), and although they stand alone, they are linked by the Latin, *quidem et*. Other adverbs, which Huygens uses in his letters, stand next to other Greek words and phrases. In a letter to Claude de Saumaise, Huygens writes ‘ἐγκαίρως (in a timely manner) ἀκαίρως praedicare soleo’.¹¹⁵ These examples remind us that Huygens liked to use the root, καίρ-, something we also see in an early epigram, addressed to his father,

Accipe, quos non hoc tibi consecramus ἀκαίρους,
Sed magis εὐκαίρους tempore versiculos.¹¹⁶

Other examples of adverbs adjoining other Greek words in Huygens’ letters are λίαν (very), μακρόθεν (from afar), μουσικῶς (musically), mentioned above, ἀναναγκάστως (in an unconstrained manner), πολλάκις (many times), also mentioned above, and μόλις (with difficulty/scarcely).¹¹⁷

This then brings to an end my survey of Huygens’ use of Greek in his correspondence and it is now time to conclude.

4. Conclusion

In the autobiographical poem, *De Vita Propria*, which Huygens wrote towards the end of his life, he noted that in the earlier part of his life he had an initial loathing (*taedia*) for Greek.¹¹⁸ That said, early on he recognized the great ability of Greek to generate words, and in an entry for

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 1, lett. 910, 460; 2, lett. 1496, 210; 2, lett. 1529, 224; 3, lett. 3136, 343; and 5, lett. 5442, 248.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 3, lett. 2994, 282-283.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 5, lett. 5266, 163-164.

¹¹⁶ Worp (ed.), *De Gedichten*, 1, 44.

¹¹⁷ Worp (ed.), *Briefwisseling*, lett. 15, 7 (KB, ms. KA 44, no. 16); 2, lett. 2157, 471; 3, lett. 2635, 144 (for the Greek, see Rasch, *Driehonderd Brieven*, 1, 500-501); 3, lett. 2960, 269-270; and, for the final two listed, Worp (ed.), *Briefwisseling*, 3, lett. 3373, 432 (KB, ms. KA 44, no. 347).

¹¹⁸ Constantijn Huygens, *Mijn Leven Verteld aan mijn Kinderen*, ed. Frans Blom, 2 vols (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2003), I, 72-73.

the year 1609 in another autobiographical work, he wrote, 'Oceanum Graeci possident, Romani fretum'.¹¹⁹ Indeed, what we have seen in this survey is a number of examples of how Huygens has exploited the ability of Greek to generate words. We have seen how he has used a number of words based on certain roots, such as *καίρ*- and *μουσ*-, and how he has used many words beginning with the prefix *ἀ*-. Furthermore, this survey has allowed us to identify that in his correspondence, Huygens had a particular preference for quoting in Greek from the New Testament and from Euripides. In future, I intend to explore whether we see this preference for Euripides in particular reflected elsewhere in Huygens' work. In the first instance, I have looked at the first 150 lines of Huygens' poem, *Ooghentroost*, first published in 1647.¹²⁰ Here, there are at least five quotations, which are either direct quotations from works by Euripides or most probably based on lines from his works.

One more pattern, which also provides such an opportunity is that Huygens seems to have used Greek in particular in 1642. In this year, he composed over a third of the verses in Greek, which have been handed down to us, and he wrote two letters to Barlaeus, which contain more Greek than other letters he exchanged with his friend.¹²¹ In the following year, 1643, we remember that he wrote a letter to his son, Constantijn Jr., entirely in Greek. In the letter, he praises his son's Greek, and it may be that because his sons were learning Greek at this time, he wrote more Greek in 1642, and indeed in 1643, than in other years.

¹¹⁹ KB, ms. KA-48, fols. 781-837. The date of 1609 is given in fol. 800r. The work is referred to as *Vita* in Huygens' own index to KA-48, and is reproduced in Latin under the title, J.A. Worp (ed.), 'Fragment eener Autobiographie van Constantijn Huygens', *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap*, 18 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1897), 1-121 (p. 42).

¹²⁰ One other point of interest, which has arisen from an initial review of Huygens' use of Greek quotations in the margins of his poem, *Ooghentroost*, is also worth noting here. In his edition of this poem (*Constantijn Huygens' Ooghen-troost*, ed. and intro. F.L. Zwaan (Groningen: Wolters Noordhoff, 1984)), F.L. Zwaan indicates that he is unable to identify the source of number of Greek phrases which Huygens includes in the margin to the poem. I have identified that almost all of these quotations come from works by Gregory of Nazianzus. I give Zwaan's line reference first, followed by the reference in Migne (1862, Vol. 37): 27b, e, *Carmina de se ipso*, col. 1393, l. 13; 229, n. 7, a, *Carmina moralia*, col. 912, l. 5; 269, n. 2, a, *Carmina moralia*, col. 931, l. 5; 493, n. 1, b, *Carmina de se ipso*, col. 1343, l. 9; 521, n. 3, a, *Carmina dogmatica*, col. 437, l. 10; 846, n. 3, *Carmina moralia*, col. 918, l. 2; 878 n. 8, d, *Carmina moralia*, col. 786, l. 1; 957, n. 3, *Carmina de se ipso*, col. 1328, l. 1; 984b, n. 1, f, *Carmina moralia*, col. 910, l. 2 (Zwaan does give this reference, so it is unexpected that he does not recognize the other quotations).

¹²¹ Worp (ed.), *Briefwisseling*, 3, lett. 2994, 282-283; and lett. 3136, 343-344.

However, perhaps what all this tells us is that despite his initial misgivings about learning Greek, Huygens came to enjoy using the language and indeed in the same autobiographical poem in which he wrote of his initial loathing for the language, he says that this gave way to a certain pleasure (*voluptas*) in it which remained with him into his old age. It is perhaps the pleasure that Huygens experienced in using Greek which is the lasting impression one has from reading those letters, in which he included one or more words in Greek: his knowledge of the language allowed him to play word games, as with the word ἀτεσσελεῖν; to work with the richness of the language, as with the numerous words he used with the prefix ἀ-; but above all perhaps to participate in an inner circle of scholars and intellectuals such as Barlaeus, Heinsius and Van Schurman, who enjoyed exchanging Greek words and quotations, and making a decisive point in their arguments, not in Dutch, French or Latin, but ἐλληνιστί.

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LOS *PROGYMNASMATA DICTATA A PETRO IOANNE NUNNESIO*
(*CAESARAUGUSTAE*, 1596): UNA EDICIÓN LEGALMENTE
'PIRATEADA'*

Pedro Juan Núñez (ca. 1529-1602), humanista natural de Valencia (España)¹, fue discípulo en París de Pierre de la Ramée² y gozó, de vuelta a su país, de tal prestigio como profesor de Humanidades, que las universidades (Valencia, Zaragoza, Lérida, Barcelona) se lo disputaban ofreciéndole sueldos muy superiores al de los catedráticos de las facultades superiores, como eran las de Derecho o Medicina.³

La marca 'Petrus Ioannes Nunnesius' vendía y un avisado impresor no dudó en incluir su nombre en la portada de un libro, como sugerencia de que este era utilizado por el valenciano para preparar sus afamadas clases de composición epistolar en latín⁴:

* Este trabajo se ha beneficiado de la financiación del proyecto FFI2009-11821 del MCINN de España, así como de la crítica del editor y revisores de esta revista.

¹ Su nombre puede aparecer en catalán: Pere Joan Nunyes. Autor de numerosas obras relacionadas con su actividad docente: gramáticas de griego, manuales de retórica, diccionarios de uso ciceroniano, ensayos sobre filosofía, sobre Aristóteles, etc. Vid. Pilar Barbeito Díez, *Pedro Juan Núñez: humanista valenciano* (Valencia: Biblioteca Valenciana, 2000) y José López Rueda, *Helenistas españoles del siglo XV* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1973).

² Vid. Juan F. Alcina, 'Los inicios del ramismo en España', en Jordi Pérez Durà – José María Estellés (eds), *Los humanistas valencianos y sus relaciones con Europa: de Vives a Mayans* (Valencia: Ayuntamiento de Valencia, 1998), pp. 117-136.

³ 'El 26 de agosto de 1574 era confirmado de nuevo en la cátedra con el muy elevado salario de 200 libras anuales más un ducado de los estudiantes, indicio evidente de su gran prestigio. Para dar una idea de lo excesivo que resultaba el salario de Nunyes, bastará saber que el catedrático mejor pagado después de él cobraba 120 y que los profesores de filosofía solo ganaban 25' (Antonio Fernández Luzón, *La universidad de Barcelona en el siglo XVI* (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 2005), p. 277).

⁴ No de otra forma se nos ocurre interpretar que aparezca su nombre en la portada de un libro en el que Pedro Juan Núñez no ha puesto ni una sola letra. El libro había sido publicado en Venecia en 1549 por A. Manuzio. En esta ocasión lleva licencia del Obispo de Barcelona y un prólogo del impresor, en el que justifica esta nueva edición por la escasez de copias del mismo. Nada se dice en el prólogo de Núñez. Esta obra era un instrumento útil para localizar modelos de cartas de Cicerón, para su imitación.

Francisci/ PRISCIANENSIS/ Argumentorum observationes/ per genera in omnes/ Ciceronis Epi-/ stolas. EX BIBLIOTHECA/ PETRI IOAN./ NVN- NESII./ Valentini./ BARCINONE/ Apud Franciscum Trinxerium/ Cum licentia 1573. (8°)

Tal obra nos muestra un tipo de edición que era posible y hasta normal en la época: cualquier impresor podía recabar y obtener licencia de impresión de una obra ya impresa, una vez revisada la obra por los censores, sin necesidad de contar con el permiso del autor.⁵

En 1596, en Zaragoza aparece la siguiente obra, objeto de nuestro estudio (vid. ilustración 1):

PROGYMNASMA-/ TA, ID EST, PRAELVDIA/ QUAEDAM ORATORIA EX/ PROGYMNASMATIS POTIS-/ simum Aphthonij./ Dictata a Petro Ioanne Nunnesio/ Valentino./ (Grabado que representa una grulla con una piedra en la garra levantada y la leyenda⁶: 'a quien vela todo se le revela') CAESARAVGVSTAE./ APVD MICHAELEM EXIMI-/NVM SANCHEZ. M.D.XCVI./ Superiorum permissu. (8°)

Los estudiosos no han dudado en incluirla en la bibliografía de Núñez.⁷ En este artículo, sin embargo, vamos a mostrar cómo esta edición tendría

⁵ Vid. Lucien Febvre – Henri-Jean Martin, *L'apparition du livre* (Paris, Les Éditions Albin Michel, 1958-1971), I, 266-267. Para la situación en España, cf. Fermín de los Reyes Gómez, 'Con privilegio: la exclusiva de edición del libro antiguo español', *Revista General de Información y Documentación*, 11 (2001), 163-200.

⁶ Emblema mal descrito por Juan M. Sánchez, *Bibliografía aragonesa del siglo XVI*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Imprenta Clásica Española, 1913-1914), II, 471 (n° 787), quien cree que el ave representada es una cigüeña. Cf. José Julio García Arranz, *Ornitología emblemática. Las aves en la literatura simbólica ilustrada en Europa durante los siglos XVI y XVII* (Cáceres: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Extremadura, 1996), 437-446. Este escudo no es utilizado en más ocasiones como marca por el impresor Jiménez, por lo que podría estar aludiendo a un lema querido para los verdaderos editores, con referencia probablemente a la vida contemplativa de los religiosos (cf. Francisco Vindel, *Escudos y marcas de impresores y libreros en España durante los siglos XV a XIX (1485-1850)* (Madrid: Orbis, 1942) y Id., *Manual gráfico-descriptivo del bibliófilo hispano-americano (1475-1850)* (Madrid: Impr. Góngora, 1933-1934).

⁷ Así: Vicente Ximeno, *Escritores del Reyno de Valencia, chronologicamente ordenados desde el año MCCXXVIII de la Christiana Conquista de la misma ciudad, hasta el de MDCCXLVII*, 2 vols. (Valencia: Oficina de Joseph Estevan Dolz, 1747-1749), I, 223; Justo P. Fuster, *Bibliotheca valenciana de los escritores que florecieron hasta nuestros días*, 2 vols. (Valencia: Imprenta de José Ximeno, 1827-1830), I, 195; Sánchez, *Bibliografía aragonesa*, 471 (n° 787); Antonio Palau y Dulcet, *Manual del librero hispanoamericano: bibliografía general española e hispanoamericana desde la invención de la imprenta hasta nuestros tiempos*, 2° ed., 26 vols. (Barcelona: Librería Anticuaria de A. Palau y Dulcet, 1948-1975), XI (1958), 251 (n° 196911 y 196913); Marcelino Méndez Pelayo, *Historia de las Ideas Estéticas en España*, 5 vols. (Santander: Consejo Superior

en nuestros días la consideración de ‘edición pirata’, aunque al decir tal cosa estemos cometiendo un anacronismo. Lo mismo que la impresión del libro de Priscianese, al que hemos aludido más arriba, esta fue perfectamente legal, con todos los permisos, aunque no parece que fuera su autor quien la autorizó.

En efecto, estos ‘*progymnasmata* extraídos de los *progymnasmata* de Aphthonio’ (como reza el título de esta edición), según fueron explicados (*dictata*) por P. J. Núñez, reproducen, en realidad, la primera parte (unos 40 folios aproximadamente) del siguiente libro:

INSTITV/TIONES RHETORI / CAE EX PROGYMNASMA / TIS POTIS-SIMVM APH- / THONII ATQVE EX HER / MOGENIS ARTE DI/ ctatae a Petro Ioan / ne Nunnesio Va/ lentino. / BARCINONE / Ex officina Petri Mali, anno / a natiuitate domini nostri / Iesu Christi. / M.D.LXXVIII. (8º)

Es este un tratado de retórica basado, como se advierte en la portada, en el *Corpus Hermogenis*, y las colecciones de ejercicios (‘*progymnasmata*’) de este, de Teón y, sobre todo (‘*potissimum*’) de Aphthonio (también utiliza ampliamente como fuentes a Cicerón y Quintiliano y otros autores clásicos). No parece que tuviera tiempo su autor de pulir la obra, por lo que se disculpa en la dedicatoria que de ella hace a la Universidad de Valencia, su *alma mater*, diciendo que lo que aquí imprime son las clases que impartió a sus discípulos de la Universidad de Barcelona en el curso anterior (1577), y advierte que le dedicará a la misma Universidad otra obra mejor y más cuidada cuando disponga de tiempo y de tranquilidad.⁸ Esta es, pues, la razón de que en la portada aparezca la expresión ‘*dictatae a Petro Ioanne Nunnesio*’. De hecho la obra todavía no ha sido dividida en los cinco libros en que aparecerá en las ediciones posteriores.

La edición de los *Progymnasmata* (Zaragoza, 1596) no reproduce exactamente todo el texto del principio de las *Institutiones* de Núñez

de Investigaciones Científicas, 1947), II, 175; Jamile Trueba Lawand, *El arte epistolar en el Renacimiento español* (Madrid: Tamesis, 1996), p. 79; Pedro Martín Baños, *El arte epistolar en el Renacimiento europeo: 1400-1600* (Bilbao: Universidad de Deusto, 2005), p. 634; Barbeito Díez, *Pedro Juan Núñez*, p. 74.

⁸ ‘*Valentinae Academiae clarissimae, uiris eruditissimis et adolescentibus eloquentiae studiosissimis affluentibus, Petrus Ioannes Nunnesius Valentinus, eius alumnus, parenti optima has Institutiones Rhetoricas, non ex suo sensu, sed ex ueterum scriptorum decretis ac praesertim ex Aphthonii Progymnasmatibus et arte Hermogenis depromptas, quas auditoribus suis Barcinonensibus, anno a Christo nato M.D. LXXVII, dictauerat, dicat, alia meliora et politiora dicaturus, quum plus otii et laxamenti nactus fuerit*’ (*Institutiones* (Barcinone, 1578), fol. 2 rº).

(Barcelona 1578), sino que lo ha adaptado a su nueva disposición, quitando, entre otras cosas, los capítulos que aludían a las otras partes del *ars rhetorica* (i.e.: ‘De diuisione totius artis’, fols 3 rº y parte del vº)⁹ y añadiendo algún párrafo de transición tras las amputaciones, tal como en el ejemplo que se muestra a continuación (notamos entre corchetes [] el texto añadido; en itálica, el modificado):

<i>Institutiones, Barcinone 1578</i>	<i>Progymnasmata, Caesaraugustae 1596</i>
<p>Quod quam commodissime facere poterit, si aliquid addiderit, detraxerit, inuerterit, aut certe commutauerit.</p> <p>De diuisione totius artis</p> <p>His ita positis diuiditur tota ars in quinque partes, quae sunt progymnasmata, status, inuentio, elocutio et methodus prudentiae [...] (<i>una pagina cum disputatione ‘de progymnasmatis’ sequitur</i>).</p> <p>Ex his quinque partibus artis de progymnasmatis primo disputandum est, cum sint ceteris facilliora...</p>	<p>Quod quam commodissime facere poterit, si aliquid addiderit, detraxerit, inuerterit, aut certe commutauerit. [Quod ad progymnasmata attinet, eorum utilitas colligi facile ex eo potest, quod non modo locos communiter demonstrant, ex quibus rationes erui, et argumenta possunt; sed etiam quae cuique quaestioni conueniunt magis, ea notant, et disponunt]. (<i>una pagina cum disputatione ‘de progymnasmatis’ deest</i>). De his primo [loco] disputandum est, <i>quia sunt ceteris [aliis Rhetoricae partibus] facilliora...</i></p>

Hay otras supresiones y, sobre todo, adiciones, que probablemente Núñez no hubiera autorizado como suyas.¹⁰ Algunas citas, especialmente si se trata de autores menos conocidos (lo que explicaría que no se hubieran podido localizar), aparecen desplazadas del lugar que les correspondería.¹¹

Incluso en el título (vid. Ilustración 1) hay cosas que sorprenden, si se lee atentamente. En efecto, se dice que los *progymnasmata* que se ofrecen están tomados sobre todo de Aftonio. No parece que interpretaran bien a Núñez: este aseguraba en el título de su obra que las *Institutiones*

⁹ Para una edición de los *Progymnasmata* sobran evidentemente capítulos como este: ‘De diuisione totius artis; [...] diuiditur tota ars in quinque partes: quae sunt progymnasmata, status, inuentio, elocutio, et methodus prudentiae’ (*Institutiones* (Barcinone, 1578), fol. 3 rº). En posteriores ediciones de las *Institutiones*, cada parte de la retórica comprenderá un libro.

¹⁰ Por ejemplo, en *Progymnasmata* (1596), p. 2, se añade: ‘qualis est ea philosophia quae legitur in iis sententiis, quae uulgo circumferuntur collectae ex Cicerone’. Núñez solía proponer la lectura directa de los autores clásicos, no antologías de estos.

¹¹ Por ejemplo, aparece desplazada una referencia a Syriano, escoliasta de Hermógenes, en *Progymnasmata* (1596), p. 40. En las tres ediciones de las *Institutiones* (1578, 1585, 1593) de Núñez el nombre se halla correctamente situado al lado de la cita correspondiente.

rhetoricae habían sido compuestas a partir de los *Progymnasmata*, especialmente, de Aftonio y del *Arte* de Hermógenes, cuya primera parte son también *progymnasmata*, profusamente utilizados por el humanista de Valencia. De hecho, Hermógenes es la fuente más citada en el texto de estos ‘ejercicios preliminares’, seguido de Aftonio y de Teón. La ventaja de Aftonio sobre Hermógenes, según el humanista de Valencia, radica en que el primero propuso en todos los casos un ejemplo, mientras que el segundo no.¹² Por eso la información de la portada de Zaragoza (1596) no es totalmente correcta, pues estos ‘ejercicios’ deben mucho al *corpus Hermogenis*; entre otras cosas, su disposición al principio de las *Institutiones*. Es más, para esta primera parte de los ejercicios se aprovecha también la doctrina de Hermógenes de las otras partes del *ars*, o incluso de los intérpretes o escoliastas de este.

Ocho años más tarde de aquella primera edición de 1578, Núñez cumplió su palabra y publicó, de nuevo en Barcelona, en 1585 otra edición renovada, donde se observará cómo ha desaparecido la alusión a que se trataba de unos apuntes.¹³ La expresión ‘dictatae a P.J.N.’ (con la que justificaba su carácter de provisionalidad) ha sido sustituida por el *genetivus auctoris*:

PET. IOHAN./ NVNNESII / VALENTINI INSTI / TVTIONVM RHE-
TORI/ CARVM LIBRI/ QVINQVE. / Editio altera multo correctior et locu-
pletior exemplis et/ indicib(us) et noua accessione artificij, quo possit/ ars
copiosius et utilius exerceri./ BARCINONE/ Cum licentia: Ex Typographia
Iacobi/ Cendrat. An. 1585. (8°)

También en esta aparece la dedicatoria a su *alma mater*, pero, al igual que en la portada, ha desaparecido la alusión al carácter de ‘apuntes de clase’, así como la promesa de mejorarla, en consonancia con los adjetivos comparativos (‘correctior et locupletior [...] copiosius et utilius’) que aparecen en la portada. Es decir, que su autor ya se encontraba a gusto con el texto editado.

¹² ‘Hactenus explicatum est qua ratione singula progymnasmata separatim fieri possent, singulorum propositis seorsum exemplis, propter quam causam, quamvis Hermogenes in reliqua arte uehementer a Graecis probetur, in progymnasmatis tamen cessit Aphthonio. Hic enim singula progymnasmata seorsum a praeceptis suis exemplis illustrauit, quod Hermogenes praetermiserat’ (*Institutiones* (Barcinone, 1578), fol. 38 v °; el texto se repite en el resto de las ediciones, incluidas las de *Progymnasmata*).

¹³ Esta edición aparece ya dividida en cinco libros, comprendiendo cada uno de ellos una parte de la retórica, según se concibe esta en el *corpus Hermogenis*: Lib. I: Prolegomena; Progymnasmata; lib. II: de statibus; lib. III: de inuentione; lib. IV: de elocutione; lib. V: de methodo prudentiae.

Sin embargo, otra vez a los ocho años, en 1593, aparece la tercera edición ‘multo correctior et locupletior’¹⁴:

PET. IOHAN./ NVNNESII VA-/ LENTINI INSTI-/ TVTIONVM RHE-/ TORICARVM LI-/ bri quinque./ EDITIO TERTIA CETERIS/ multo correctior, et locupletior exemplis, et in/dicib(us) et noua accessione artificij, quo pos/sit ars copiosius, et utilius/ exerceri./ BARCINONE./ Cum licentia: Ex Typographia/ Sebastiani a Cormellas./ Anno. 1593. (8º)

Tras estas dos ediciones, resulta extraño que en los *Progymnasmata* (Zaragoza, 1596) lo que se reproduzca sea el texto de la primera, la imperfecta.¹⁵ ¿Iba a editar el autor un texto antiguo, con el que no se sintió a gusto (de ahí la adición de ‘dictatae’) y que había corregido y enriquecido en dos ocasiones más?¹⁶

El caso es que en el prólogo, anónimo, de *Progymnasmata* (1596), aparecen claros indicios de que no fue nuestro humanista quien encargó, ni siquiera quien autorizó esta impresión (prueba, por otra parte, evidente de que los estudiosos modernos no deben haber leído con mucha atención esta sección preliminar del libro). Los redactores de este dejan entrever que no es una edición ‘permitida expresamente’ por el autor.

Y, en efecto, vuelve a sorprendernos que comience ponderando el manual de retórica de Cipriano Suárez¹⁷, sacerdote jesuita, justificando con sus elogios el que la Compañía de Jesús hubiera decretado que este

¹⁴ Una de las novedades tipográficas de esta edición es la incorporación de la cursiva o itálica para los textos de las citas directas.

¹⁵ Esta edición de los *Progymnasmata*, no obstante, incorpora todas las correcciones señaladas en el fol. 91 (bajo el epígrafe ‘errata sic corriges’) de la edición de las *Institutiones* de 1578.

¹⁶ El siguiente ejemplo nos dará idea de las modificaciones introducidas:

s, p. 6] Est igitur fabula, quam apologum uocat M. Tullius (quam... Tullius *add. c s* : *desunt b i*), oratio ficta quae uerisimili dispositione refert speciem quandam ueritatis caussa admonitionis.

s, p. 15] [...] tum in omni genere caussarum. Hos modos narrandi expressit Fortunatianus in disputatione de narratione. (Hos... *narratione add. c s* : *desunt b i*). De generibus [...]

Sigla: *c* = *Inst.* (Barcinone, 1585), *s* = *Inst.* (Barcinone, 1593), *b* = *Inst.* (Barcinone, 1578), *i* = *Prog.* (Caesaraugustae, 1596).

¹⁷ *De arte rhetorica libri tres, ex Aristotele, Cicerone Quintilianoque praecipue deprompti* (Conimbricæ, apud I. Barrerium, 1562) (reeditado en innumerables ocasiones). Cf. Lawrence J. Flynn, ‘The “De Arte Rhetorica” of Cyprian Soarez, S.I.’, *The Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 42 (1956), 367-374. Juan M^a Núñez González, ‘La retórica jesuítica renacentista’, en Trinidad Arcos Pereira – Jorge Fernández López – Francisca Moya del Baño (eds), ‘*Pectora mulcet*’. *Estudios de Retórica y Oratoria Latinas* (Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2009), pp. 471-478.

fuera el único manual que debería ser utilizado en sus aulas.¹⁸ Es evidente que el autor del texto prologado no iba a hacer propaganda de otro manual distinto (¡sin ni siquiera citar el suyo!). Continúan los prologuistas diciendo que el único defecto apreciable en el manual de Suárez es la falta de ejercicios preliminares (*progymnasmata*) de que tan necesitados están los españoles, quienes no estiman la elocuencia¹⁹, por lo que abandonan pronto estos estudios para dedicarse a la filosofía o a la teología; con gran perjuicio para ellos, pues después no pueden expresar en público sus opiniones. Los regidores de la Compañía, conociendo que Pedro Juan Núñez había hecho preceder sus *Institutiones* de estos ejercicios²⁰, decidieron que en sus colegios también se comenzara con los ejercicios prácticos preliminares (*progymnasmata*). Y dado que ya existía una edición en un latín clásico y puro, como era la del maestro valenciano, decidieron imprimirlos, separados de las *Institutiones* de este autor (por lo que se vieron obligados a realizar alguna modificación para adaptarlos a su nueva forma), con el fin de que sirvieran de preludio al manual de Cipriano Suárez.²¹ Y no parece que le pidieran permiso al autor; sencillamente consideraron que, como Núñez era ‘muy amigo de la Compañía’, no le resultaría molesto que imprimieran de nuevo lo que él ya había dado a la luz muchos años antes:

libellum igitur cohaerentem quasi per sese confecimus: non ingratum fore rati doctissimo uiro et nostri ordinis amantissimo, si quae ipse ad communem omnium utilitatem iam pridem diuulgauit, nostris etiam auditoribus traderentur. (*Progymnasmata*, fol. *iiii v°)

¹⁸ ‘Ad lectorem praefatio [...] Cyprianus Soarez de Societate Iesu non in postremis numerandus est [...]. Tantumque fuit hominis ingenium ut quo libros suos eloquentiae studiosis commendaret magis, nihil fere ex suo sensu affinixerit, sed ex Aristotele, M. Tullio, et Quintiliano, optimis dicendi magistris, et uniuersam doctrinam, et singula paene uerba desumpserit. Vnde factum est ut multa Hispaniae, Italiae, Germaniaeque celeberrima gymnasia hunc potissimum auctorem ad nouos eloquentiae auditores informandos, maximo cum fructu, explicandum susceperint decreueritque Societas uniuersa ut in suis scholis nullus alius iuuentuti suae curae commissae ediscendus proponatur’ (*Progymnasmata*, fol. *ii v° - iii r°).

¹⁹ ‘iacet quidem in tenebris eloquentia apud nos’ (*Progymnasmata*, fol. *iii r°).

²⁰ En realidad Núñez seguía en esto la estructura de lo que hoy denominamos *Corpus Hermogenis*, que es lo que fundamentalmente trataba de difundir.

²¹ ‘eadem Nunnesii progymnasmata, quae his ab Aphthonio potissimum sophista ac declamatore nobili in ordinem artemque redacta, perfecta et absoluta oratione Latinitate donauit, typis excudenda visa sunt: separata illa quidem ab aliis eiusdem auctoris institutionibus (quam ob caussam in primo capite nonnihil immutare necesse fuit) [...] ut Cypriani libro commodius affigerentur’ (*Progymnasmata*, fol. *iiii v°).

Además, probablemente, pensaron que lo que estaban editando, al fin y al cabo, era una versión antigua, y el autor ya había dado a la luz otras dos versiones corregidas y aumentadas, que dejaban obsoleta la que ellos daban ahora a la luz para uso de sus alumnos.

La edición de Zaragoza (1596) incorpora, además, otro opúsculo, a partir de la página 87 (vid. Ilustración 2), sin portada propia, titulado: *Ratio brevis et expedita conscribendi genera epistolarum illustriora*. No se dice aquí quién es el autor, aunque sí se hace en la *licentia* al principio de la obra. En 1607, ya muerto Núñez, este opúsculo (de ocho folios) se imprime separadamente, añadiéndose al título anterior (vid. Ilustración 3): *Ex dictatis P. Iohan. Nunnesii Valentini* (Colofón: Valentiae, apud Philip-pum Mey. MDCVII). Esto es, ‘procedente de apuntes tomados en la clase de Pedro Juan Núñez’, si se me permite una traducción interpretativa, más que literal.

Hemos hablado de ‘edición pirata’, pero con esta expresión estamos cometiendo un grave anacronismo. La edición fue perfectamente ‘legal’. Es más, parece que se alardea y se presume de esa legalidad. Así es como nos parece interpretar el hecho de que la licencia de impresión (concedida al impresor y no a su autor, frente a las tres ediciones anteriores de las *Institutiones*, en que la licencia se concede siempre a Núñez) ocupe un folio entero (dos páginas) y que fuera otorgada por el propio rey Felipe II, a través de su lugarteniente y capitán general en el Reino de Aragón²²:

Don Philippe por la gracia de Dios Rey de Castilla, de Aragon, de las dos Sicilias, de Hierusalem, etc. Don Beltran de la Cueva, Duque de Alburquerque, Marques de Cuellar, Conde de Ledesma y Guelma, Lugarteniente y Capitan general por su Magestad en el presente Reyno de Aragon. Por quanto por parte de vos Miguel Ximeno Sanchez, impressor de libros, vezino de la presente ciudad de Caragoça nos ha sido suplicado os diessemos licencia para imprimir y vender y hazer imprimir y vender un libro intitulado, *Progymnasmata, id est, praeludia quaedam oratoria ex*

²² El alarde de legalidad parece aun mayor si se considera que el Reino de Aragón no estaba sometido a las mismas leyes que el de Castilla, donde la impresión y difusión de libros estaba más controlada por los poderes públicos (Cf. Henry Kamen, *Cambio cultural en la sociedad del Siglo de Oro: Cataluña y Castilla siglos XVI-XVII.*, trad. de C. A. Caranci – P. Sánchez del Moral (Madrid: Siglo XXI editores, 1998), p. 372). Sin embargo, no es este el único caso que encontramos. Otras obras editadas por el mismo impresor y algún otro de Zaragoza muestran licencias de la misma extensión. Asimismo, otras de los mismos impresores presentan licencias mucho más reducidas, incluso las concedidas por la misma autoridad. Es este un tema que merece ser explorado, pues no encuentro en la bibliografía publicada una explicación suficiente para el hecho.

progymnasmatis potissimum Aphthonii. Dictata a Petro Ioanne Nunnesio y juntamente un Tratadillo del mismo Núñez intitulado *Ratio brevis conscribendi genera epistolarum*, el qual ha sido visto y reconocido por el Ordinario deste Arçobispado de Caragoça, y otra vez imprimido: y tenemos relacion q(ue) es muy vtil y prouechoso y que se deue imprimir. Por tanto [...] os damos y concedemos licencia y facultad para que podays imprimir y vender e o imprimays y vendays el dicho libro y todos los cuerpos que quisieredes [...] Dat. en Caragoça a seys días del mes de Mayo, del año contado del nacimiento de nuestro Señor Iesu Christo de M.D.XCVI. (*Progymnasmata*, fol. * i v^o - *ii r^o)

A pesar de lo que se dice en esta licencia (i.e. ‘otra vez imprimido’), Núñez no había editado ningún manual *De conscribendis epistolis*; pero sus clases sobre esta materia, tanto en Zaragoza, como en Barcelona y, probablemente, en Valencia, nos resultan conocidas gracias a una serie de manuscritos, que en su mayoría son atribuidos por *subscriptions* al humanista valenciano.²³ Ahora bien, lo que editan los jesuitas como *Ratio brevis* es solo una parte de lo que Núñez enseñaba y no precisamente un resumen. En realidad se limitan a reproducir parte de la doctrina sobre ‘el cuerpo de la carta’ (‘epistolae corpus’), que es tratado según su pertenencia a uno u otro género epistolar, distinguiendo una serie de tópicos o lugares comunes, ilustrados con ejemplos tomados de la correspondencia de Cicerón. Sin embargo, la doctrina de Pedro Juan Núñez, según la conocemos por alguno de sus manuscritos, constituía todo un tratado o, mejor, ensayo sobre la composición epistolar, basado en el modelo de Cicerón²⁴. No parece, por tanto, probable que su autor hubiera accedido a publicar sólo un fragmento.

²³ Son los siguientes: Zaragoza, Biblioteca Capitular de la Seo, ms. 62-62; Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, ms. Fondo S. Cugat 69; Barcelona, Biblioteca de la Universidad, ms. 1185; Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, ms. 152 y ms. 9227; Valencia, Biblioteca del Corpus Christi (‘Biblioteca del Patriarca’), ms. 349; Barcelona, Biblioteca de la Universidad, ms. 385 (este último presenta el mismo título que el impreso, pero difiere en el texto; no atribuye la *Ratio* a ningún autor. Barbeito desconoce este testigo; cf. Martín Baños, *El arte epistolar*, 634, quien erróneamente cree que es una copia de la edición impresa).

²⁴ De forma esquemática, con el fin de poder mejor comprender qué es lo se editó, he aquí la doctrina que nos presenta el códice de Barcelona, ACA ms. 69:

Observationes Petri Iohannis Nunnesii Valentini in omnia epistolarum genera.

1. Nomina epistolae (según el uso de Cicerón) (fols. 1 r^o y v^o).

2. Partes epistolae:

2.1. Inscriptio (fol. 2 r^o). [‘Epistolae commendaticiae’ (fol. 2 r^o); el exemplar debió de estar desordenado en sus páginas, por lo que aparece en este lugar]

[2.1. continúa la ‘inscriptio’]

2.2. Clausula: Precatio ualetudinis (fol. 3 r^o)

En 1608, vuelven a editarse en Zaragoza los *Progymnasmata* junto con la *Ratio brevis*:

PROGYM/NASMATA./ ORATORIA./ Dictata a Petro Ioanne Nun-/nesio Valentino. / [Emblema de la Compañía de Jesús]./ Caesaraugustae./ Cum licentia: Apud Joannem a/ Quartanet, anno 1608./ Expensis Michaelis Esteuan. (8º). [La *Ratio brevis*, sin indicación de autor, aparece a partir de la página 66].

Esta edición²⁵, realizada a los seis años de la muerte de Núñez, lleva en la portada el emblema de la Compañía de Jesús (vid. Ilustración 4). Parece que ya no importaba desvelar quiénes eran los responsables de la misma.²⁶

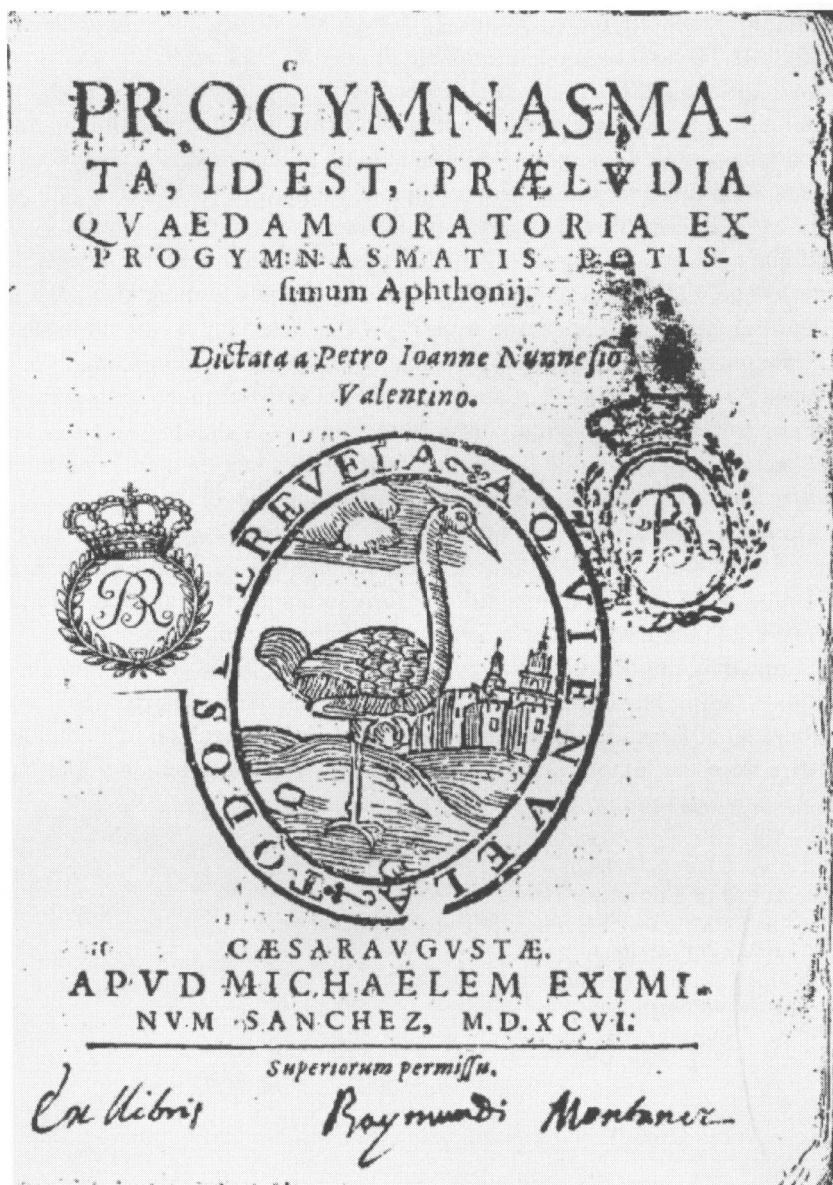
- 2.3. Data. Excursus sobre el calendario, significado y etimología de 'Kalendae, Nonae, Idus', forma de expresión del año (con los cónsules), 'mensis intercalaris', reforma Juliana, la expresión del lugar de remisión de la carta, etc. (fol. 3 vº)
 3. De generibus epistolarum (fol. 4 rº)
 4. Diseño de la carta: Genera exordiendi (fol. 4 v).
 5. Corpus epistolae: quo modo sit intexendum in epistolis (fol. 4 rº).
 - <5.1.1. Epistolae commendaticiae (fol. 2 rº; el exemplar debió de estar desordenado en sus páginas, por lo que no aparece en este lugar)>
 - 5.1.2 Epistolae quibus aliquid petimus. (fol. 6 vº)
 - 5.1.3. Epistolae prosphoneticiae (nuncupatoriae). (fol. 7 rº). Las epístolas de los §§5.1.2 y 5.1.3 son subgéneros de las commendaticiae
 - 5.1.4. Capita epistolarum et orationum qui fiant illustriora (fol. 7 vº)
 - 5.1.5. De epistolis quibus rescribimus commendaticiis (fol. 10 vº).
 - 5.1.6. Quo modo illustrentur haec capita proxima (fol. 11 vº)
 - 5.2.1. Epistolae quibus gratias agimus (fol. 13 rº)
 - 5.2.2. De epistolis quibus rescribimus gratiarum actionibus (fol. 14 vº).
 - 5.3.1. Epistolae quibus gratulamur (fol. 15 rº)
 - 5.3.2. Epistolae quibus rescribimus gratulatoriis (15 vº)
 - 5.4.1. Epistolae excusatoriae (fol. 16 rº)
 - 5.4.2. Epistolae quibus rescribimus excusationi (fol. 16 vº)
 - 5.5.1. Epistolae obiurgatoriae. (fol. 17 rº)
 - 5.5.2. Epistolae per quas rescribimus obiurgatoriis (ibid.)
 - 5.6.1. De genere consolatorio (ibid)
 - 5.6.2. Epistolae quibus rescribimus consolatoriis (fol. 17 vº)
 6. Praecepta ad omne genus epistolarum utilia: autores de teoría epistolar en la Antigüedad, definición de carta según los antiguos, temas que les son apropiados, estilo, reivindicación para la retórica del *ars conscribendi epistolas*. Aunque colocado en último lugar, más bien parece concebido para servir de prólogo.
- De todo esto, las ediciones reproducen sólo una parte del capítulo 5 (de este faltan los parágrafos 5.1.2; 5.1.4; 5.1.6 y 5.3.2).

²⁵ Desconocida por los estudios modernos citados, pero no por los catálogos bibliográficos, como Palau y Dulcet, *Manual del librero hispanoamericano*, XI, 251; Fuster, *Bibliotheca valenciana*, I, 195.

²⁶ De nuevo en 1655 son editados los *Progymnasmata*; pero ahora ya por el Profesor de la Universidad de Valencia, Vicente Ferrer. En esta ocasión se vuelve al texto de Barcelona 1578, pero no al texto modificado editado por los jesuitas, sino que sufrirá sus propias adaptaciones (algo que se sale ya del interés de este trabajo).

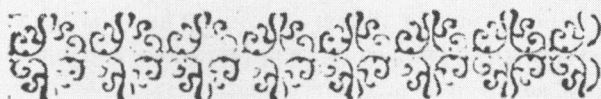
Podemos concluir diciendo que las ediciones de los *Progymnasmata* (1596, 1608), así como de la *ratio brevis et expedita conscribendi genera epistolarum illustriora* (1596, 1607 y 1608) no pueden ser atribuidas a Núñez sin más, aunque estén basadas en obras que sí fueron compuestas y editadas por él. Los ‘ejercicios’ han sido extraídos, modificados y adaptados, a partir de la primera edición que el humanista había hecho de sus *Institutiones*. Un libro que el autor consideraba todavía imperfecto y de ahí que advirtiera en la portada que se trataba de unos ‘apuntes de clase’, por lo que realizará otras dos ediciones corregidas y aumentadas. Desde luego no tenía ningún sentido reproducir un texto con el que no estaba conforme, aparte del hecho de que los *progymnasmata* constituían para Núñez — que trata de reproducir la doctrina de Hermógenes — la primera parte del *ars rhetorica*. Sus editores fueron los jesuitas, tal como se desprende del prólogo de la edición de 1596 y se constata en la portada de la edición de 1608. Estos intervienen y modifican el texto para adaptarlo a sus necesidades. Por otra parte, lo que editan como *Ratio brevis* no es en realidad un ‘método abreviado’ del de Núñez, sino una parte del mismo, que se nos ha transmitido de forma manuscrita, es decir, sólo la referida al cuerpo de la carta, aunque, probablemente, fue la que consideraron más importante y útil para la enseñanza de la composición en latín. Estamos, en consecuencia, ante testigos de valor relativo. Algo que deberá tenerse muy en cuenta a la hora de plantearse realizar una edición crítica de estos textos; un proyecto que tenemos entre manos y que ha motivado estas pesquisas.

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1. Portada de los *Progyrnasmata* (Zaragoza, 1596)
(Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid)

87



RATIO BREVIS ET
EXPEDITA CONSCRI-
BENDI GENERA EPISTOLA-
rum illustriora.

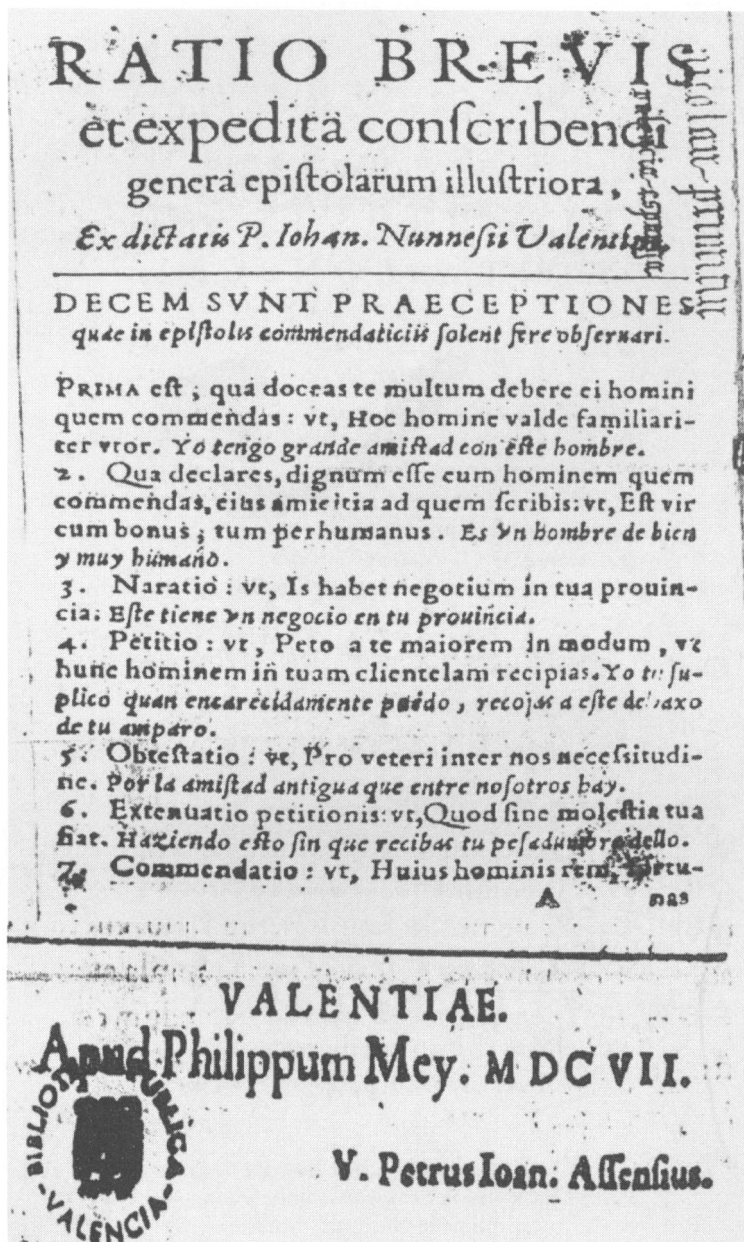
*Quidquid praecepas, esto brevis.
Non omnia capita in quaq. epist. adhibenda.
Ordo propositus expeditissimus.
Non semper tamen observandus.
Idem caput in variis generib. stile.
Rescribere M. T. fructuosissimum.
Vnus M. Tullius maxime imitandus.*

DECEM SUNT PRAECE-
ptiones quæ in epistolis commendaticijs
solent fere observari.



Rima est qua doceas te mul-
tum debere ei homini quem
commendas : vt, Hoc homi-
ne valde familiariter vtor,
Yo tengo grande amistad con
este hombre.

2 Qua declares dignum esse cum hominẽ
f 4 quem



3. Portada y colofón de la *Ratio brevis* (Valencia, 1607)
 (Biblioteca Valenciana)



4. Portada de los *Progymnasmata* (Zaragoza, 1608)
(Biblioteca Universitaria de Barcelona)

Jeremy ROE

NEW DOCUMENTS ON THE SCHOLARSHIP OF
JUAN DE FONSECA Y FIGUEROA (1585-1627):
ARABIST AND CORRESPONDENT WITH ISAAC CASAUBON

The earliest literary references to the scholar, canon and courtier Juan de Fonseca y Figueroa (1585-1627) have inspired considerable interest in historians of literature, art and intellectual history, and in recent years this has been developed through a series of studies of both Fonseca's scholarship and his participation in scholarly communities in Salamanca, Seville and Madrid.¹ One of the earliest testimonies to his abilities and status is provided by the painter and author Francisco Pacheco (1544-1644), nephew of the scholar and Canon Francisco Pacheco (c. 1539-1599), in his *Arte de la Pintura* (1649), who recorded how Fonseca played an important role in aiding Velázquez gain entry to the court of Philip IV and become appointed as a court painter. In addition Pacheco states that Fonseca applied 'la agudeza de su ingenio y mucha erudición' to the practice of painting.² Although no work by his hand has come to light the publica-

¹ The foundations for research on the life and work of Juan de Fonseca are found in José López Navío, 'Don Juan de Fonseca, Canónigo maestrescuela de Sevilla', *Archivo Hispalense*, 126-127 (1964), 83-126. Subsequent studies of his patrons, such as Gaspar de Guzmán, the Count-Duke of Olivares, and the cultural context he worked in provide further insights into this figure, although information about him remains elusive. See John Elliott, *The Count-Duke of Olivares: A Statesman in an Age of Decline* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1989) and more recently Vicente Lleó Cañal, 'El Circulo Sevillano de Velázquez', in O. Noble-Wood – J. Roe (eds), *Poder y Saber: Bibliotecas y bibliofilia en la época del Conde-Duque de Olivares* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios de Europa Hispánica, 2011), pp. 47-69. There have also been a number of publications based on archival documentation and Fonseca's own manuscripts over the last fifty years and these are discussed in the course of this article.

² Francisco Pacheco, *El Arte de la Pintura* (Madrid: Cátedra, 1990), p. 217. The only evidence to date of his artwork is an unpublished poem by Francisco de Calatayud, *Al retrato de Francisco de Rioja hecho por D.Iº.D.Fº.Y.Fi. [Don Juan de Fonseca y Figueroa]*, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Ms. 3.888, f. 122r. The poem reads: 'Dos palmas, dos laureles | para Orfeo y Apeles | preven, ô tú, que notas admirado | de Arguijo el fiel traslado | i de Fonseca el dibujar valiente. | Dos famas boladoras | que desde el rojo Oriente |

tion, in 1961, of an inventory of his belongings made following his death reveal that his interest in painting led him to build up his own considerable art collection, one which included Velázquez's *Waterseller*, produced in Seville prior to his appointment as a court painter.³ Apart from this latter work the fate of his collection of paintings remains unknown. Unfortunately, neither does this inventory include information about the books it may be assumed he owned, however we are better informed of his own writings, although a number of key texts by Fonseca have also been lost.

A list of Fonseca's writings, all manuscript, was provided by Nicolás Antonio (1617-1684) in his *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova* (1696). Antonio's bibliography records a series of manuscripts by Fonseca, which in addition to a treatise on painting *De Veteri Pictura*, included the following⁴:

adonde muere el sol, canten su gloria l i den eterna vida a su memoria.' See also Francisco de Rioja, *Poesías varias*, ed. Begoña López Bueno (Madrid: Cátedra, 1984), p. 34. Zarco del Valle made note of this poem in his research notes, which also document Fonseca's writings in the Colombina see: *Papeles varios impresos y manuscritos con noticias y documentos sobre Velázquez reunidos por Don Manuel Remón Zarco del Valle*, Madrid, Palacio Real, Real Biblioteca, II/4056, pp. 14-16.

³ José López Navío, 'Velázquez tasa los cuadros de su protector, don Juan de Fonseca', *Archivo Español de Arte*, 34 (1961), 53-84. For a discussion of how classical interests shared by Fonseca and his contemporaries may have informed his interest in bodegones such as Velázquez's *Waterseller*, see Manuela B. Mena Marqués, 'El Aguador de Velázquez o una meditación sobre la cultura clásica: 'Diógenes y los hijos de Xenófades'', *Archivo español de arte*, 288, (1999), 91-413; Jeremy Roe, 'Looking at Velázquez through the writings of Francisco de Rioja', in R. Archer (ed.), *Antes y después del "Quijote": en el cincuentenario de la Asociación de Hispanistas de Gran Bretaña e Irlanda* (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, Biblioteca Valencia, 2005), pp. 213-222.

⁴ Nicolás Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana nova: sive Hispanorum scriptorum qui ab anno MD. ad MDCLXXXIV. floruerunt notitia* (Madrid: Visor, 1996), p. 691. A number of these writings are today found in Seville, Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina, Ms. 21, estante 83, 3-19. These are: *Notae in Terentii Cartaginensis Andriam; aliud opusculum, vel dialogum; aliud opusculum; Ad Claudiani librum primum ex variis collecta auctoribus commentaria, praeter ea pauca quae adiecimus; Notae ad Epistolas Senecae; Opus, in quo liber 2 est de Arte Poetica; Oratio in primordiis studiorum, anni 1620 in conventus Pauli Hispanensis; De Criticis Disceptatiuncula inter Neotericum Scriptorem, et...* There is also a letter addressed to Fonseca from the Canon of Cádiz Cathedral Juan Baptista Suárez de Salazar discussing the poetry of Catullus dated the 11th January 1610. Aside from Suárez's letter the dates of these texts are problematic to identify. López Navío identified the treatises on Terence and Claudian with Fonseca's studies at Salamanca University, which he concluded in 1606. From Salamanca he moved to Seville, but his life there was interspersed with journeys to Madrid where López Navío suggests he established himself in 1615. However, the *oratio* he gave in the Convent of Santa Paula indicates that he did return to Seville after that date. Hence it would seem probable that the other works relate to his time in Seville and document his research into classical poetry and thought. There has been considerable research conducted on the intellectual circles in Seville, for example: Vincente Lleó Cañal, 'The cultivated Elite of Velázquez's Seville', in David Davies – Enriqueta Harris (eds), *Velázquez in Seville*

*Pro D. Laurentio Ramirez de Prado adversus Mussambertium, seu Theodorum Marsilium; In P. Terentii Andriam notas MSS. vidimus cum Epistola ad D. Joannem Solorzanum postridie Kal. Decembris MDCVI; Ad Claudiani de Raptu Proserpinae notulas inceptas; In Senecae Epistolam XVIII. lib. II. December est mensis: ad eundem Solorzanum; De Criticis Disputatiunculam inter Neotericum Scriptorem, & *** (sic!) quae incipit: Contra claudum insurgo scriptorem* (Antonio notes that this contains a defence of Lipsius); a work on the *Pseudo-Dextri* and *Pseudo-Maximi*, signalling his engagement with the debates around the authenticity of the *Chronicones*, which were attributed to the 5th-century Flavius Lucius Dextrus (or Dexter) and Marcus Maximus, a 7th-century Bishop of Zaragoza, but are now known to have been authored by the Jesuit scholar Jerónimo Roman de la Higuera (1538-1611)⁵; and finally, correspondence with Juan Bautista Suárez de Salazar (d. 1644).⁶ The aim of this article is to provide new documentary evidence of Fonseca's status as a scholar, revealing that it reached further afield than Spain, and that his intellectual interests extended beyond Latin and the classical tradition of literature to the study of Arabic.

Prior to examining these issues an overview of research on Fonseca must be undertaken. My interest in Fonseca was prompted by my studies of the early career of Velázquez, and this led me to find the letter addressed from Fonseca to Isaac Casaubon published below. It also led me to begin looking at the library of the Count-Duke of Olivares, to whom Fonseca acted as an advisor. Fonseca's close friend Francisco de Rioja (1583-1659) was librarian to the Count-Duke. Although Fonseca's role in the Olivares library is not clearly documented, his scholarly activities and those of other members of the Olivares circle at the court of Philip IV are one facet of work being undertaken by the research project on the Olivares library at the University of Nottingham. In forthcoming publications the role of Fonseca, Rioja and others will be discussed in more depth, and as preliminary to the outcome of this project the aim of this article is to present evidence of new manuscripts by Fonseca, which were owned by Olivares himself and recorded in the manuscript catalogues of his library.

(Edinburgh, 1996), pp. 23-27, Guy Lazure, 'Rodrigo Caro y la corte de Felipe IV: itinerario de unas ambiciones frustradas', in Noble-Wood – Roe (eds), *Poder y Saber*, pp. 121-140.

⁵ See Richard Kagan, *Clio and the Crown: The Politics of History in Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), pp. 259-261.

⁶ For Suárez's contribution to this correspondence see Luis Charlo Brea, 'Nota crítica de Suárez de Salazar a Catulo 66, 55-58', *Myrtia*, 22 (2007), 207-222.

In addition to this bibliographical research Fonseca's manuscript writings on literary themes, including new documents found in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid and which thus increase Nicolás Antonio's catalogue, have recently been subjected to a close critical scrutiny. In order to provide a summary of research on Fonseca to date a concise survey of these texts is offered here.

Coincidentally one of the first of the new discoveries was Fonseca's commentary on Lope de Vega's *Jerusalén Conquistada*.⁷ In their study of Fonseca's response to Lope's poem, Francisca Moya del Baño and María Beltrán Noguer comment that his aim was to undertake a critical evaluation of both the strengths and weaknesses of the poem. Many of his comments were critical such as 'Malísimo' or 'La descripción del Templo y repetición de escrituras parece impertinente (...)', yet they were accompanied by an identification of passages he valued and together they reveal his critical interest in poetry. Moya del Baño's research then led her to a text not by Fonseca but one that he owned, in this case a manuscript biography of the humanist Pedro de Valencia (1555-1620).⁸ The primary interest of the brief biography transcribed by Moya is that it signals Fonseca's interest in scholars and poets both contemporary as well as ancient. A third article by Moya del Baño further demonstrates this by examining Fonseca's interest in Garcilaso de la Vega.⁹ In his lengthy comments Fonseca demonstrates himself to be a sharp critical reader with an extensive knowledge of Latin and Greek as well as of classical and modern Spanish and Italian poetry. Moya del Baño writes:

Fonseca nos amplía el abanico de Fuentes y lecturas garcilasianas, por no haber sido vistas algunas de ellas por los que comentaron antes el poeta, y volvemos a ver claro que sin los clásicos Garcilaso nunca hubiese sido nuestro Garcilaso.¹⁰

⁷ Francisca Moya del Baño and María Beltrán Noguer, 'Las notas de D. Juan de Fonseca a la "Jerusalén" de Lope de Vega', *Estudios románicos*, 5 (1987-1989), 996-1009. It may be downloaded at: <http://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=2667818>.

⁸ Francisca Moya del Baño, 'Don Juan de Fonseca y Figueroa y la biografía de Pedro de Valencia del Manuscrito Biblioteca Nacional 5781', *Myrtia*, 3 (1988), 9-18. This may be downloaded at: <http://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=116552>.

⁹ Francisca Moya del Baño, 'Los comentarios de J. de Fonseca a Garcilaso', in Victor García de la Concha (ed.), *Garcilaso: actas de la IV Academia Literaria Renacentista, Universidad de Salamanca* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1993), pp. 201-234.

¹⁰ Moya del Baño, 'Comentarios de Fonseca a Garcilaso', p. 211. 'Fonseca broadens the range of sources and readings of Garcilaso, which had not been noted by some of those that previously commented on the poet, and it is made clear to us that without the classical authors Garcilaso would never have become our Garcilaso'.

The final four articles of the growing literature on Fonseca all document his knowledge and mastery of Latin and especially his interest in Terence. José Ortega Castejón examined Fonseca's philological study and his interest in Terence has been the topic of three articles. Milagros del Amo Lozano and Moya del Baño have examined the views he exchanged with don Juan de Solórzano y Pereira.¹¹ A further two articles by del Amo Lozano with Filomena Fortuny Previ examine Fonseca's study of Terence's *Andria*.¹² Not only do these articles provide valuable insights into the scholarly interests of Juan de Fonseca; they also shed light on the exchange of scholarly opinion in manuscript form between scholars in early seventeenth-century Spain. It is in relation to both these facets of Fonseca, the scholar with broad interests which he pursued through correspondence with other scholars, that new evidence for Fonseca may now be discussed.

A letter held in the British Library, with the classmark MS Burn. 364 (fol. 28), reveals that Fonseca's 'fame' extended beyond the Spanish frontier to France, and to the Royal Library in Paris itself in the person of Isaac Casaubon. In the research on Casaubon that dates back to the efforts of his son to publish his letters there is to date no evidence of his having any contact with Spanish scholars. Pattison's biography of Casaubon offers no insight into any Hispanic connections, and the same is the case with more recent research such as John Considine's concise

¹¹ José Ortega Castejón, 'Sobre el significado de línea en latín y las explicaciones de D. Juan de Fonseca y Juan Luis de La Cerda', in José María Maestre Maestre – Joaquín Pascual Barea (eds), *Humanismo y pervivencia del mundo clásico: actas del I Simposio sobre Humanismo y pervivencia del mundo clásico* (Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz, 1993), II, 687-698. Francisco Moya del Baño – Milagros del Amo Lozano, 'Dos epístolas "filológicas" con "Andria" de tema: de Fonseca y Figueroa a Solórzano Pereira y respuesta de Solórzano a Fonseca', *Myrtia*, 23 (2008), 287-314. This can be downloaded at: <http://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=3017486>. See also Milagros del Amo Lozano, 'Cuestiones retóricas en el comentario de Fonseca y Figueroa a la Andria', in Trinidad Arcos Pereira – Jorge Fernández López – Francisca Moya del Baño (eds), *'Pectora Mulcet': Estudios de retórica y oratoria latinas* (Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, Ayuntamiento de Calahorra, 2009), pp. 927-940.

¹² Milagros del Amo Lozano – Filomena Fortuny Previ, "'Andria" 88: el comentario de Juan de Fonseca', in Mariano Valverde Sánchez – Esteban Antonio Calderón Dorda – Alicia Morales Ortiz (eds), *Koinòs lógos: homenaje al profesor José García López* (Murcia: Universidad, 2006), I, 51-62 – this may be downloaded at: http://www.um.es/publicaciones/digital/pdfs/Koinos_Logos_I.pdf; Milagros del Amo Lozano and Filomena Fortuny Previ, 'Terencio explica a Terencio: las citas terencianas en el comentario de Juan de Fonseca a "Andria"', *Myrtia*, 20 (2005), 223-242; this may be downloaded at: <http://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=2031805>.

biographical account in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* and other more specialised studies of facets of Casaubon's scholarship.¹³ Naturally, Casaubon's scholarship and relationships to Joseph Justus Scaliger and other Northern scholars have attracted much scholarly attention, and linked to this is the fact of Casaubon's religious faith which may have discouraged him from seeking scholarly correspondents in Southern Europe. However, as the following letter shows, it is apparent (and this is no surprise) that his scholarship was not bound by devotional differences. The transcription of the Latin text is followed by a translation generously contributed by Jeremy Lawrance.¹⁴

Juan de Fonseca to Isaac Casaubon, Seville 1 August 1607

Clarissimo Isaaco Casaubono. D. Ioannes de Fonseca S.D.

Saepe (vir clarissime) chartam atroci stilo deformatam, timide reiectam, nondum finitam reliquisse fateor, ita animus spe commotus, timore perturbatus exaratas literas letheo¹⁵ aut letho traddere (*sic!*) malebat quam literatorum literatissimum in hanc arenam prouocare aut responsionis vinculo ligatum tenere. Tandem cessationem vicit affectio, et candorem tuum, hospitalitatem, uerae uirtutis indolem, Apollinis tripodem, Musarum antra interpellare (*sic!*) audeo. Nemo (ipsa testis fides) mihi inter mortales in maiori unquam pretio et nemini (meum amorem testor) ego deuinctior. Diu hos distuli conatus et diu fateor ab stylo temperasse, sed nihilo minus ut inter cineres ignis, sic in hoc discidio, meo in animo mei affectus aestuabant et, licet timore detenti, audacia prorumpabant. Oneri tandem succumbo et ad indicium mei circa te amoris hanc scribo; cum

¹³ Mark Pattison, *Isaac Casaubon, 1559-1614* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1892). See <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4851>. Nor is any reference to Hispanic contacts found in the recent research by Hélène Parenty, *Isaac Casaubon helléniste: Des studia humanitatis à la philologie* (Geneva: Droz, 2009); Alastair Hamilton, 'Isaac Casaubon the Arabist: "Video Longum Esse Iter"', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 72 (2009), 143-168; Anthony Grafton – Joanna Weinberg, *"I have always loved the holy tongue": Isaac Casaubon, the Jews, and a forgotten chapter in Renaissance scholarship* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2011).

¹⁴ The punctuation has been modernised. The original spelling has been kept, but e or ae were adapted to current spelling, and ζ was changed into c. Abbreviations have been resolved. Letters between square brackets should be deleted.

¹⁵ in ras. leteo, leto.

ego partes religionis impleuerim, expecto ut¹⁶ tu etiam uicissitudinis solutione fungaris. Quid mihi felicius quam Phœbi oracula iri sciscitatum?

O linguam miro uerborum fonte fluentem
Romani decus eloquii: cui cedat et ipse
Tullius.¹⁷

Nec tuae laudes Curione egent¹⁸, ἀνὴρ δαιμόνιος τὴν σοφίαν¹⁹: egone homuncio de illis agam? Egi ad tempus cum tuo (dicam meo?) Roberto Scheildero, iuueni admodum ingenuo. Et ne calua uolaret occasio (*sic!*)²⁰, epistolam exaratam mis[s]i, ut offerret animus quæ non possidet. scio librorum supectilem (*sic!*) omnibus caram, præcipuè illorum quorum (*sic!*) nondum typographica manu laborarunt. Et horum copia fortè suppeditat. Et si tabellarii fides spectata esset, Petri Ciaconii (nosti uirum) non paucas in Plinium emendationes et /(f.28^v) [et] notas (nam te hoc labore detentum cognoui) libentissimè mitterem, εἰ πλέον εἶχον πλέον ἐδίδου.²¹ Nam si inter nos (ô utinam!) prout in me radices extendit, amicitia crescit, nonnullos Arabicos libellos (etsi, libros) tibi in uoluptatem, reipublicae in bonum, hilari fronte, amica manu condonabo. Scies interim, uir doctissime, de Artemidoro multoties excogitasse. Et ni quirilians tuam opem et manum salutarem imploro, nec uerbum de isto facere sum ausus. Rigaltius Spicilegium reliquit in tanta²² messe; ideo quae in toto fere anno notaueram, typis non post multos dies mandare decreui. Et non quia promis[s]i beneficium repeto (repetere enim non est à uiro cuius memoriam multitudo rerum confudit, stoico disertissimo auctore)²³; vere illo afficiar si ex seriis distractus ualetudinem tuam epistolae mandaueris. Vale, Galliae (Europae dicam) lux, et me ama. Hispali, Kalendis Augusti anno MDCVII.

D. Ioannes de Fonseca

¹⁶ ut *ipse* in ras.

¹⁷ Prud., c. *Symm.*, 1, 633–635.

¹⁸ Mart., 2, praefatio: 'epigrammata curione non egent et contenta sunt sua, id est mala, lingua'.

¹⁹ Lucian., *Philopseud.*, 32.

²⁰ Ps. Cat., *dist.*, 2, 26: 'fronte capillata post est occasio calva'.

²¹ Macr., *sat.*, 2, 4, 31.

²² Intā ante corr. Cf. Italian 'in tante messe' (abbondanza, caterva).

²³ Sen., *ben.*, 5, 25, 1: 'Quid ergo? non repeteret beneficium ab imperatore, cuius memoriam multitudo rerum confuderat, quem fortuna ingens exercitus disponentem non patiebatur singulis militibus occurrere? Non est hoc repetere beneficium, sed resumere bono loco positum et paratum, ad quod tamen ut sumatur manus porrigenda est'.

To the most distinguished Isaac Casaubon, Don Juan de Fonseca gives greeting,

I confess, most distinguished friend, that I have often left this epistle, disfigured by an atrocious style, timidly rejected and unfinished, so much did mind, moved by hope but perturbed by anxiety, prefer to consign the written letters to Lethæan oblivion or death, rather than to provoke the most literate of literary men to this bearpit, or oblige him with the necessity of a reply. But finally affection overcame delay, and I dare to address your candour, hospitality, and character of true virtue, Apollo's tripod and grotto of the Muses. No one among mortals (fidelity itself is my witness) has ever been more prized by me, and to no one (I call to witness my love) am I more closely bound. For a long time I put off this effort, and I confess I long held back my pen, but, torn as I was, my feelings boiled in my mind no less than fire among ashes, and though held back by timidity, they boldly broke forth. So at last I give in to the burden that weighs upon me, and write this [epistle] as a sign of my love towards you; and as I shall fulfilled my part of respectful devotion, so you will repay me with a reply. What can be more fortunate for me than to approach the oracle of Phoebus for a consultation?

Oh tongue flowing with the marvellous fount of words,
ornament of Roman eloquence, to whom even Cicero
gives way.

Nor do your praises 'need a herald', 'man of superhuman wisdom'; what does a dwarf like me have to do deal with these? I dealt in time with your noble young friend (may I say mine too?), Robert Scheilder, and lest Time's forelock should fly through my fingers, I sent the letter I had written out, so that my mind should offer what it does not possess. I know that a store of books is dear to all, especially of those volumes which they have not yet worked upon with the printer's hand; and of these I have by chance a sufficient abundance. And if the fidelity of the messenger was beyond doubt, I would very gladly send several of the emendations and notes to Pliny of Pedro Chacón (you know the man), (f. 28v) since I know that you are engaged in this work: 'if I had more, I would give more'. For if (as I hope) our friendship grows as much as it has put down roots in me, I shall gladly give you with a friend's hand some small Arabic pamphlets (though they are complete books) for your pleasure and the benefit of the commonwealth. You will know meanwhile, most learned friend,

that I have been thinking a great deal about Artemidorus, and unless I mournfully implore your help and saving hand, I don't dare say a word about him. Rigault left his harvest in such abundance,²⁴ so what I had noted down in nearly a whole year I have decided to have printed in a few days' time; and not because I promised this, do I ask a recompense for the benefit of my promise (since from a man whose memory is confused by a multitude of things one cannot talk of 'asking recompense', as the most eloquent Stoic author has it). Truly I shall be affected by it, if you will be distracted from serious matters to describe your state of health in a letter. Farewell, beacon of France (or Europe, should I say?), and love me. Seville, 1 August 1607.

Don Juan de Fonseca

My current research on the Olivares library or that of colleagues working in related fields may go on to shed further light on the origins of this epistolary exchange as well as the issues it addressed, in particular the collection and reading of manuscripts by scholars such as Pedro Chacón or works by and commentaries on classical authors such as Pliny and Artemidorus; all three figured in Olivares' collection. However, the focus of this article is the new information it provides on Fonseca, as a correspondent with European scholars and above all as an Arabist.

Firstly, the reference to Robert Scheilder provides an important connection to understand the network of scholarly correspondence that spread from Spain across Europe. Gilbert Tournoy has studied Scheilder's correspondence with the scholars Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado, Justus Lipsius and Isaac Casaubon.²⁵ In his article Tournoy describes

²⁴ Cf. 'messi facta spicilegium venire oportet', Varro, *R.R.*, 1, 53. Nicolas Rigault (pseud. J. B. Aeduus, 1577-1654), French scholar and editor of Phaedrus, Martial, Juvenal, Tertullian, Minucius Felix, Saint Cyprian, *Rei accipitrariae scriptores* (1612), and *Rei agrariae scriptores* (1613), acted as librarian to Louis XIII. He published *Artemidori Daldiani et Achmetis Sereimi f. [Muhammad b.n Sīrīn al-Baṣrī] Oneirocritica. Astrampsychi et Nicephori Versus etiam oneirocritici. Nicolai Rigaltii ad Artemidorum notae* (Lutetiae: ex officina C. Morelli, 1603).

²⁵ Gilbert Tournoy, 'A Correspondent of Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado and of Justus Lipsius: Robert de Scheilder', in María Maestre Maestre – Charlo Brea – Pascual Barea, *Humanismo y pervivencia*, pp. 1249-1262. Tournoy has also examined the relationship of Casaubon and Lipsius in "'Ad ultimas inscitiae lineas imus'". Justus Lipsius and Isaac Casaubon in the changing world of classical scholarship', in Marc Laureys e.a. (eds), *The World of Justus Lipsius: A Contribution towards his Intellectual Biography. Proceedings*

Scheilder's career as a scholar which led him to enter the service of Don Baltasar de Zuñiga y Fonseca (1561-1622), who was no less than the uncle of the future Count-Duke of Olivares, whom Fonseca would have already become acquainted with at the University of Salamanca. In a letter sent on the 2nd of March 1606 to Justus Lipsius, Scheilder comments that his master had left for Spain the previous day. Tournoy reveals that Scheilder travelled with him and while there wrote a series of letters to Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado at Salamanca, and in one letter he asks after Ramírez's colleague Juan de Fonseca and enquires if he had completed his commentary on Terence's *Andria* and if he planned to publish it. To complete the links between the constellation of scholars and manuscripts one of the articles cited by Nicolas Antonio and listed above was addressed by Fonseca to Ramírez de Prado, but unfortunately this is yet to be found. No responses to Scheilder's enquiry have yet been discovered. The correspondence reveals that Scheilder's first stay in Spain extended beyond the planned three months. Although, his direct contact with these learned circles in Spain was cut short by Zuñiga's appointment as Ambassador to the Imperial court in Prague, Tournoy states, 'there is much more to discover about Robert de Scheilder, especially in connection with his life at the service of Baltasar de Zuñiga in Prague and especially in Madrid'.²⁶ Tournoy outlines the sure foundations for his claim. Firstly, Scheilder's service to Zuñiga was rewarded with promotion; most notably on the 24th September 1621 he was appointed the Chancellor of the Golden Fleece. Furthermore, with properties in Arras and Madrid, he maintained contact with scholars in Spain and Northern Europe through correspondence and travel; for example, he wrote to Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc (1580-1637) about plans to visit Peter Paul Rubens; and when he died in Madrid his property and the books he had kept there were left to Lucas Van Torre. With regard to the concerns of this article Tournoy's research serves to provide a context for Fonseca's correspondence with Casaubon; it highlights the

of a Colloquium held under the Auspices of the Belgian Historical Institute in Rome (Rome, 22-24 May 1997), Bulletin van het Belgisch Historisch Instituut te Rome, 68 (Brussels – Rome, 1998), pp. 191-208. Recent research in this journal has further extended our understanding of this network of contacts: Alejandra Guzmán Almagro, 'Lucas van der Torre, Van Torre, Torrius: La identidad de un erudito flamenco a la luz de algunos documentos'; Dirk Sacré, 'Torrius. Appendix: Some Unpublished or Little-known Documents', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 59 (2010), 165-189; 291-211.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1259.

many connections between scholars in Spain and Northern Europe, as the correspondence of Justus Lipsius also confirms, and also signals the importance of the diplomatic connections between Spain and the rest of Europe as a means of facilitating the travel of scholars.²⁷ A different case but still indicative of a Hispanic interest in the figure and work of Isaac Casaubon was the enquiry into the real author (perhaps Erycius Puteanus or Cornelius Breda), who was behind the publication of a treatise, *Corona Regia*, published in 1615 under Casaubon's name.²⁸

Scheilder may well have provided a contact for Fonseca with Casaubon, for he comments to Ramirez in another letter that he was still awaiting a reply from Casaubon. Tournoy discusses how in 1604 Casaubon and Scheilder had first met thanks to an introduction from Janus Lernutius or Jan Lernout (1545-1619). One of the first interests that linked these three scholars was an interest in a manuscript with a commentary on Pliny by the Flemish humanist Victor Giselinus (1539-1591); although Fonseca's letter is written three years later, this earlier contact with Scheilder may explain his offer to 'send several of the emendations and notes to Pliny of Pedro Chacón'.²⁹ Thus far no further lines of enquiry have emerged to learn more about these scholarly connections; however, the multiple connections suffice to show individuals such as Scheilder would have played a role in linking scholars such as Casaubon to Spanish counterparts. Despite lack of further evidence of the connections between them, there are traces of the interests Fonseca discussed with Casaubon in the Olivares library, and these offer a further perspective on the benefits Fonseca gained and could offer through this scholarly exchange.

The first and most significant of these is the shared interest in Arabic. An excellent account of Casaubon's lifelong interest and study of Arabic is offered by Alastair Hamilton in his article 'Isaac Casaubon the Arabist:

²⁷ On Lipsius's relationships to Spain, see Justus Lipsius, *Epistolario de Justo Lipsio y los españoles, 1577-1606*, ed. Alejandro Ramírez (Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 1966).

²⁸ See W. Schleiner's introduction in T. Fyotek – W. Schleiner (eds), *Corona Regia*, Travaux du Grand Siècle, 36 (Geneva: Droz, 2010), pp. 7-24; Gilbert Tournoy, 'Erycius Puteanus, Isaac Casaubon and the Author of the "Corona Regia"', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 49 (2000), 377-390; the essay by Fernando Bouza in the exhibition catalogue, *Anglo-Hispana cinco siglos de autores, editors y lectores entre España y el Reino Unido*, ed. Fernando Bouza (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 2007), pp. 19-54; which may be downloaded here: http://www.mcu.es/publicaciones/docs/MC/AngloHispana/4_FernandoBouza_espanol_anglohispana.pdf.

²⁹ Tournoy, 'A Correspondent of Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado', p. 1253.

‘Video Longum Esse Iter’’.³⁰ Hamilton describes the network of Arabist scholars in Europe and discusses the issues they sought to address through their scholarship. A central aim of these scholars’ study was to be able to incorporate new sources to their study of classical and religious history. However, first they had to learn the language and Hamilton explains how for this purpose they sought to gather textual resources and above create the tools for their scholarship: dictionaries, grammars and glossaries. In this context Fonseca’s offer of ‘small Arabic pamphlets (though they are complete books)’ would have been a welcome gift to Casaubon, who Hamilton describes as ‘delighted by the quantity and variety of Arabic material he discovered’ in Paris.³¹

One of a number of issues that Hamilton addresses is the progress made by Casaubon in his studies. He acknowledges that it is hard to gauge his grasp of the language, but it is evident that it was one facet of an ‘immense interest in all aspects of the Arab world’.³² The same question should be asked of Fonseca, and although our knowledge of his writings do not signal a shared interest in the Arab world, his collecting of manuscripts reveals an interest in the language at the very least.

Hamilton’s discussion of a number of key figures in seventeenth-century Arabism, who were of great importance to Casaubon, gives examples of scholars with a sure command of Arabic. Perhaps the most important for Casaubon was Adriaen Willemsz, who not only aided Casaubon in his studies of Arabic but also worked with him on the publication of a compilation of two hundred proverbs mainly attributed to Abū ‘Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām al-Harawī (c. 770-838 AD).³³ However, this work was cut short by Willemsz’s sudden death in 1604. Thomas Erpenius, ‘the greatest Arabist of his generation’, was a pupil of Scaliger’s who also assisted Casaubon with his studies. One of his major contributions was the publication in 1613 of his *Grammatica arabica, quinque libris methodice explicata* (Leiden: Franciscus Raphelengius, 1613).³⁴ Another important figure was William Bedwell, who gave Casaubon, once established

³⁰ *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 72 (2009), 143-168; see also the appendix by Hamilton titled ‘The Long Apprenticeship: Casaubon and Arabic’ in Grafton – Weinberg, “*I have always loved the holy tongue*”, pp. 293-306.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 144.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 167.

³³ Alastair Hamilton – Arnoud Vrolijk, ‘Hadrianus Guilielmi Flessingensis: The Brief Career of the Arabist Adriaen Willemsz’, *Oriens*, 39 (2011), 1-15.

³⁴ Grafton – Weinberg, “*I have always loved the holy tongue*”, p. 300.

in England, access to the lexicon he was compiling. It is impossible to gauge from the letter to Casaubon to what extent Fonseca mastered the language and can thereby be considered a significant figure in this field of study. However, there is evidence that within Spain at least he sought to contribute to the development of the study of Arabic by creating the necessary resources to master the language and deploy it in scholarship, by writing both a dictionary and a grammar of Arabic. Nicolas Antonio makes no mention of these works, but the manuscript catalogues of the Olivares library reveal they were owned by the first minister to Philip IV, the bibliophile Count-Duke of Olivares.³⁵

The eighteenth-century copy of the 1627 manuscript catalogue of the library of the Count-Duke of Olivares is organised into two parts, an author catalogue, sub-divided into manuscripts and printed books and subdivided again by languages, and a subject catalogue. The two works of Fonseca's Arabic erudition are listed in both the author and subject catalogues. As his name is not given in the author catalogue, the subject catalogue must be examined first. The first entry for the subject Dictionaries, reads: 'Diccionario Arabigo con la declaracion de las dicciones en Castellano. Escribiole D. Joan Fonseca y Figueroa Summiller de Cortina del Rei nro Señor D. Filipo IV. En fol. Regio Cax F. nu. 2'.³⁶ Then under the subject heading of Grammar, another work is found: 'Grammatica Arabiga con las significaciones de los nombres en Latin escrita por D. Joan de Fonseca y Figueroa Sumiller de Cortina del Rei D. Filippe IV en 4º. Fol. F.10'.³⁷ In addition to the lack of any reference to a place or date of publication the explanation of the library classifications given at the outset of the manuscript catalogue makes clear that the '.' following each of the shelf identifiers refers to the shelves reserved for manuscripts. Thus on closer examination of the manuscripts section of the author

³⁵ On the Olivares library see Gregorio de Andrés, 'Historia de la biblioteca del Conde-Duque de Olivares y descripción de sus códices', *Cuadernos Bibliograficos*, 28 (1972), 131-141 and 30 (1973), 5-74; and John H. Elliott *The Count-Duke of Olivares. The Statesman in an Age of Decline* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986). For this paper I have consulted the two 'complete' library catalogues, firstly that held in the Vatican Library, Ms. Barb. Lat. 3098. See Harold G. Jones, *Hispanic manuscripts and printed books in the Barberini collection* (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1978), p. 68. The location of the second catalogue is known only in eighteenth-century copies, and I have consulted that held in the Real Academia de Historia, Madrid, ms. 9/5.729.

³⁶ Real Academia de Historia, Madrid, ms. 9/5.729. f. 264^r.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, f. 311^r.

catalogue under the letter A, in the subsection for Castilian books, is found the entry 'Arte Arabiga. Folio. F.10.'³⁸ A second entry under the letter D, again in the subsection for Castilian, is coherent: 'Diccionario Arabigo con la exposición de los Vocablos en Castellano. Un tomo grande. Fol. F.2.'³⁹ To date only the dictionary has been identified and it awaits closer study by Arabist scholars to identify the extent of Fonseca's mastery of Arabic, yet taken together they are nonetheless a sign that Fonseca made significant advances.

A brief survey of the process of the identification of Fonseca's manuscript is valuable to provide a framework for further research, but also because it reveals other Arabic language resources. To date the only focused bibliographical study of the Olivares library is two articles by Gregorio de Andrés's in which he publishes sections of two of the four extant manuscripts catalogues. In these works he not only published some of the catalogue entries cited above, but also brought attention to the fact that Julian Zarco Cuevas had previously identified the Dictionary. In volume III of the *Catálogo de los manuscritos castellanos en la real biblioteca de el Escorial* he identified 'Manuscrito árabe núm. 599, Vocabulario árabe-castellano' as in the hand of Fonseca on the basis of two other manuscripts by Fonseca in the Escorial library.⁴⁰ Perhaps the most relevant aspect of Zarco's description is the detail that the manuscript was 780 pages long, suggesting that Fonseca had made some advance in his knowledge of the language. He also notes that the eighteenth-century Arabist Miguel Casiri had consulted the book and accorded it the following title: 'Dictionarium Arabico-Hispanium magnae Molis, sine aera = Pro vocibus Arabicis magis exoticis'.⁴¹

Zarco also noted that the work was from the Olivares library and he noted its original classmark. Andrés' contribution was to trace this work

³⁸ *Ibid.*, f. 122v; Vatican Library, Ms. Barb. Lat. 3098, f. 121r; Andrés, 'Historia de la biblioteca del Conde-Duque de Olivares', p. 23.

³⁹ Real Academia de Historia, Madrid, ms. 9/5.729, f. 133r; Vatican, Ms. Barb. Lat. 3098, f. 126r; Andrés, 'Historia de la biblioteca del Conde-Duque de Olivares', p. 34.

⁴⁰ Julian Zarco Cuevas, *Catálogo de los manuscritos castellanos en la real biblioteca de el Escorial*, III (San Lorenzo de El Escorial, 1929), 192. For the other manuscript by Fonseca see *ibid.*, II, 234.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* Fonseca's work may be the one listed as item DXCVI, *Dictionarium Arabico-Hispanum*, in Miguel Cerisi's *Bibliotheca arabigo-hispana escurialensis sive librorum omnium Mss. quos arabicè ab auctoribus magnam partem arabo-hispanis...* (Madrid: Antonio Pérez de Soto, 1760). The absence of any reference to the Grammar suggests that Fonseca's two works were separated.

in the catalogues of the Count-Duke's library and not only confirm the authorship of this work, but also reveal the existence of the Arabic Grammar which may now be identified as also by Fonseca. This identification was not published sooner because Andrés published only parts of two of the four catalogues of the Olivares library.⁴²

In the first of the two articles on the Olivares library Andrés published the complete manuscripts author catalogue of the most complete copy of the 1627 catalogue of the Count-Duke's library.⁴³ As such the anonymous entries for both volumes were published, but as this study was not cross referenced with the subject catalogue their authorship remained concealed.⁴⁴ However, in this first article Andrés did identify the classmark of 'Diccionario Arabigo...' with the manuscript identified by Zarco, but he made no reference to Zarco's identification of its authorship.

In his second article, Andrés published Juan de Iriate's selective transcription of the 1627 subject catalogue which included the full reference to the 'Gramatica Arabiga' including the name of its author, but no mention of the Dictionary.⁴⁵ Iriate's partial transcription of the catalogue's subject section, which includes two entries from the section on 'Diálogos' before moving on to 'Disparates' and thus leaving out 'Diccionarios; Dichos y Hechos; Dinamarca; Dios, Deus; Dioses', is explained by Andrés as being motivated by an interest in manuscripts he hoped to acquire for the Royal Library.⁴⁶ However, the absence of any reference to Fonseca's Arabic Dictionary is striking as Iriate's transcription of the catalogue's manuscripts section (not published by Andrés) includes entries for both the Grammar and the Dictionary, and as in the entry for the Dictionary additional information is supplied; the identification of Fonseca as its author.⁴⁷ However, having undertaken a transcription of the principal catalogues I can now establish that Fonseca wrote both a Dictionary and a Grammar of Arabic.

⁴² Three of the four manuscripts are referred to in this article. The fourth is in the Biblioteca Real, Palacio Real Madrid, ms. II/1379.

⁴³ Andrés, 'Historia de la biblioteca del Conde-Duque de Olivares'.

⁴⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 22 and 34. See his first article for information on the formation of the library.

⁴⁵ Gregorio de Andrés, 'Biblioteca Selecta del Conde Duque D. Gaspar de Guzman: Segunda Parte: Materias', *Cuadernos para Investigación de la Literatura Hispánica*, 21 (1996), 115-142 (p. 129); Juan de Iriate, *Mss. Yriate: Libri MSS del Conde Duque de San Lucar*, Palma de Mallorca, Fundación Bartolomé March, B99-B-02(2), f. 169^r.

⁴⁶ Andrés, 'Biblioteca Selecta del Conde Duque D. Gaspar de Guzman', p. 123.

⁴⁷ Fundación Bartolomé March, B99-B-02(2), f. 23^r, f. 47^v.

It seems unlikely that Fonseca's Arabic Grammar eluded scholars such as Zarco and Andrés and this is confirmed by a survey of the Escorial collections of Spanish manuscripts. Almost all the other works in Zarco's catalogue are identified as by later authors. Zarco lists: *Syntaxis de la Gramatica Arabiga: o de la union de las partes de la Oracion* signed by the Hieronymite friar Juan de Cuenca (1729-1795)⁴⁸; *Diccionario castellano-árabe griego-latino*⁴⁹; *Epitome de la Gramatica Arabiga en que se explica la Lengua Araba en la Castellana...* by the Franciscan Friar Berandino Gonzalez, which was completed in 1719⁵⁰; *Tratado de las letras del alfabeto arabé* bound with thirty nine other works including *Refranes árabes y castellanos* identified as in the hand of another hieronymite friar, Father Patricio de la Torre (1760-1819)⁵¹; finally, there are three other works by de la Torre, *Gramática arábigo castellana, Colección de refranes y adagios árabes, y su traducción castellana* and finally *Significado de algunos vocablos árabes* which was included in the volume with the work by Juan de Cuenca. No other works have come to light. Study of these authors may reveal their use of Fonseca's dictionary and suggest other libraries or collectors where his *Grammar* may be traced. However, for the present it is important to note the fact that there is no trace of Fonseca's interests in Arabic being shared by his immediate contemporaries in Spain — and hence the importance of correspondence with scholars such as Casaubon.

Further research on Fonseca's scholarship, Arabism in Spain and the collecting of Arabic books is needed in order to better gauge the significance of these bibliographical finds. Olivares did not own any other Arabic dictionaries or grammars, nor are works in Arabic well represented. These works will be discussed at a later date. However, the suspicion Arabic books may have prompted in Spain may be one reason why, apart from the obvious difficulties of the language, they were not well represented in the library. Yet Olivares did take advantage of his permission to own two prohibited books in Arabic, referred to only as, 'Libro en Arabigo. 8. M.S.

⁴⁸ Zarco, 'Catalogo', I, 321. See also B. Justel Calabozo, *El monje escurialense Juan de Cuenca (estudioso, cortesano, helenista y arabista)* (Cádiz: Servicio de Publicaciones, Universidad de Cádiz, 1987).

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 232. For information on Gonzalez and other Franciscans see the digital resource *Catálogo bibliográfico de traductores, lexicógrafos y escritores en lengua extranjera franciscanos españoles*, available at <http://www.traduccion-franciscanos.uva.es/cat-intro.php>.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, III, 154.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, I, 347.

de medicina; Libro de la moralidad en Arabigo. 8'.⁵² The Vatican Library's manuscript of the catalogue of Olivares's library, which was most likely made as a gift to Cardinal Francesco Barberini during his visit to Madrid in 1626 and who granted Olivares permission to own prohibited books, includes a special section listing his prohibited books. It is absent from the other catalogues. In this section along with these two Arabic works there is also the only reference to a work by Isaac Casaubon, 'Isacci Casauboni de rebus sacris et Ecclesiasticis. Exercitationes quatuor. 4'; the identification of this as a quarto volume suggests Olivares may have owned the 1615 Frankfurt edition of *Isaaci Casauboni de rebus sacris et ecclesiasticis exercitationes xvi, ad cardinalis Baronii prolegomena in Annales*.⁵³ Fonseca's association with Olivares clearly enabled him to pursue his scholarly studies unhindered by the control and jurisdiction of the Church, however this factor may go some way to explaining the silence that surrounds his study of Arabic and correspondence with Protestant scholars.

The issue of censorship also seems to effect the second of Fonseca's interests cited in the letter to Fonseca, his study of Artemidorus. What contribution Casaubon may have made to Fonseca's study is harder to trace. The only vague evidence of Fonseca's interest is that he may have advised the Count-Duke to include a volume by Artemidorus in his library.⁵⁴ That both scholar and bibliophile should share an interest in Artemidorus is a further sign of the growing scholarly study of this author discussed by Elisa Ruiz Garcia.⁵⁵ The evidence for this is again found in the list of prohibited books. Folio 160^v includes 'Artemidorus de somniorum interpretatione incerto interprete. in. 8'.⁵⁶ The brief entries of this list of prohibited books do not specify whether it was a printed or manuscript book. The 1632 *Novus Index Librorum Prohibitorum et Expurgatorum* lists three editions of Artemidorus, although no precise title is given, and the only identifying feature they are given is as Castilian, French and Italian.⁵⁷ As yet I have not been able to ascertain whether

⁵² Vatican, Ms. Barb. Lat. 3098, f. 164^v. On Olivares' permission to own books prohibited by the Catholic Church see Elliott, *The Count-Duke of Olivares*, p. 25.

⁵³ Ibid, f. 164⁴. No further information as to which edition this was is provided.

⁵⁴ A brief mention of Artemidorus is found in Parenty, *Isaac Casaubon*, p. 89.

⁵⁵ Elisa Ruiz Garcia, 'Artemidoro y la arqueología del saber onírocrítico', *Codex aquilarensis: Cuadernos de Investigación del Monasterio de Santa Maria la Real*, 18 (2002), 29-50.

⁵⁶ Vatican, Ms. Barb. Lat. 3098, f. 160^v.

⁵⁷ Antonio Zapata (1551-1635), *Novus Index Librorum Prohibitorum et Expurgatorum* (Hispani: Ex Typographeo Francisci de Lyra, 1632), p. 29.

Rigault's work is the one referred to as the French Artemidorus, but the fact that he wrote it in Latin would seem likely to discount that. Further research on these editions remains to be done, but the conjunction of this interest with Fonseca's study of Arabic and prohibited authors highlights the fact that he belonged to a privileged circle of scholars that were not bound by the restrictions imposed by the Inquisition. In the years following 1607 Fonseca would proceed to move still closer into such circles, and through his close relationship to Francisco Rioja and the Count-Duke of Olivares he would gain a still greater access to a wide range of books. While he may not have taken advantage of his position to pursue his study of Artemidorus he clearly worked on Arabic. The fruits of his Arabic study remain to be examined, but they may contribute to a better understanding of the fame of this enigmatic scholar.

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HIEREMIAS DREXEL AND THE COMMONPLACE TRADITION:
THE DIRECT AND INDIRECT SOURCES OF *ORBIS PHAËTHON**

In 1629, Hieremias Drexel, one of the most influential Catholic preachers of seventeenth-century Germany, published his *Orbis Phaëthon*, an impressive emblem book on vices of the tongue. In two large volumes, counting over six hundred pages each, Drexel discusses forty-three vices of the tongue, arranged according to the twenty-three letters of the Latin alphabet. The last three letters, X, Y and Z, contain an overview of remedies to cure a vicious tongue, as Drexel was unable to find vices starting with these letters.¹ Each letter is accompanied by an engraving depicting the vices discussed in the following chapters.

The lengthy treatise is based on sermons which had been delivered by Drexel several years earlier at the court of Maximilian I, Duke of Bavaria. In the dedicatory letter to his *Orbis Phaëthon*, Drexel explicitly states that he had started preaching on the subject in 1619 and afterwards reworked these sermons to compose his book on vicious tongues.²

Like Drexel's other works, *Orbis Phaëthon* soon became a major success. The book had numerous re-editions all over Europe and was finally integrated into the standard *Opera Omnia* edition by Petrus de Vos, which was published in Antwerp in 1643.³ Separate reprints of the book

* I would like to express my sincerest thanks to Prof. Dr. Toon Van Houdt for his generous help during the preparation of this article. I would also like to thank Dr. William McCuaig for correcting my English.

¹ Toon Van Houdt, 'Hieremias Drexel's Emblem Book *Orbis Phaëthon* (1629): Moral Message and Strategies of Persuasion', in K.A.E. Enenkel - A.S.Q. Visser (eds.), *Mundus Emblematicus. Studies in Neo-Latin Emblem Books*, Imago Figurata: Studies, 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 325-327.

² In his dedicatory letter Drexel states: 'Anno Christiano millesimo sexcentesimo decimo nono, ista pro suggestu docere coepi: et inde haec scriptio' (Hieremias Drexel, *Orbis Phaëthon. Hoc est de universis vitijis linguae* (Munich: Melchior Segen, 1629), I, without pagination).

³ Van Houdt, 'Hieremias Drexel's Emblem Book *Orbis Phaëthon* (1629)', p. 328.

continued to appear until well into the eighteenth century.⁴ Only two years after its original publication, *Orbis Phaëthon* had its first translation, into German by Joachim Meichel.⁵ Further translations into several European languages followed.⁶

Drexel's main objective was to offer his reader practical advice for a more virtuous life. He does this by means of extensive explanations of all the important vices of the tongue, including the less well known ones. Starting with a definition of the sin in question, he proceeds to explain its characteristics, illustrating his discourse with examples taken from numerous sources, ranging from the Bible and ancient authorities to medieval and even contemporary writers.

When reading *Orbis Phaëthon*, the reader is indeed immediately struck by the impressive abundance of sources indicated in both the text and the footnotes. At first sight, Drexel appears to be a man of extraordinary erudition, who had read and carefully studied much of the available literature, both old and new, and had put this knowledge to use in his writings. But is this really the case? Did Drexel truly read all the original sources or did he seek guidance from other works in his search for relevant materials? More specifically, what was the influence of the contemporary commonplace tradition on Drexel's *Orbis Phaëthon*?

A close examination of Drexel's sermons reveals that many of his sources, both those indicated in the footnotes and those mentioned in the body of the text, can in fact be traced back to only two contemporary commonplace books. In the present article, I will discuss their influence on Drexel's *Orbis Phaëthon*. Furthermore, I will clarify Drexel's relation to one of his predecessors, Ioannes Pelecyus, who wrote a treatise very similar to *Orbis Phaëthon*. Finally, I will draw some general conclusions on Drexel's use of contemporary commonplace works.

⁴ Peter M. Daly – G. Richard Dimler, *Corpus Librorum Emblematum. The Jesuit Series* (Buffalo-London-Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), II, 137-150 and 198-226.

⁵ Hieremias Drexel – Joachim Meichel, *Zungenschleiffer oder Brinnende Weltkugel von bösen Zungen angezündet* (Munich: Cornelius Leysser, 1631).

⁶ Translations continued to appear until the second half of the nineteenth century. See Karl Pörnbacher, *Jeremias Drexel. Leben und Werk eines Barockpredigers* (Munich: Seitz, 1965), pp. 180-181 and Daly – Dimler, *Corpus Librorum Emblematum*, II, 137-150 and 198-226.

1. Janus Gruterus and his *Florilegium magnum*

Authoritative scholars such as Pörnbacher⁷ and Breidenbach⁸ have completely ignored the possibility of indirect transmission, most likely because they were misguided by Drexel's own statements in his *Aurifodina*.⁹ For several decades, their theories remained unchallenged, until Toon Van Houdt formulated the hypothesis that Janus Gruterus's *Florilegium magnum, seu polyanthea*, a seventeenth-century commonplace book, may have been an important source for Drexel's treatise on vices of the tongue.¹⁰ Here, however, I will show that the extent of Gruterus's impact on Drexel's *Orbis Phaëthon* is limited. It will prove to be far too modest to have formed Drexel's main source. Another commonplace book played a far greater role in the writing of *Orbis Phaëthon*.

*Florilegium magnum, seu polyanthea*¹¹ was written by Janus Gruterus¹², a scholar from an Antwerp family which had fled to England during the Dutch Revolt. They later returned to Leiden, where Gruterus completed his education. After the siege of Antwerp by Spain, the family travelled around for some years, after which Janus Gruterus became a professor in Wittenberg and later Heidelberg. He edited a number of classical works and made a collection of epigraphs. In 1624, he published *Florilegium magnum, seu polyanthea*, a commonplace book in the tradition of Joseph

⁷ Pörnbacher, *Jeremias Drexel*, pp. 159-167.

⁸ Heribert Breidenbach, *Der Emblematiker Jeremias Drexel S.J. (1581-1638). Mit einer Einführung in die Jesuitenemblemik und einer Bibliographie der Jesuitenemblem-bücher* (Ann Arbor: Xerox university microfilms international, 1970), pp. 120-122.

⁹ In his *Aurifodina* Drexel elaborates his own views on the proper way of reading and studying. He insists on the importance of note-taking while reading so that you will always have a variety of materials at your disposal. Drexel there states that existing compilations are in no way sufficient for a good scholar (*Hieremias Drexel, Aurifodina artium et scientiarum omnium excerptendi sollertia, omnibus litterarum amantibus monstrata* (Munich: Cornelius Leysser, 1638), especially I, X). For more information on the views on note-taking in Drexel's *Aurifodina*, see: Pörnbacher, *Jeremias Drexel*, pp. 51-53; Florian Neumann, 'Jeremias Drexel's *Aurifodina* und die *Ars excerptendi* bei den Jesuiten', in Helmut Zedelmaier – Martin Mulsow (eds.), *Die Praktiken der Gelehrsamkeit in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Frühe Neuzeit, 64 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2001), pp. 51-61.

¹⁰ Van Houdt, 'Hieremias Drexel's Emblem Book *Orbis Phaëthon* (1629)', pp. 332-334.

¹¹ Janus Gruterus, *Florilegium magnum, seu polyanthea* (Strasbourg: Heredes Lazari Zetneri, 1624).

¹² For more information, see: Peter Fuchs, 'Gruter(us) (de Gruytere) Jan(us)', in *Neue Deutsche Biographie* (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1966), VII, 238-240; 'Janus Gruter', in Wilhelm Kühlmann – Volker Hartmann und Susann El Kholi (eds.), *Die deutschen Humanisten. Dokumente zur Überlieferung der antiken und mittelalterlichen Literatur in der Frühen Neuzeit*, 1: *Die Kurpfalz* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 1/2, 531-1105.

Lang's *Polyanthea nova*.¹³ Both works collect useful excerpts in chapters according to 'commonplaces', which are arranged in alphabetical order so as to ensure a quick and efficient consultation. As was the case for other commonplace books, their main intention was to provide scholars with a clear overview of relevant text passages on common themes. They were conceived as a kind of treasure chest from which early modern writers could draw their materials. Even though Drexel expresses a certain reservation about the completeness of such commonplace works¹⁴, two commonplace books will prove to be essential in solving the question of Drexel's sources. I will start by taking a closer look at Gruterus's impact. Traces of Gruterus's influence are rather easy to find. In fact, they can hardly be overlooked. Drexel was unable to hide this source due to a peculiarity in Gruterus's classification methods.¹⁵ Unlike most commonplace writers, who generally indicate the original sources of all of their citations, Gruterus integrates extensive lists of one- and two-line quotations into his work without specification of their origin. He simply groups them under general headings like 'Monosticha trochaica' or 'Jambica'. In Gruterus's *Florilegium magnum* these represent mere formal classifications. Drexel, however, treats them as if they were indications of the original source of the sentences. This resulted in rather cryptic notes such as 'Vet.Iamb.', which can be found as references in Drexel's footnotes, just like real sources. By way of illustration, I present a few examples from chapter XXII of the first book of *Orbis Phaëthon*. 'Simulat aliud, aliudque agit dolus malus' (XXII, 4) gets the footnote 'Vet. Iamb.'. The citation can be found in Gruterus's chapter 'Doli' under the heading 'Iambica'. 'Qui struit dolum alteri, idem ipse eum struit sibi' (XXII, 5) and 'Qui dolose agit, virtute (*sic!*) se fatetur imparem' (XXII, 5) are accompanied by the note 'Monost. Troch.'. They too are found in Gruterus's

¹³ Ann Moss, 'Emblems into commonplaces. The Anthologies of Joseph Langius', in Enenkel – Visser (eds.), *Mundus Emblematicus*, pp. 13-15. See also the next chapter of this article.

¹⁴ Drexel, *Aurifodina artium et scientiarum*, especially I, X. The eighth argument for the use of note-taking addresses the existence of commonplace works and why they cannot replace personal notes.

¹⁵ Drexel, however, never mentions Gruterus's name. Only the title of the list gets a place in the footnote where Gruterus is concerned, whereas Drexel generally mentions both the author and the work in his references. This seems to indicate that he tried to conceal his use of this source. Given the fact that Drexel rejects commonplace works as being of little use in his *Aurifodina*, he probably wanted to avoid being associated with this type of literature. See also note 14.

work in the chapter 'Doli', this time under the heading 'Monosticha trochaica'. These mysterious notes provide the best evidence of Gruterus's influence on Drexel's *Orbis Phaëthon*, as they are a rather unusual type of classification. By their specific form, they betray their unnamed source, thus revealing Drexel as an avid user of the commonplace tradition.

There are of course also traces to be found in the body of the text. Drexel regularly copies passages from the *Florilegium magnum*, citing them either without reference or with a mention of their original source as indicated by Gruterus. They were used mostly to illustrate and support Drexel's argumentation. Quotations for which Gruterus provided a reference to their original source, can only be found by comparing Drexel's text to Gruterus's book and identifying clusters of citations which were taken from the same chapter. For instance, chapter XXII of Drexel's *Orbis Phaëthon* cites a verse from Prudentius's *Psychomachia*¹⁶ and a passage from Plautus's *Captivi*.¹⁷ Gruterus placed them together in the chapter 'Doli', a chapter which can easily be linked to the vice of the fraudulent tongue, since tricks are often used in deception.

Due to its late date of publication, however, Gruterus's *Florilegium magnum* cannot have been used throughout the entire *Orbis Phaëthon*. According to Drexel, he started preaching on vices of the tongue as early as 1619¹⁸, a whole five years before the publication of Gruterus's commonplace book. If Drexel wrote his chapters in the order in which they were finally arranged, Gruterus's influence should therefore be completely absent from the first chapters. A detailed examination of chapter V shows that this probably is the case. It contains not even a single citation taken from Gruterus, whereas chapters XXI and XXII of book one and chapter XIX of book two do make use of materials found in the *Florilegium magnum*. Furthermore, the cryptic references typical of Gruterus's quotations, which I have discussed above, do not appear in the early chapters of Drexel's treatise. In fact, the first example of such a note is found no earlier than chapter XI, paragraph II.¹⁹ After this first instance, these mysterious references continue to appear regularly. These findings

¹⁶ Drexel, *Orbis Phaëthon*, I, XXII, 1.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, I, XXII, 2.

¹⁸ See note 2.

¹⁹ The verse 'A convicijs ad caedem transitus valde est brevis' is accompanied by the cryptic reference 'Throchaic. vet.'. It can be found in Gruterus's *Florilegium magnum*, in the chapter 'Convitorium in auctorem retortorum' under the heading 'Monosticha Trochaica'.

support my hypothesis that Gruterus's work played a role only in later chapters of *Orbis Phaëthon*, which would indicate that Drexel wrote his sermons in the same order as he later arranged them.

This implies that Gruterus could not possibly have been Drexel's main source, as Drexel started using this commonplace book only at a later stage in the writing process. Furthermore, the cryptic notes which indicate materials from Gruterus's work are far too rare to represent Drexel's main source. In the following chapter, I will present another commonplace book, which will prove to have had a much stronger influence on Drexel than Gruterus.

2. Lang's *Polyanthea nova*: Drexel's main source

Drexel's main source appears to have been the *Polyanthea nova* by Joseph Lang.²⁰ This work was first published in Lyon in 1604. Its author was Joseph Lang, a Lutheran born in Alsace who had converted to Catholicism. He was professor of ancient languages and mathematics in Freiburg-im-Breisgau and was active as an author.²¹ Among his works were several commonplace books. Lang progressively rearranged and extended them, each time adding new classes of materials to his original collection. This process reached its final form in *Polyanthea nova*, the largest of Lang's commonplace works, which was modelled on the *Polyanthea* composed by Dominicus Nanus Mirabellius in 1503.²²

All text passages in *Polyanthea nova* are classified according to a number of commonplace themes which are in turn arranged alphabetically to ensure easy consultation. Within the chapters a mix of shorter and longer quotations is collected under a variety of headings, referring to content, source or form. Lang provides an extensive array of excerpts

²⁰ Joseph Lang, *Polyanthea nova. Hoc est, opus suavissimis floribus celebriorum sententiarum tam Graecarum quam Latinarum refertum* (Lyon: Lazarus Zetnerus, 1604). I used a later version of 1607: Joseph Lang, *Polyanthea nova. Hoc est, opus suavissimis floribus celebriorum sententiarum tam Graecarum quam Latinarum refertum* (Frankfurt: Lazarus Zetznerus, 1607).

²¹ For more information, see: J. Franck, 'Lang, Joseph L. (Lange, Langius)', in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot, 1883), XVII, 602-606 and Moss, 'Emblems into commonplaces', pp. 1-16.

²² Dominicus Nanus Mirabellius, *Polyanthea. Opus suavissimis floribus exornatum compositum per Dominicum Nanum Mirabellium civem Albensem artiumque doctorem ad communem utilitatem* (Savona: Franciscus de Silva, 1503).

ranging from Antiquity, Bible and early church fathers to medieval sources and even contemporary writers like Joachim Camerarius sr.

Unlike Gruterus's one- and two-line citations, quotations taken from Lang's commonplace book are not characterized by a particular type of reference. They are cited with their original source in the footnotes or accompanied by a mention of their original author in the main text. Many of them are even inserted into the treatise without any reference. Therefore the influence of Lang's *Polyanthea nova* on Drexel is far more difficult to discern than that of Gruterus. Traces of Lang in *Orbis Phaëthon* become apparent mainly through the amount of materials which can be found in both Drexel's sermons and Lang's commonplace book. Let me illustrate this with passages taken mostly from chapters V, XXI and XXII of the first book and chapter XIX of the second book of *Orbis Phaëthon*.

In his notes at the bottom of the pages, Drexel refers to an enormous variety of authors of all ages. The body of the text contains further materials drawn from just as many different sources. At first sight, the footnotes contain references to Drexel's original sources. However, a detailed comparison between Drexel's text and the citations and references found in Lang's *Polyanthea nova* reveals that the bulk of Drexel's sources can also be found in Lang's collection.

This is, for instance, the case for biblical passages. Both the stories and quotations from the Bible which Drexel uses, are found very often in the lists provided by Lang. In fact, thorough examination reveals that nearly all of Drexel's biblical materials are mentioned in *Polyanthea nova*, either in the lists of passages or in the collections of biblical quotations. Drexel undoubtedly knew the Bible, but the percentage of citations which he has in common with Lang is far too large to be a mere coincidence. Moreover, the passages which both authors have in common, can often be found grouped together in only a few chapters which have a clear link to the vice that Drexel is discussing or to his main theme, the tongue. A few examples can illustrate this:

Molliti sunt sermones eius super oleum, et ipsi sunt iacula. (XXI, 1 and Lang, *Dolus*)

Virum sanguinum et dolosum²³ abominabitur Dominus. (XXI, 3 and Lang, *Dolus*)

Indisciplinatae loquelae ne assuescat os tuum. (XIX, 1 and Lang, *Lingua*)

Multi ceciderunt in ore gladij, sed non sic quasi qui interierunt per linguam suam. (V, introduction and Lang, *Lingua*)

²³ Cp. Vulg., *Ps.*, 5, 7.

The same is true for biblical stories such as the tales of Cain and Abel (XXII, 1 and Lang, *Fraus*) and of the deception of the Gabaonites (XXII, 2 and Lang, *Fraus*). Many more examples can be found in Drexel's text.

The influence of *Polyanthea nova* can be seen even more clearly in quotations from classical authors. When Drexel is discussing deceit in chapter XXI, he uses a citation of Ovid. Here Lang's influence becomes clear. These verses can be found in the chapter 'Fallacia' in *Polyanthea nova*, very close to the etymology which Drexel mentions just above the quotation. That sentence is particularly interesting since it is one of the few examples which give away Drexel's hidden source. Drexel refers to Varro as his source in the text.

Altera e sororibus his lingua fallax, nomen inde sortita, uti Varroni placet, quod fando decipiamus et contra quem diximus, faciamus. (XXI, 1)

At first, this reference seems to be no more than a simple mention of the place where Drexel found the particular passage which he paraphrased, were it not that exactly the same paraphrase can be found in another work: Lang's *Polyanthea nova* (*Fallacia*). This commonplace book gives an identical version of Varro's definition, including the interjection 'ut Varroni placet', a very striking resemblance indeed.²⁴

Fallacia a fando dicitur, ut Varroni placet, quod fando decipiamus, et contra quem diximus, faciamus. (Lang, *Fallacia*)

Varro, on the contrary, gives a very different version in *De lingua latina*, 6, 55:

Ab eodem falli, sed et falsum, et fallacia: quae propterea quod fando quem decipit, ac contra quam dixit, facit.

Medieval and even early modern sources often exhibit the same patterns. Here too, much of Drexel's materials, especially the citations of older or less well known authors, can be traced back to *Polyanthea nova*. A clear example of a medieval quotation which Drexel copied from Lang can be found in chapter XXI, paragraph one, right after Varro's definition and the citation of Ovid which I have just discussed. Drexel provides a definition of *fallacia*, which he inserts into his treatise without any mention of the source.

²⁴ The difference in wording is no more than one character: Drexel uses *uti* instead of *ut*.

Fallacia est veritas palliata, quae vel alterius odium, vel commodum suum attendit. (XXI, 1)

When looking into the origins of this particular sentence, serious difficulties are encountered. This definition is cited by Lang in the chapter 'Fraus' as a quotation from Augustine's *De diffinitionibus*. The peculiar medieval spelling is noteworthy here, as there is no work of Augustine known which bears the title 'De definitionibus'. The sentence here cited can only be traced back to Thomas de Hibernia's *Manipulus florum*, a medieval compilation.²⁵ Given Drexel's habit of drawing on Lang's *Polyanthea nova* for quotations, especially for those of less well known authors, this sentence undoubtedly was taken from that source.

Lang had also integrated many more recent works into his collection, amongst others Petrarch's *De remediis utriusque fortune*. This work he divided into separate dialogues which he then inserted into the most relevant chapters. Drexel repeatedly uses materials from Petrarch's *De remediis* with a reference to the original work. However, the parts which he uses can also be found in Lang's *Polyanthea nova* in those chapters which Drexel uses for particular vices of the tongue. For example, while discussing fraudulent tongues in chapter XXII, Drexel cites a passage from dialogue 62 of *De remediis*.²⁶ Lang placed this particular dialogue in the chapter 'Dolus', a chapter from which quite a number of citations in Drexel's chapter XXII appear to have been taken. The same pattern also appears in the dedicatory letter, where Drexel cites Petrarch's dialogue 103 almost literally to support his own argumentation:

Quantus est ubique labor loqui, respondere, fabulari, fingere, comere verba, sententias librare, in oblectationem audientium iactare dicta, cogitare anxie, quam suaviter aërem verberes, quomodo dicas ut placeas.

Si muti fuissent Cicero et Demosthenes, diutius vixissent et suavius obijissent.

Nulla pars corporis ad nocendum promptior, ad frenandum difficilior.

This dialogue can be found in Lang's chapter 'Lingua', a very logical place to start looking for materials on vices of the tongue.

Other notable more recent authors contained in *Polyanthea nova* include Caelius Rhodiginus, Sabellicus and Joachim Camerarius Sr. The

²⁵ This work was compiled in Paris around the year 1306. It was very popular and had many editions. It was used by Lang in the compiling of his *Polyanthea nova*; see also: Moss, 'Emblems into commonplaces', p. 6.

²⁶ Drexel, *Orbis Phaëthon*, I, XXII, 4.

latter's fables most of the time lack a clear reference in Lang's collection. He is, however, indicated as a source in some chapters, proving that Lang integrated his work into *Polyanthea nova*. Camerarius's work clearly was Drexel's source for fables, as many of the fables in *Orbis Phaëthon* are not to be found among the works of Aesop, though Drexel indifferently indicates him as his source. The one thing which all of Drexel's fables have in common, is their appearance in Camerarius's *Fabulae Aesopicae*²⁷, a collection of 'aesopic' fables which also integrated a number of fables which were wrongly ascribed to Aesop. Most likely Drexel looked up some fables in Lang's commonplace book and then turned to the source indicated there for additional materials. This particular technique will prove to be typical of Drexel when examining the use of Thomas Aquinas's *Summa theologiae*.

The true extent of Lang's influence becomes fully apparent only when we also take into account the ideas which Drexel uses to build his argumentation. Quite a number of them seem to be based on short anecdotes and citations found in Lang's commonplace work. For instance, in chapter XIX of the second book, Drexel draws a comparison between the buying of a pot and the judging of a person:

Integrane an fracta sit campana, e sono facillime dignoscitur; plenumne an inane sit ac vacuum doliolum tinnitus prodit. (XIX, 4)

The reasoning can be found in the chapter 'Sermo' of *Polyanthea nova*, one of the chapters frequently used by Drexel. Lang tells an anecdote about Diogenes, who sees people tapping against a pot to check if it is intact before buying it. Diogenes then draws the comparison between this precaution and the judging of people.

Within the sermons on particular vices, Drexel usually makes use of only a few relevant chapters, directly linked to the particular vice discussed, in combination with a few more general chapters which are linked to his general theme of vices of the tongue, like 'Lingua' and 'Sermo'. Their relevance for *Orbis Phaëthon* is clear: they treat the same subject as Drexel's treatise, meaning that a certain logic can be discerned in the choice of the chapters of Lang's *Polyanthea nova* which are exploited in Drexel's sermons. This confirms my hypothesis that Lang's commonplace book was Drexel's main source, even though he is mentioned nowhere in Drexel's notes.

²⁷ Joachim Camerarius, *Fabulae Aesopicae* (Lyon: Ioannes Tornaesius, 1571).

Further, there can be no doubt about which of Lang's consequent commonplace works Drexel has used. Though Lang's *Anthologia*²⁸ also was well known, it clearly was not the source for the *Orbis Phaëthon* as it lacks a few of the subdivisions which are abundantly exploited by Drexel. Notably the first paragraph in chapters of the *Polyanthea nova*, the definition of the theme, is absent from Lang's *Anthologia*, whereas Drexel often copied passages from exactly this section. Furthermore, the *Anthologia* contained many fewer citations than the *Polyanthea nova*, citations which Drexel did copy. Therefore, there can be no doubt as to which of Lang's collections Drexel used.

Finally, it must be noted that, though similar in many ways, Lang's *Polyanthea nova* and Gruterus's *Florilegium magnum* are by no means identical. Even if some citations can be found in both works, this seems to be an exception rather than a common occurrence. In general, overlaps between *Polyanthea nova* and *Florilegium magnum* are rare. *Florilegium magnum* seems, in fact, to be complementary to *Polyanthea nova*, as was intended by Gruterus himself.²⁹ Lang was Drexel's main source, Gruterus was only called upon for additional materials.

3. The case of Thomas Aquinas

The presence of Thomas Aquinas's thoughts in *Orbis Phaëthon* cannot be denied. He is mentioned explicitly by Drexel and his ideas can be recognized clearly in Drexel's treatise. Often Drexel draws on Aquinas's work for the definition of vices of the tongue or integrates citations into his sermons. A few examples can illustrate the technique.

In book two, chapter XIX of *Orbis Phaëthon*, we encounter a seemingly random combination of citations in the second paragraph. When discussing the scurrilous tongue, Drexel cites Aristotle, Augustine and Thomas Aquinas and adds quotations from Cicero, Augustine and Ambrose.³⁰ At first sight, this is simply a combination of relevant passages selected by Drexel himself. Closer examination, however, reveals

²⁸ Joseph Lang, *Loci communes, seu potius Florilegium rerum et materialium selectarum praecipue sententiarum, apophthegmatum, similitudinum, exemplorum, hieroglyphicorum* (Strasbourg: Heredes Iosiae Rihelii, 1598). It was later called 'Anthologia'. For more information on this work, see: Moss, 'Emblems into commonplaces', pp. 1-16.

²⁹ Moss, 'Emblems into commonplaces', pp. 13-15.

³⁰ Drexel, *Orbis Phaëthon*, II, XIX, 2.

not three sources, but one. All three citations can be found grouped together in one single *quaestio* of Thomas Aquinas's *Summa theologiae*.³¹ Drexel indicates all sources separately without even a single reference to Thomas Aquinas in his notes. However, given their co-occurrence in *Summa theologiae*, there can be no doubt that Drexel in fact did not take them from their original sources, but rather from Aquinas's treatise. Not much further on in the text, the same pattern returns.³² This time Aquinas is indicated as the source, but only with the first citation, whereas Drexel has also taken a second quotation from *Summa theologiae* which he attributes to Gregorius. Here too, Drexel fails to mention the indirect transmission of the citations.

Lang's influence probably played a role. *Polyanthea nova* does not cite all the passages which Drexel has copied in full, but it does indicate the location where the information can be found. Both *quaestiones* concerned here³³ are cited by Lang. For example, the latter of them is used in Lang's definition of *scurrilitas*. A passage in Drexel's work clearly shows the link. Drexel equals *scurrilitas* to the Greek *bomolochia*.³⁴ This link cannot be found in Aquinas's treatise. It is encountered, however, in Lang's definition of *scurrilitas*. Beneath the definition, Lang refers to *quaestio* 148, which was used by Drexel in chapter XIX of the second book of *Orbis Phaëthon*.³⁵ As this particular definition figures in Lang's chapter 'Scurrilitas', Drexel would have noticed it as soon as he opened the book to find relevant text passages on the scurrilous tongue. The first of the *quaestiones* used by Drexel can also be found in *Polyanthea nova*, in the chapter 'Modestia', together with a definition of *eutrapelia* which is very similar to Drexel's.³⁶

A pattern can clearly be discerned. Each time there is a reference to a *quaestio* of Thomas Aquinas's *Summa theologiae* in Lang's commonplace book and a cluster of citations from Aquinas's work appears in

³¹ All quotations and authors mentioned by Drexel can be found in Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, second part of the second part, *quaestio* 168, article 2, where Aquinas is discussing the virtue called 'eutrapelia'.

³² Drexel, *Orbis Phaëthon*, II, XIX, 4. Here Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, second part of the second part, *quaestio* 148, art. 6 is concerned.

³³ See notes 30 and 31.

³⁴ Drexel, *Orbis Phaëthon*, II, XIX, 2.

³⁵ After the definition of *scurrilitas*, Lang gives a reference to Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, second part of the second part, *quaestio* 148, article 6.

³⁶ Lang defines *eutrapelia* as 'modestia circa ludos' which means basically the same thing as Drexel's 'Modestia in ludicris' (Drexel, *Orbis Phaëthon*, II, XIX, 2).

Drexel's *Orbis Phaëthon* along with a reference in some form to Thomas Aquinas. This allows us to formulate a hypothesis on Drexel's methods. He started by consulting Lang's *Polyanthea nova*, where he found a reference to a passage in Aquinas's *Summa theologiae*. He then looked up the passage in question in an edition of Aquinas's work and copied out all useful citations. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that Lang mentioned both *quaestiones* which were used in writing chapter XIX of book two of *Orbis Phaëthon* and that there is good evidence for similar practices in the use of other materials.³⁷

A few cases, however, are harder to explain. In chapter XXII, paragraph two, Drexel uses a story from Aquinas's *Summa theologiae*, second part of the second part, *quaestio* 111. Drexel alludes to article '1 ad 2' of this *quaestio*. This particular passage is neither cited, nor mentioned by Lang, but *Polyanthea nova* does refer to another part of *quaestio* 111. It is cited in the chapter 'Simulatio', a chapter which is most relevant for the subject of deceit. It gives a definition taken from article one of Aquinas's *quaestio* 111, which lies in close proximity to the story which Drexel uses. Seeing that other *quaestiones*, which I have discussed above, are common to both Drexel and Lang, this probably is no coincidence. The pattern is consistent with my hypothesis on Drexel's methods in the previous paragraph. Drexel most likely consulted the definition indicated by Lang in a copy of *Summa theologiae* and paid attention to the immediate vicinity of the passage. When reading the passage indicated by Lang, he undoubtedly scanned the text for more interesting materials. The first example which I have discussed³⁸ provides further evidence to support this hypothesis. There too, not only the citations given by Lang, but also other passages from the same chapter were used by Drexel.

Even more problematic is a citation of *quaestio* 74 of the second part of the second part of Aquinas's *Summa theologiae*.³⁹ Drexel clearly makes the same distinction as Thomas Aquinas, but *quaestio* 74 is never cited by Lang's *Polyanthea nova*, which only cites *quaestio* 73 on *detractio*. That particular *quaestio* was also used by Drexel, in his chapter on *detractio*.⁴⁰ Moreover, the passage here used discusses the distinction between a double tongue and detraction and thus clearly forms a

³⁷ See above chapter 2 on Lang's influence.

³⁸ See note 30.

³⁹ Drexel, *Orbis Phaëthon*, I, V, 2.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, I, XV, 1.

continuation of *quaestio* 73. Given Drexel's citation of this *quaestio*, the situation seems to be rather similar to that of *quaestio* 111. Undoubtedly Drexel perused Lang's chapter on detraction, consulted Aquinas's work and also read the immediate context to find more interesting passages, rather than just copy Lang's citation. Therefore, this instance too was most likely influenced by Lang.

From this, it can be concluded that Drexel did read parts of Aquinas's *Summa theologiae* in their original form and use elements from it in his own treatise, but that here too, Lang's influence can be observed.

4. The impact of Guilielmus Peraldus

Guilielmus Peraldus⁴¹, a French writer and preacher who lived until 1260 or 1270/1275, was one of Drexel's smaller sources. His impact is much more modest than that of the commonplace tradition, but nevertheless significant. Peraldus was a Dominican monk living in Lyon, where he took over Episcopal duties during the absence of Archbishop Philippe de Savoy. Therefore, he was sometimes mistakenly presented as the archbishop of Lyon. Peraldus's main importance is due to his writings, among others *Summae virtutum ac vitiorum*⁴², a work which left traces in Drexel's *Orbis Phaëthon*.⁴³ In this extensive work, Peraldus devoted treatise nine of the second book to sins of the tongue. Drexel drew on these chapters for parts of his own treatise on vices of the tongue. This can be seen most clearly in an examination of the sources of chapter V, Drexel's sermon on the double tongue. Here, the influence of Peraldus's chapter on the sin *bilinguism* can be detected. This chapter can be found in the second book of *Summae virtutum ac vitiorum*, chapter fourteen of the second part of treatise nine.⁴⁴ A first glance at Peraldus's text immediately reveals the extent of the transfers from this work to Drexel's *Orbis Phaëthon*.

⁴¹ For more information, see: Charles Callan, 'William Perault', in *Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912), XV, 642; M. Gerwing, 'Wilhelm Peraldus', in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, (Stuttgart: Metzler, [1977]-1999), IX, 182-183; Michiel Verweij, 'The manuscript transmission of the *Summa de virtutibus* by Guilielmus Peraldus. A preliminary survey of the manuscripts', *Medioevo*, 31 (2006), 103-296.

⁴² Guilielmus Peraldus, *Summae virtutum ac vitiorum* (Lyon: s.n., 1546).

⁴³ See also: James Latham S.J., 'Text and Image in Jeremias Drexel's *Orbis Phaëthon*', in Peter M. Daly – G. Richard Dimler – Rita Haub (eds.), *Emblematik und Kunst der Jesuiten in Bayern: Einfluss und Wirkung*, Imago Figurata: Studies, 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), p. 95.

⁴⁴ Peraldus, *Summae virtutum ac vitiorum*, II, 868-870.

As is the case for all chapters of *Orbis Phaëthon*, many citations in chapter V were copied from Lang's *Polyanthea nova*. However, a significant part of Drexel's reasoning on the double tongue was taken directly from Peraldus's treatise on *bilinguium*. Just as he did with the commonplace tradition, Drexel took various sorts of quotations from this work.

Here too, there were quite a number of Bible verses among these citations which were cited in both works. A better indication of Peraldus's impact, however, is given by a number of sentences which Drexel clearly copied from Peraldus's *Summae virtutum ac vitiorum*. A most striking example is the argument that a double-tongued man is a monster, since no animal exists which has two tongues.

Nec mirum si Deus detestatur os bilingue, cum monstrum sit. Nullum animal bilingue invenitur, excepto serpente, qui bilinguis est, iuxta vulgi opinionem, quia propter velocem motum linguae sic apparet.⁴⁵

The same reasoning is found in *Orbis Phaëthon*, only slightly paraphrased.

Iure optimo Salomon: Arrogantiam, inquit, et superbiam, et viam pravam, et os bilingue detestor. Nec mirum, est enim homo bilinguis monstrum, cum nullum animalium bilingue fecerit natura. Plebeius error serpentibus plures linguas affingit, cum una sit, sed duplex videatur ob celerrimum motum.⁴⁶

The same pattern is seen in chapter XIX of the second book of *Orbis Phaëthon* where Drexel alludes to a certain part of the Christian ritual of baptism. He links the meaning of the salt which is put on the infant's tongue to the scurrilous tongue.

Eius rei sal admonet, qui infantulorum ori, cum lustrali rori tinguntur, inseritur. Lingua profecto eiusmodi membrum est, quod primum in putridinem, facile scaturit vermibus.⁴⁷

The reasoning is also found in Peraldus's *Summae virtutum ac vitiorum*, in the introduction of treatise nine.

Propter pronitatem ad malum, quae in lingua est, ponitur sal in ore parvulorum qui baptizantur, ad ostendendum quod membrum illud de facili putrefiat, et vermibus vitiorum scaturiat.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 869.

⁴⁶ Drexel, *Orbis Phaëthon*, I, V, 2.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, II, XIX, 3.

⁴⁸ Peraldus, *Summae virtutum ac vitiorum*, II, 793.

Peraldus may even have been Drexel's guide in the use of Erasmus's *Adages* on the subject. He may have led Drexel straight to the adage 'Digito monstrari' by one of his statements on the mark of the double-tongued man:

Denotatio est digiti ostensio confusione plena.⁴⁹

At first sight, this citation has no more importance than any other, but upon further perusal of the text, we find a quotation from Persius⁵⁰, which can be found in Erasmus's *Adages*. It is also mentioned by Lang, but *Polyanthea nova* lists it in the chapter 'Laus', a theme which is incompatible with Drexel's use of the quotation. An influence of both Peraldus's *Summae virtutum ac vitiorum* and Erasmus's *Adages* is far more likely here.

From all these findings, it can be concluded that Peraldus's *Summae virtutum ac vitiorum* did have an impact on Drexel. Though this influence was not as far-reaching as that of the commonplace tradition, it was nevertheless significant. Peraldus's traces can be seen in both citations which both works have in common and in strong similarities in their respective reasoning. The question now remains whether here too an indirect transmission via the commonplace tradition has to be assumed. The answer is no. It is true that Lang does cite Peraldus's *Summae virtutum ac vitiorum* from time to time, but he did not select the passages which Drexel used. Those are not to be found in *Polyanthea nova*. Furthermore, similarities between Drexel and Peraldus are so extensive that they can hardly be explained without a direct link to the original treatise. Peraldus's *Summae virtutum ac vitiorum* was without a doubt a direct source for Drexel's *Orbis Phaëthon*, without the mediation of the commonplace tradition.

5. Drexel and his predecessors

Drexel was not the only writer of his time who dedicated a treatise to vices of the tongue. Ever since Erasmus's *Lingua*⁵¹, there had continu-

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 869.

⁵⁰ 'At pulchrum est digito monstrari et dicier hic est'. This sentence can be found in Drexel, *Orbis Phaëthon*, I, V, 2 and Erasmus, *Adages*, 1, 10, 43: 'Monstrari digito'.

⁵¹ This work was first published in Basle in 1525. Desiderius Erasmus Roterodamus, *Lingua*, ed. J.H. Waszink, Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami, VI-Ia (Amsterdam-

ously been new treatises on the tongue. And Drexel was well aware of this. In fact, he addresses this possible objection in both his letters to the reader. Drexel ardently defends his originality, clearly showing a certain apprehension of being accused of plagiarism. He explicitly states that he had in fact started working on his sermons on vices of the tongue much earlier than 'others' who had published their work on the same theme. A closer look at Drexel's statements reveals that with 'non neminem' he meant one particular writer, rather than all works on vices of the tongue from that period. Though he is never mentioned explicitly in *Orbis Phaëthon*, he can be identified on the basis of Drexel's statements on this 'other' in his letters to the reader and the dedication of the book, as Toon Van Houdt has done in his article in 2003. He identified the mysterious other as Ioannes Pelecycus's *Universitas iniquitatis*.⁵² I will confirm this hypothesis by adding one additional crucial piece of evidence: Drexel refers to Pelecycus by the title of his work when looking for a suitable title for his own treatise:

Qui linguae virus "Universitatem iniquitatis" vocat, grande illi nomen assignat: non damno, sed aptius quaero.⁵³

The online database *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke des 17. Jahrhunderts* contains only one work which fits the profile drawn from Drexel's text: Ioannes Pelecycus, *Universitas iniquitatis sive de mortifero linguae humanae veneno, eiusque praesenti remedio libri duo*.⁵⁴ This work was published in 1620 in Munich, the place of residence of Drexel himself, by a fellow Jesuit. Ioannes Pelecycus⁵⁵ was born in Ulm in 1545 and died in Munich in 1623. As Pelecycus was from both the same town and religious order as Drexel, the latter

New York-Oxford-Tokyo: Elsevier Science Publishers b.v., 1989).

⁵² Van Houdt, 'Hieremias Drexel's Emblem Book *Orbis Phaëthon* (1629)', pp. 330-332.

⁵³ Drexel, *Orbis Phaëthon*, II, 'Lectori benevolo auctor': 'He who called the poison of the tongue *Universitas iniquitatis*, assigned a great name to it: I do not condemn it, but look for a better title'.

⁵⁴ VD-17. *Das Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, 8 December 2009. Accessed 26 October 2010: 12:103804W: Ioannes Pelecycus, *Universitas iniquitatis. Sive de mortifero linguae humanae veneno, eiusque praesenti remedio libri duo* (Munich: Ioannes Hertsroy, 1620).

⁵⁵ For more information, see: Constantin Becker, 'Pelecycus (Jean; Pelletius, Pelecycus)', in Marcel Viller, *Dictionnaire de spiritualité: ascétique et mystique, doctrine et histoire* (Paris: Beauchesne et fils, 1937-1995), XII, 884-885.

undoubtedly was familiar with *Universitas iniquitatis*. Based on the evidence provided in *Orbis Phaëthon*, there can be no doubt that Pelecyus was in fact the predecessor whom Drexel had in mind when defending his originality. Only one question now remains: what is the relation between Drexel's *Orbis Phaëthon* and Pelecyus's *Universitas iniquitatis*? Did Drexel use Pelecyus's work as his model or even copy passages from it, or should the relation between both treatises be understood in a different way?

For Drexel the situation is clear: he has not committed plagiarism in any way. On the contrary, his work differs widely from Pelecyus's, however similar they may seem to be at first sight.⁵⁶ To strengthen his defence, Drexel even adds a list of vices of the tongue which he alone has treated. He strives to be more complete than his predecessors by treating less commonly known vices too, since they are just as bad as the others.⁵⁷

Though Van Houdt clearly formulates the hypothesis that Drexel's *Orbis Phaëthon* and Pelecyus's *Universitas iniquitatis* are related to one another, he does not specify how this relation is to be understood. He indicates that there are certain similarities, but does not give a conclusive answer as to their cause.⁵⁸ In the following paragraphs, I will try to fill in the blanks and draw a conclusion on Drexel's relation to Pelecyus's work by making a thorough comparison of both books, both on the macro- and the micro-level. I will make use of chapters XXI and XXII of the first book of *Orbis Phaëthon*, the chapters on the fraudulent tongue and chapters 21 and 22 of *Universitas iniquitatis*, on respectively the fraudulent tongue and its remedies.

Upon inspecting both works, the reader is immediately struck by a number of similarities. Firstly, both books follow an alphabetical order. However, this cannot prove any influence of Pelecyus on Drexel. After

⁵⁶ Drexel uses the metaphor of two woodworkers going into the same forest. Both have the right to chop down trees, but will pick different ones. He and Pelecyus went into the same 'forest' of materials and each made their own selection. It is not a case of plagiarism, but of two writers who treat the same theme each in their own way: Drexel, *Orbis Phaëthon*, I, 'Benevolo lectori'.

⁵⁷ 'Praeter notiores illas, quarum et alij mentionem faciunt, sunt et istae: Lingua Bifida, Bacchea, Bombilans, Blaesa, Exprobrans, Hyperbolica, Importuna, Irreverens, Obiurgans, Promittens, Politica, Subsannans, Suspendens, Susurrans, Tumultuosa, Vindicans, Censoria seu Vituperans' (Drexel, *Orbis Phaëthon*, I, 'Benevolo lectori').

⁵⁸ Van Houdt, 'Hieremias Drexel's Emblem Book *Orbis Phaëthon* (1629)', pp. 330-332.

all, many books of Drexel's time used an alphabetical order, notably in the commonplace tradition, a genre which exerted an important influence on Drexel's *Orbis Phaëthon*, as I have already shown.⁵⁹ In the following paragraphs, it will become clear that the same thing is true for Pelecyus.

Moreover, Drexel himself gives a different motivation for the alphabetical order of his chapters. In his epilogue, he refers explicitly to a sermon by Alphonsus Salmeron where the latter calls the tongue 'an alphabet, or pile, of all vices'.⁶⁰ The explicit citation of this particular sentence makes it ever more likely that this was Drexel's true source of inspiration for the arrangement of his chapters. Therefore, it is impossible to present the alphabetical order as a vital piece of evidence for a dependency of Drexel on Pelecyus.

Drexel's general technique of illustrating his statements with ancient, biblical, medieval and even contemporary anecdotes and quotations, another characteristic that he has in common with Pelecyus, is no more exceptional. In fact, it was common practice in treatises on vices of the tongue from the very start of the genre. Even its first representatives, notably Erasmus's *Lingua*⁶¹, exhibit the same method. It was even applied by the medieval writer Guilielmus Peraldus in his *Summae virtutum ac vitiorum*. Here too, a link can be found with the commonplace tradition. The sole purpose of these works was to supply potential writers with exactly this type of materials by collecting citations and stories from a variety of sources dating from antiquity to the compiler's own age. Thus, this common technique can hardly be used to prove that Drexel was inspired by Pelecyus.

To complete the picture, we have to look not only at the similarities, but also take into account the differences between the works. A striking discrepancy can be seen in the division of the books into chapters. Pelecyus divided his treatise into two volumes, each of them treating the tongue from a different angle. The entire first book of *Universitas iniquitatis* is dedicated to general considerations on the tongue.⁶² The second book gives a systematic description of various sins of the tongue and

⁵⁹ See chapters 1-3 of this article.

⁶⁰ Drexel, *Orbis Phaëthon*, II, 'Epilogus': 'Optime dixit Alphonsus Salmeron, Linguam esse Alphabetum seu congeriem omnium vitiorum'. See also: Van Houdt, 'Hieremias Drexel's Emblem Book *Orbis Phaëthon* (1629)', p. 331.

⁶¹ Erasmus, *Lingua*, ed. Waszink.

⁶² Pelecyus describes its advantages and disadvantages, its dangers and its benefits.

their respective remedies. For every vice, there is a chapter on the vice itself, followed by a chapter on its remedies. Drexel chooses an entirely different approach. He does not dedicate a significant part of his work to general considerations on the tongue. Only the last chapter of the first book presents us with a general description of the tongue.⁶³ *Orbis Phaëthon* is in essence a collection of sermons which each give a systematic description of one particular vice of the tongue. Remedies to cure these vices are only treated under the letters X, Y and Z.⁶⁴ Drexel's structure clearly differs significantly from Pelecyus's. These findings rule out Pelecyus as a source of inspiration for Drexel on the macro-level.

This still leaves us with a considerable quantity of resemblance on the micro-level, in the body of the text. Besides the undeniable similarity in the text's general technique of illustrating its statements with all kinds of stories and quotations, the fact that a significant number of the citations were used by both Drexel and Pelecyus in much the same way is most remarkable. Here too, I will make use of passages from chapters 21 and 22 of both works on the fraudulent tongue.

Quite a number of examples can be found of passages which were put to use by both Drexel and Pelecyus. For example, several biblical stories, such as those of Cain and Abel and of the deception of the Gabaonites appear in both works.

Cain fratri: Egrediamur foras, recreatum scilicet: Egressum vero immaniter occidit. (Pelecyus 21, also Drexel XXII, 1)

Gabaonitae audientes, quae fecerat Iosue Hiericho et Haio, callide, ne et ipsi delerentur. (Pelecyus 21, also Drexel XXII, 2)

The same is true for a rather large number of biblical verses. A few examples:

Virum sanguinum et dolosum abominabitur Dominus. (Pelecyus 22, also Drexel XXI, 3)

Disperdat Dominus universa labia dolosa. (Pelecyus 22, also Drexel XXI, 3)

These parallels explain why Drexel felt the need to defend himself against accusations of plagiarism. The quantity of common citations is so large that his readers might think that Drexel had simply copied them from Pelecyus's *Universitas iniquitatis*.

⁶³ Drexel, *Orbis Phaëthon*, I, XXXI: 'Quod linguarum donum sit et quae omnium lingua sanctissima'.

⁶⁴ Van Houdt, 'Hieremias Drexel's Emblem Book *Orbis Phaëthon* (1629)', p. 327.

But closer examination, especially of the similarities between *Orbis Phaëthon* and *Universitas iniquitatis*, clarifies the situation. A comparison of the passages in question to Drexel's main source, Lang's *Polyanthea nova*, reveals a remarkable truth. All common citations can also be found in Lang's work. Furthermore, when comparing Pelecyus to Lang, striking resemblances immediately become apparent. Right at the start of chapter 21, we already encounter a first influence. Just like Lang generally does, Pelecyus starts with a definition of the vice with a reference to Thomas Aquinas.

Fraus, ut et dolus, quemadmodum D. Thomas, alique Theologi docent, executio est astutiae. (Pelecyus 21)

This particular definition can be found in Lang's *Polyanthea nova* at the beginning of the chapter 'Dolus', a logical place to look for inspiration when writing a treatise on the fraudulent tongue, as I have already argued. Drexel too made use of this chapter for this particular theme. The definition is followed by a number of biblical examples, including a few of the stories which Drexel used. All of them, however, are also found in *Polyanthea nova* in the chapters 'Fraus', 'Dolus', 'Astutia' and 'Fallacia', chapters which are directly related to the subject of Pelecyus's chapters 21 and 22 and which Drexel too used as sources of inspiration for his sermons on the fraudulent tongue. Exactly the same pattern can be seen in Pelecyus's 22nd chapter.

So what has happened here? The answer is clear. Both Drexel and Pelecyus have drawn on Lang's commonplace book for relevant texts. In Pelecyus's work, this method is clearly visible. He places the passages copied from *Polyanthea nova* close together in an order similar to Lang's. Drexel was a bit more subtle in his use of commonplace materials, spreading them out more widely over his books and mixing them with quotations from other parts of Lang's *Polyanthea nova* and from his other sources. Though the result looks slightly different, the method is basically the same. Drexel too underwent a strong influence of Lang's *Polyanthea nova*, as I have argued above. Similarities between *Orbis Phaëthon* and *Universitas iniquitatis* derive from this use of a common source, not from Drexel's use of Pelecyus's work as a source of inspiration.

This hypothesis is confirmed by the different twist which Drexel and Pelecyus systematically give to biblical stories. Whereas Pelecyus is satisfied with a summary of no more than a few lines, Drexel chooses to elaborate them into small paragraphs. At this point, one could object that

Drexel and Pelecyus undoubtedly knew the Bible very well and did not need any guidance to find relevant passages. However, the fact that all of these stories are found in Lang's lists in only a few different chapters is a strong argument for the use of his *Polyanthea nova*. Furthermore, this pattern is not limited to biblical sources. As I have said, Lang also provides copious amounts of excerpts from ancient, medieval and contemporary sources. In the same chapters where the lists of biblical stories and quotations can be found, other texts are cited too, like dialogue 62 of Petrarch's *De remediis utriusque fortune*, on which Drexel and Pelecyus have both drawn in their reasoning. More examples are visible in the text, like the anecdote about Lysander, the king of the Spartans, which is exploited by Pelecyus in his treatise, thus providing clear proof of Pelecyus's use of Lang.

We must therefore conclude that Drexel did not use Pelecyus's *Universitas iniquitatis* as his model, but that both writers shared a common source. Pelecyus simply was a colleague, who, as Drexel put it, went into the same forest but chopped down different trees.⁶⁵

6. Direct versus indirect transmission

The findings I have presented in this article call for a thorough rethinking of existing theories on the sources of Drexel's *Orbis Phaëthon*. Contrary to the views of Pömbacher⁶⁶ and Breidenbach⁶⁷, more attention needs to be paid to the often indirect transmission of Drexel's materials. A more recent hypothesis by Van Houdt⁶⁸ has already hinted at a possible link between Drexel and the commonplace tradition. This hypothesis, however, is still far from complete. Based on my own evidence, I will now try to provide a more complete and nuanced answer to the question 'What was the influence of the commonplace tradition on Drexel's *Orbis Phaëthon*?'

First and most importantly, the vision of a stack of citations piled onto each other randomly must be abandoned. In fact, the co-occurrence of passages is rarely a coincidence. They were drawn for the most part from

⁶⁵ Drexel, *Orbis Phaëthon*, I, 'Benevolo lectori'.

⁶⁶ Pömbacher, *Jeremias Drexel*, pp. 159-167.

⁶⁷ Breidenbach, *Der Emblematiker Jeremias Drexel S.J. (1581-1638)*, pp. 120-122.

⁶⁸ Van Houdt, 'Hieremias Drexel's Emblem Book *Orbis Phaëthon* (1629)', pp. 332-334.

only a couple of commonplace works. Further, it must be clearly noted that Drexel did not do the compiling of useful passages himself, even if that is the image he presents of himself in his *Aurifodina*. Drexel was in every way a child of his time. He was familiar with the instruments which were at the disposal of early modern writers and abundantly made use of them. In his *Orbis Phaëthon* a considerable influence of the commonplace tradition is clearly visible. In fact, Drexel's main source seems to have been Lang's commonplace book *Polyanthea nova*. To a much lesser extent, Drexel also appears to have drawn on Janus Gruterus's commonplace work *Florilegium magnum*.

Ancient authors, church fathers and a significant number of medieval sources were known to Drexel mainly indirectly through these two works. For biblical materials too Drexel seems to have used Lang as his guide. A similar pattern can be discerned in the use of Thomas Aquinas's *Summa theologiae*.

These findings, especially those concerning biblical materials and references to Aquinas, allow us to formulate a few hypotheses on Drexel's working methods. He appears to have started by seeking guidance from contemporary anthologies to point him in the direction of relevant texts. Then he would sometimes look up the texts referred to in these commonplace works in their original sources. When doing so, he kept an eye open for other interesting passages in the vicinity of the ones cited. Drexel then made use of all of these to support his arguments. This explains how some quotations, which were not explicitly mentioned by the commonplace works, but could be found just before or after the passages to which those books referred, found their way into Drexel's treatise.

Such patterns are extremely rare where ancient sources are concerned. This indicates that the ancient materials most likely were known to Drexel only through Lang, and to a lesser degree, through Gruterus. A few exceptions can be found, but they are not numerous enough to falsify the hypothesis. Furthermore, most of these exceptions can easily be explained on the basis of Drexel's profession. The most striking example is formed by the sermons of John Chrysostom. They are cited too often and too extensively to be transmitted only via commonplace works. Moreover, a note by Drexel himself clearly indicates a direct transmission.⁶⁹ Most likely he consulted an edition of the collected works of

⁶⁹ Drexel, *Orbis Phaëthon*, II, XIX, 3: 'Chrys.tom.4.hom.18.post.med.in c.5 ad Ephes. mihi pag. 958'.

Chrysostom. Drexel, as a court preacher, undoubtedly knew and used Chrysostom's sermons and it would be logical for him to possess such an edition for professional reasons. Furthermore, these exceptions represent only a very limited number of ancient sources, as opposed to the copious amount of quotations that clearly indicate an indirect transmission via the commonplace tradition.

Medieval sources other than Thomas Aquinas's *Summa theologiae* are relatively scarce in Drexel's work. Most of them were transmitted indirectly through the commonplace tradition. The most important medieval source for *Orbis Phaëthon* besides *Summa theologiae*, however, was transmitted directly. Guilielmus Peraldus's *Summae virtutum ac vitiorum* was clearly consulted by Drexel in its original form. Resemblances between this medieval treatise and parts of Drexel's sermons are too extensive to be explained by indirect transmission. Moreover, Peraldus is cited by Lang in connection with passages other than the ones which Drexel used. Possibly Drexel knew Peraldus's name through Lang, but the materials which he used, certainly did not come from *Polyanthea nova*. Therefore, Peraldus must be counted among the materials which were transmitted directly, contrary to Thomas de Hibernia's *Manipulus florum*, for example, which is present only in the form of a citation taken from Lang.

Where early modern sources are concerned, the situation is completely different. Drexel very often cites passages which are not found in *Polyanthea nova*. Authors like Machiavelli, Caelius Rhodiginus, Justus Lipsius and many others are regularly mentioned by Lang, but Drexel most likely consulted their works in their original form. They were well known writers in Drexel's time, and, as can be inferred from his ample use of contemporary sources, Drexel was familiar with the literature of his days. Men like Machiavelli were so famous in Drexel's age that it is most unlikely that Drexel was not well acquainted with their works and had not read quite a few of them. His direct knowledge of contemporary literature can be seen clearly in his notes, where, for instance, an expression can be found of Drexel's personal appreciation of Philip Bosquier.⁷⁰

Other early modern writers were likewise transmitted directly. This was the case, for example, for the stories copied from Justus Lipsius'

⁷⁰ Drexel, *Orbis Phaëthon*, I, XXII, 3: 'Philippus Bosquier, e S. Francisci familia, tam notus e scriptis'.

*Monita et exempla politica*⁷¹ in chapter XXII, paragraph five of *Orbis Phaëthon*, where entire anecdotes are cited. Furthermore, we know that Drexel was familiar with his immediate predecessor on the subject of vices of the tongue, as is visible in his letters to the reader and his dedication. The names and works of some less known contemporary writers may have been brought to Drexel's attention by Lang,⁷² but in general early modern sources were the object of direct transmission. Most likely, the influence of the commonplace tradition played no part here.

7. Conclusion

In the study of the sources of Drexel's *Orbis Phaëthon*, more attention has to be paid to indirect transmission. In fact, it was only contemporary works with which Drexel was systematically acquainted in their original form. For older sources, he relied all too often on contemporary commonplace books. Though he states explicitly that those works are insufficient for a good scholar in his *Aurifodina*, he reveals himself as an avid consulter of exactly this type of literature in his *Orbis Phaëthon*. The impact of the commonplace tradition on Drexel's *Orbis Phaëthon* can hardly be overestimated. These compilations provided Drexel with the materials he needed for his treatise on vices of the tongue. Lang's *Polyanthea nova* and, to a much lesser extent, Gruterus's *Florilegium magnum* were his main sources, rather than the impressive variety of authors cited at the foot of *Orbis Phaëthon*'s pages.

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⁷¹ Marijke Janssens, *Collecting historical examples for the prince. Justus Lipsius' 'Monita et exempla politica' (1605): edition, translation, commentary and introductory study of an early modern mirror-for-princes*, 2 vols (Leuven: unpublished doctoral dissertation, 2009).

⁷² This may have been the case for Joachim Camerarius Sr., whose fables could be found in Lang's *Polyanthea nova*. But even in this case, there is evidence that Drexel consulted the original work, rather than relying exclusively on Lang's commonplace book. Whether or not there was an influence of Lang here, cannot be stated for certain. It is certain, however, that Drexel used some of Camerarius's fables which were not contained in Lang's work.

Kairit KAUR – Kristi VIIDING

DIE GELEHRTE FRAUENDICHTUNG IN LIVLAND:
GERTRUD PAFFRATH¹

Die gelehrte Frauenliteratur aus der frühen Neuzeit ist in den neueren Gesamtdarstellungen über die auf Latein dichtenden Frauen, z.B. in der umfangreichen Monographie *Women Latin poets* von Jane Stevenson,² regional sehr differenziert geschildert. Den eindeutigen Forschungsschwerpunkt bilden die westeuropäischen Länder, sogar die Neue Welt und Ibero-Amerika werden besprochen, über das Fehlen des lateinischen Schrifttums der Frauen in einigen Gebieten Mitteleuropas stellt man sich ratlos Fragen, an den Gebieten östlich von heutigen Polen und Schweden geht man aber ohne Erwähnung vorbei. Das Hauptziel des folgenden Beitrages ist anhand der Edition und Kommentierung der bisher in der Forschung der neulateinischen Literatur unerwähnten Quellentexte die Geographie der gelehrten Frauenliteratur bis zur Ostküste der Ostsee zu erweitern. Daneben bietet der folgende Aufsatz ein Beispiel von der Rezeption des verbreiteten frühneuzeitlichen Florilegiums von Josephus Langius (Lang, Lange, 1570-1615).

Das Dichten und Schreiben auf Latein war in der frühen Neuzeit unter den est- und livländischen Frauen fast unbekannt. Im einzigen hiesigen akademischen Zentrum Dorpat (heute Tartu), dessen Druckproduktion völlig bibliographiert vorliegt,³ hat im 17. Jahrhundert keine einzige Frau weder akademische Prosawerke noch Gedichte auf akademische Anlässe

¹ Der Aufsatz entstand dank der Unterstützung der Estnischen Wissenschaftsstiftung (Az. 7439 und 7861). Wir danken Arvo Tering, Enn Küng (Tartu), Jürgen Beyer (Tartu), Helje Kannik (Akademische Bibliothek der Universität Tallinn), Eva Raffel (Tübingen), Ursula Reber (Wien), Valda Kvaskova (Lettisches Historisches Staatsarchiv), Aija Taimiņa (Riga, Akademische Bibliothek der Universität Lettland [= LAB]) und Elisabeth Göransson (Lund) für die Ratschläge. Für die Sprachkorrektur sind wir Walther Ludwig dankbar.

² Jane Stevenson, *Women Latin Poets. Language, Gender, and Authority, from Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 2005).

³ Ene-Lille Jaanson, *Druckerei der Universität Dorpat 1632-1710. Geschichte und Bibliographie der Druckschriften* (Tartu, 2000).

publiziert.⁴ Die 1632 gegründete *Academia Gustaviana*, später *Academia Gustavo-Carolina*, besaß keine eigene Anna Maria van Schurman, welche in demselben Jahrzehnt in Utrecht *incognito* bei den Vorlesungen zuhören durfte und von der z.B. die offiziellen Begrüßungsgedichte zur Einweihung der dortigen Akademie bestellt wurden.⁵ Die zwei weiteren Zentren, die Hafenstädte Riga und Reval (Tallinn), verfügten im 17. Jahrhundert über akademische Gymnasien und Druckereien, deren Produktion jedoch nicht vollständig bibliographiert ist.⁶ In Reval scheint erst die Anwesenheit der Holstein-Gottorpschen Gesandtschaft in den 1630er Jahren den ersten Impuls zur Entstehung einer Vorstellung von dichtenden Frauen gegeben zu haben. So wagte ein Teilnehmer der Gesandtschaft, der deutsche Barockpoet Paul Fleming (1609–1640, in Reval 1635–1636 und 1639) hier eine Reihe deutscher Gelegenheitsgedichte zu veröffentlichen, die er im Namen der Revaler Frauen zu verschiedenen Anlässen schrieb — ein völlig neues Phänomen in der Region.⁷ In manchen Fällen hat er den Wortlaut, die Unterschrift und andere Komponenten solcher Gedichte so gelungen stilisiert, dass man ohne weitere gedichtexterne Informationen das Geschlecht des Autors nicht erraten kann. Ein Beispiel ist das deutsche Gelegenheitsgedicht zum Geburtstag eines Mitgliedes der holsteinisch-gottorpschen Gesandtschaft Otto Brüggemann.⁸ Die Schlussverse des Gedichtes „...so viel besser ist der Rat/ und der dreien Schwestern Hand,/ die euch das geschrieben hat“ sowie die Unterschrift N.E.A.L. (=Niehusen Elsabe, Anna, Lisbeth) wären ohne den Gedichttitel *Vor drei Jungfrauen Niehusen auf dero guten Ehrenfreundes Herrn O. Brüggeman*

⁴ Die einzige Art von Druckschriften, die die Frauen in Dorpat veröffentlicht haben, sind die deutschsprachigen Einladungen zur Beerdigung ihrer Männer, z.B. die Einladung zur Beerdigung des Superintendenten Georg Preuss von seiner Frau Hedwig Schultz, herausgegeben am 24.01.1676 (Estnisches Historisches Archiv = EHA 995-2-2356, online im Datenbank Drucke des 17. Jahrhunderts (bis 1710) im Estnischen Historischen Archiv [<http://www.eha.ee/plakatid/>] zugänglich).

⁵ Vgl. jetzt Pieta van Beek, *The first female university student: Anna Maria van Schurman (1636)* (Utrecht, 2010). Wir danken der Autorin für ihre freundliche Buchsendung.

⁶ Martin Klöcker, *Literarisches Leben in Reval in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts (1600–1657). Institutionen der Gelehrsamkeit und Dichten bei Gelegenheit. Teil I. Darstellung. Teil II. Bibliographie der Revaler Literatur* (Tübingen, 2005).

⁷ Z.B. PW (= *Poetische Wälder*) 4,35 auf den Namenstag von Heinrich Niehusen, im Namen seiner Töchter, PW 4, 37 auf den Namenstag von Maria Müller im Namen ihrer Schwester, PW 4, 41 auf den Namenstag des Veters, im Namen der sechs Schwestern Müller.

⁸ Zuerst in Paul Fleming, *Prodromus* (Hamburg, 1641), S. 88; Standardausgabe: idem, *Deutsche Gedichte*, hrsg. von Johann Martin Lappenberg, 2 (Hamburg, 1865), SS. 127–128.

Geburtstag kaum anders zu interpretieren als ein Indiz für die lokale Frauendichtung.⁹ Auf jeden Fall gelang es Fleming zum ersten Mal die est- und livländischen Frauen im literarischen Prozess aus der Position der Gedichtadressaten in die der wenigstens fiktiven Gedichtverfasserinnen zu erheben. Gleich nach seinem Tod 1640 erschien in der Revaler Druckerei auch das erste Gedicht aus der Feder einer Frau — ein jambisches Gelegenheitsgedicht anlässlich der Hochzeit des Gesandtschaftsmitgliedes Adam Olearius und Katharina Müller. Die Autorin A.H., die sich in der Gedichtunterschrift als „eine gute Freundin“ vorstellt, ist jedoch keine Einheimische — das Gedicht ist aus Leipzig geschickt.¹⁰ In der ganzen Revaler Frauendichtung des 17. Jahrhunderts dominierte — soweit bekannt — also Deutsch.¹¹

Die frühesten Belege für die lateinische Produktion der Frauen bietet die livländische Metropole Riga. Fast symbolisch handelt es sich dabei um die Begleittexte zum Werk eines Mannes. 1614 verfasste und veröffentlichte die Witwe des preußisch-livländischen Humanisten Daniel Hermann (1543?-1601), namens Ursula Kröger, zu drei Teilen der posthumen Gesamtausgabe ihres Gatten drei lateinische Widmungsvorworte im Prosa.¹² Für dichtende Frauen gibt es erste Belege erst aus der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts und diese Dichtungen sind schon deutschsprachig. 1677 veröffentlichte eine Judith von Alkens bei Heinrich Bessemesser in Riga anlässlich des Todes der kurländischen Herzogin Luise

⁹ Ein weiteres Beispiel, das Gedicht *Herr Magister, wo soll ich das Band finden?*, untergeschrieben von Elisabeth Knop, Katharina Knop und Katharina Temmen, ist in der Gesamtausgabe von Fleming's *Deutsche Gedichte*, 2 (Hamburg, 1865) in der 'Beilage III. Absonderliches Buch poetischer Wälder', S. 614 zu den anderen Gedichten mit unklarer Autorschaft gestellt.

¹⁰ *Hochzeit=Lust/Vnd/Musen=Kost/Einem hochberühmbten Öhl=Müller vnd seiner/ lieben schönen Müll[e]rin/ Nemblich /.../ M. Adamo Oleario /.../ Vnd der /.../ Jungfraw/ Catharinen /.../ Herrn Johan Möllers /.../ Tochter: Alß dieselben Anno 1640. den 15. Octobris zu Revall/ ihr hochzeitliches Frewden=Fest hielten /.../* (Reval, 1640), ff. B4recto-Cverso. Außer der pastoralen Stilisierung der vier letzten Verse fehlen im Gedicht die Hinweise auf die Gelehrsamkeit der Verfasserin.

¹¹ Neben deutschsprachiger Dichtung haben Revaler Frauen auch Einladungen zur Beerdigung ihrer Männer herausgegeben, z.B. Anna Hastver zur Beerdigung von Reinhold Mettstecken in Reval, herausgegeben am 10.05.1657 (EHA 2062-2-11. L.220), Sophie Helena Wrangell zur Beerdigung von Georg Johan von Berg, herausgegeben am 12.01.1680 (EHA 2062-2-11.L. 222) und Dorothea Hastfer zur Beerdigung von Jürgen Maydel, herausgegeben am 14.02.1687 (EHA 2062-2-11. L. 224).

¹² *Danielis Hermannii Borussi secretarii regii Poemata academica, aulica, bellica* (Riga, 1614-1615). Alle drei Teile enthalten ein lateinisches Vorwort von 2-4 Seiten (ohne Pagination nach dem Titelblatt).

Charlotte (1617-1676)¹³ zwei Trauergedichte:¹⁴ zunächst das in heroischen Alexandrinern geschriebene *O Grosses Hertzeleid! O Jammer der Elenden!*, dem das motivisch ähnliche, aber in einer trochäischen Kirchenliedstrophe (F 8.25),¹⁵ die im 17. Jahrhundert häufig für geistliche Klage-, Abend- und Todeslieder verwendet wurde, verfasste „Hertzeleid in allen Ständen“ folgte. Wer sie war, steht nicht fest: da die Familie von Alkens nicht zu hiesigen Adelsgeschlechtern gehörte,¹⁶ könnte es sich bei ihr sowohl um eine Kurländerin handeln, die einen Mann mit einer nicht est-, liv- oder kurländischen Herkunft geheiratet hat, um eine Hofdame, die Luise Charlotte aus ihrer brandenburgisch-preußischen Heimat nach Kurland mitgenommen hat oder um eine Edelfrau, die den Adressaten der Gedichte — neben Herzog Jakob auch dessen Kinder, „Printzen sambt den Princessinen“ (*Hertzeleid in allen Ständen*, Strophe 9, V. 1) — freundschaftlich, aus Verehrung oder als Untertanin zugetan war. Im zweiten Gedicht wird neben Brandenburg das Land Hessen erwähnt (*Hertzeleid in allen Ständen*, Strophe 10, V. 1), ein Hinweis auf die Töchter Luise Elisabeth und Amalia, die nach Hessen verheiratet worden waren,¹⁷ womit auch diese Gegend als Schreibort der Gedichte nicht ausgeschlossen werden kann. Die Tatsache, dass Judith von Alkens im ersten Gedicht bei der Anrede „O Churland und Semgall“ eine identifizierende „Wir“-Form benutzt (*O Grosses Hertzeleid*, Strophe 2, V. 1-2),¹⁸ lässt jedoch eher eine kurländische Verfasserschaft vermuten.

¹³ Luise Charlotte war die Schwester des brandenburgischen Kurfürsten und preußischen Herzogs, des sog. Großen Kurfürsten Friedrich Wilhelm I. (1620–1688) und die Gattin des wahrscheinlich namhaftesten kurländischen Herzogs Jakob Kettler (1610–1682).

¹⁴ LAB (s. Anm. 1), R 26143.

¹⁵ Vgl. Horst Joachim Frank, *Handbuch der deutschen Strophenformen*, 2., durchges. Aufl. (Tübingen, Basel, 1993), SS. 618–619.

¹⁶ Vgl. z. B. Ernst von Mühlendahl, Heinrich von Hoyningen gen. Huene (Bearb.), *Die Baltischen Ritterschaften. Übersicht über die in den Matrikeln der Ritterschaften von Livland, Estland, Kurland und Oesel verzeichneten Geschlechter*, 2., verb. u. erw. Aufl., (Limburg/Lahn, 1973) und Alfred Hansen, *Stammtafeln nichtimmatrikulierter baltischer Adelsgeschlechter*, 1-2 (Hamburg, 1961-1963).

¹⁷ Luise Elisabeth heiratete 1670 Landgraf Friedrich II. von Hessen-Homburg, Amalia 1673 Landgraf Karl von Hessen-Kassel. [http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Luise_Charlotte_von_Brandenburg].

¹⁸ O Churland und Semgall/ laßt Blut vor Thränen fließen/
Auf diesen Trawerstand! das wir nicht mehr genießen
Des aufrecht= Edlen Muths/ des thewren wehrten Pfands
Ja der Barmherzigkeit und Liebe dieses Lands!

Neben Frauen aus dem Nachbarland Kurland ließen auch Ostpreußinnen zuweilen ihre Gedichte in Riga drucken — falls das anlassstiftende Ereignis dort stattfand. 1679 gratulierte Gertrud Möller (geb. Eifler, 1637–1705), Tochter des Königsberger Professors für Logik und Metaphysik Michael Eifler, Gattin des Medizinprofessors Peter Möller und Mitglied des Pegnesischen Blumenordens,¹⁹ mit einem ebenfalls von H. Bessemesser gedruckten Gedicht *Was Gott ersehnt/ Daß muß geschehn*²⁰ dem Philosophieprofessor und Rektor des Rigaer Gymnasiums David Caspari zu seiner Hochzeit.

Auch das nächste Gelegenheitsgedicht einer Frau, gedruckt bei Johann George Wilcken in Riga, war einer Hochzeit gewidmet. 1683 schildert jemand, die unter den Initialen G. C. auftritt, in heroischen Alexandrinern und mit Anspielungen an die antike Mythologie im Gedicht *Dem [sic!] güldnen Strahlen- Glantz hat Phöbus ganz verlohren*²¹ wie das Eheglück des Herrn Heinrich Michelsen, Assessors des schwedischen Kriegskonsistoriums in Riga und Auditors des königl. Knorringschen Regiments und Hedwig Cahlen, Tochter des Leibarztes Ihr. Königl. Majestät und der Livländischen Garnisonen Physici Johannes Cahlen zustande kam. Auf eine weibliche Autorschaft deutet der — zugegeben, einen recht androgynen Eindruck hinterlassende — abschließende (4.) Alexandriner des Gedichts hin (V. 13-16): “So wünschet billich itzt ein Freund den man wol kennet/ Vnd der ihm kennen mag/ nur eine Freundin nennet/ Die zwar recht Mannbar ist/ und doch kein Mann wil seyn/ Von Männer Liebe frey und wandel [sic!] immer rein.” Eine unautorisierte spätere Hand hat die Initialen als Gertrud Cahlen ausbuchstabiert — die Verfasserin dieses Gedichts war die Schwester der Adressatin.

In diesem Hintergrund der völlig deutschsprachigen Frauendichtung des 17. Jahrhunderts der Region ist Gertrud Paffrath als erste dichtende Frau in Riga hervorzuheben, die neben deutschsprachigen auch einige lateinische Verse verfasst hat.

¹⁹ Hinweise zu ihrer Person s. unter ihrem Namen [<http://131.173.128.129:55051/rech.FAU?sid=C9CC00559&DM=1&RPOS=1&AUFT=0>] in den Biographien zum Gelegenheitsschriftum des Interdisziplinären Instituts für Kulturgeschichte der Frühen Neuzeit der Universität Osnabrück [<http://www.ikfn.uni-osnabrueck.de/57.htm>, 24.03.2011].

²⁰ LAB, R 35027.

²¹ LAB, R 35064.

Gertrud Paffrath — längst bibliographiert, kaum gelesen

Eindeutige Hinweise auf die literarische Tätigkeit von Gertrud Paffrath (auch Gertrut[a] Paffraht, latinisiert Paffradiana) gibt es schon im Lexikon *Riga literata* des Rigaer Kaufmannssohns Jonas Johannis Phragmenius, das 1699 in Rostock erschien.²² Phragmenius zitiert in einer Fußnote zum Lexikonartikel Catharina Gyldensterns, einer geistlichen Schriftstellerin aus den 1670er Jahren,²³ seinen schon gestorbenen Rigaer Lehrer David Hörnick (1665–1697), der ihm in einem Privatkolloquium mitgeteilt habe: “Unsers Ohrts haben wir eine stattliche Poetin an der Sehl. Ingf. Paffrat gehabt/ und wäre zu wünschen/ daß auch ihre Gedichte zusammengetragen und ans Licht gestellet würden.” Daraus erfahren wir nicht viel: dass irgendwann in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts in Riga eine Fräulein Paffrath lebte, dass sie zum Zeitpunkt, als Hörnick diese Informationen Phragmenius vermittelte, schon gestorben war (*se(h)lig*), dass sie wahrscheinlich nicht verheiratet war (*Jungfrau*) und eine unge- wisse Zahl an Gedichten geschrieben hatte, die zu Lebzeiten David Hör- nicks noch nicht gesammelt vorlagen. Folgende Nachschlagewerke stützen sich weitgehend auf diese knappen Angaben.²⁴ Erst Johann Friedrich von Recke und Carl Eduard Napiersky konnten in ihrem *Allgemeinen Schrift- steller- und Gelehrten-Lexikon*²⁵ wesentliche Informationen hinzufügen:

²² Jonas Johannis Phragmenius, *Riga literata* (Rostock, 1699), f. B3verso, s.v. Gyldenstern.

²³ Hedwig Catharina von Gyldenstern (schwed. Carin Gyllenstierna, vor 1622 in Schweden — 02.05.1683 Sunzel, lett. Suntaži/Livland) war Tochter des schwedischen Viceadmirals Nils Nilsson Gyllenstierna (1585–1622), Freiherrn zu Lundholm, und der Görvel Jönsdotter Snakenborg (Båå, gest. 1635), die zwei Mal mit einem Livländer verheiratet war: 1641 heiratete sie Engelbrecht von Meck (1619–1665), Statthaltern von Pernau, wendischen Landrichter und 1663 Landmarschall, danach 1667 den rigaschen Landrichter Otto von Vietinghof (gest. 1675). 1677 gab sie in Riga bei Johann Georg Wilcken ein der schwedischen Königin Hedwig Eleonore gewidmetes voluminöses Andachtsbuch “Geistliches Heil-Pflaster und Seelen-Artzney in allerley geistlichen Krankheiten” aus, dem 1678 eine kürzere schwedische Fassung “Ett andeligt apotek” folgte, beide kompilativen Charakters. Vgl. Johann Friedrich von Recke, Carl Eduard Napiersky, *Allgemeines Schriftsteller- und Gelehrten-Lexikon der Provinzen Livland, Ehistland und Kurland*, 2 (Mitau, 1829), 154; Gustaf Elgenstierna, *Den introducerade svenska adelns ättartavlor*, 3 (Stockholm, 1927), 361; Isak Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi, 1600-talet* (Uppsala, 1942), S. 343; David Lindqvist, *Studier i den svenska andaktsliteraturen under stormaktstidevarvet, med särskild hänsyn till bön-, tröste- och nattvardsböcker* (Uppsala, 1939), SS. 113-122 und Aija Taimiņa, ‘Rīgas Sv. Jēkaba baznīcā 1774. gadā atrastais stāvus iemūrētājs, versijas un papildinājumi Johana Kristofa Broces komentāriem’, *Mākslas Vēsture un Teorija*, 12 (2009), 58–70.

²⁴ So z.B. Friedrich Konrad Gadebusch, *Livländische Bibliothek*, 2 (Riga, 1777), 324.

²⁵ Johann Friedrich von Recke, Carl Eduard Napiersky, *Allgemeines Schriftsteller- und Gelehrten-Lexikon der Provinzen Livland, Ehistland und Kurland*, 3 (Mitau, 1831), 357.

die Frau hieß Gertrud Paffrath, sie florierte um die Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts und „sollte mit den alten Klassikern gut bekannt gewesen sein“. Das Urteil der Lexikonverfasser gründete sich auf die Lektüre einer Druckschrift mit zwei Trauergedichten von Paffrath aus dem Jahre 1655, wovon das lateinische acht und das deutsche 56 Verse enthält. Der Adressat dieser Druckschrift war der Präsident des schwedischen königlichen Kriegskollegiums und livländische Generalgouverneur Gustav Horn, der Anlass der Tod seiner zwei kleinen Söhne. Im Laufe des 19. Jahrhunderts tauchten zwei weitere Druckschriften mit Hochzeitsgedichten von Paffrath auf, in dem Druck zur Hochzeit von Hermann Meiners und Sophia von Dunte aus Riga vom Februar 1654 zwei lateinische und ein deutsches Gedicht (acht Verse auf Latein und 54 auf Deutsch) und zur Hochzeit des Konrektors der Mitauer Schule Wolfgang Adam Arnoldi und Anna Dorothea Bemol vom Januar 1657 ein deutscher Beitrag mit 28 Versen. In diesen relativ alten Angaben aus der Literaturgeschichte von Karl Goedeke²⁶ spiegelt sich auch der neueste bibliographische Bestand hinsichtlich der Dichtung von Paffrath wieder, da die große bibliographische Erschließung des Gelegenheitsschrifttums aus den osteuropäischen Bibliotheken nichts Weiteres hinzugefügt hat.²⁷ Seit der Literaturgeschichte von Goedeke ist auch der Fundort des einzigen bekannten Exemplars aller Gedichte von Paffrath in der Sammlung „Lateinische und deutsche Gelegenheits-Gedichte des 17. Jahrhunderts aus Königsberg und Riga“ in der SUB Göttingen fixiert.²⁸ Während der letzten 125 Jahre hat das Schrifttum von Paffrath nur kurze Erwähnung gefunden (1960 von Otto Webermann²⁹ und 2007 im *Lexikon der deutschsprachigen Literatur des Baltikums*³⁰); beide gründen sich offensichtlich nur auf die Tradierung der früheren Angaben und nicht auf eine Lektüre ihrer Gedichte. Vor kurzem erfuhren alle drei Druckschriften mit den Gedichten von Paffrath jedoch

²⁶ Karl Goedeke, *Grundriß zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung. Aus den Quellen von Karl Goedeke*, 2., ganz neu bearb. Aufl., 3 (Dresden, 1887), 143.

²⁷ *Handbuch des personalen Gelegenheitsschrifttums in europäischen Bibliotheken und Archiven. Mit einer bibliotheksgeschichtlichen Einleitung und einer kommentierten Bibliographie von Klaus Garber* (Hildesheim, 2001–...). Überprüft sind die Bände 1–15 und 23–26.

²⁸ Signatur 8 P COLL 168 RARA Nr. 34, 42 und 54.

²⁹ Otto Alexander Webermann, 'Baltische Dichterinnen in der Literatur des 17. bis 19. Jahrhunderts', *Jahrbuch des baltischen Deutschtums* 1960 (Lüneburg, 1959), 57–61, hier 57.

³⁰ Carola L. Gottzmann, Petra Hörner, *Lexikon der deutschsprachigen Literatur des Baltikums und St. Petersburgs*, 3 (Berlin, New York, 2007), 1004–1005.

eine Digitalisierung³¹ und wurden so zum ersten mal sowohl vom bibliographischen als auch vom literaturhistorischen Blickpunkt in die regionale, vorwiegend deutsche Frauenliteratur eingeordnet.³² Dank dieser Analyse entstand auch der Bedarf ihre lateinischen Gedichte neu und kritisch zu lesen.

Das Ideal der *poësis docta* und ihre Realisierungsstrategien

Unter den sechs Gedichten (insgesamt 154 Versen) von Paffrath findet man neben fünf typischen Gelegenheitsgedichten ein Kurzgedicht in zwei lateinischen elegischen Distichen mit dem Titel *In importunum Zoilum*, an den strengen Zoilus (s. unten in der Edition 1.3), einen antiken Literaturkritiker, der in der Frühen Neuzeit als Verkörperung der Unbarmherzigkeit galt. Obwohl solche Gedichte zum Ausdruck der Bescheidenheit einen typischen Bestandteil der frühneuzeitlichen Gedichtsammlungen bildeten,³³ ist es das einzige Gedicht dieser Art aus der Feder von Paffrath und kann deshalb einerseits als ein Schutzversuch für ihre ersten veröffentlichten Gedichte, andererseits aber programmatisch interpretiert werden. Es ist auf eine gattungstypische Antithese aufgebaut: die *tenella opella* der *parva* und *innocua auctor* wird von einem *doctus* kritisiert (*circumrodis*).³⁴ Jedoch ist der Kritiker so ein Narr (*scurra*), dass er nicht

³¹ Eine digitalisierte Kopie der Gedichte kann auf der Webseite der Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen eingesehen werden [<http://resolver.sub.uni-goettingen.de/purl?PPN592372030>]. Wir danken der SUB Göttingen für das Erlaubnis die Gedichte kommentiert herauszugeben.

³² Kairit Kaur, 'Baltisaksa naiste juhuluulest XVII sajandi keskpaigast XVIII sajandi lõpuni', *Keel ja Kirjandus*, 1 (Tallinn, 2009), 11–32. In Vorbereitung ist eine Dissertation über die deutsche Dichtung baltischer Frauen: Kairit Kaur, *Dichtende Frauen in Est-, Liv- und Kurland. Von ihren ersten Gelegenheitsgedichten bis zu ihren ersten Gedichtbänden (1654–1800)*.

³³ Für die Ostseeregion vgl. z.B. Hans Helander, *Neo-Latin Literature in Sweden in the Period of 1620–1710. Stylistics, Vocabulary and characteristic Ideas*, *Studia Latina Upsaliensia*, 20 (Uppsala, 2004), SS. 311–312.

³⁴ Die Verwendung des Adjektivs *parva* kann in die Richtung weisen, dass Gertrud Paffrath noch sehr jung war, *innocua*, dass sie noch keine Erfahrung mit der Veröffentlichung der eigenen Poesie bzw. mit der Kritik darauf hatte. Der Vergleich mit dem Gesamtkorpus der Dorpater Gelegenheitsdichtung aus den Jahren 1632–1656 zeigt, dass das Wort *parvus*, -a (bzw. *parvulus*, -a) im Fall der Personen nur ein Kind bezeichnete — kein Dorpater Student hat sich in seinem Gelegenheitsgedicht so charakterisiert, obwohl die jüngsten Studenten nicht mehr als 10 Jahre alt waren. In der deutschsprachigen Frauenichtung der Region finden sich Beispiele für Kinder, die als Gedichtautoren auftreten. 1691 gratulieren "[d]ie Gesamten Freyherrl: Kniggesche Kinder" Maria Louisa, Charlotte Sibylla, Francisca Eleonora, Georg Friedrich Christian und Joh. Sigismund mit jeweils

im Stande ist, für die unschädliche Poetessin Nachsicht zu haben. Die Benutzung dieser typisch gelehrten Gedichtgattung sowie das ironische Spiel mit dem Begriff *doctus* markieren die eigentliche Ambition der Dichterin, selbst als *docta* bezeichnet zu werden.

Zur Verwirklichung ihres Gelehrsamkeitsideals wählte Gertrud Paffrath zwei Strategien. Entweder schrieb sie lateinische Gedichte, die sowohl in der Form als auch inhaltlich den klassischen Vorbildern folgen, oder, wenn sie wegen ihrer weiblichen Adressaten, der Bräute und der trauernden Mutter überwiegend auf Deutsch dichtete, verwendete sie antike Überlieferungen aller Art. Ihr Latein ist völlig klassisch mit einigen zeit-typischen Sprachzügen, wie *queis* für *quibus* im *dativus pluralis* im Hochzeitsgedicht an Meiners und Dunte (1.1.4).³⁵ Die Sprachbeherrschung von Paffrath bestätigen vor allem die versifzierten Prosazitate der lateinischen Klassiker. Am Anfang des Gedichtes an Familie Horn (Edition 2.1) veranschaulicht die Umwandlung des Seneca-Zitates ihre Kenntnis der lateinischen Synonymik. Aus der Vorlage *Hoc cotidie meditare, ut possis aequo animo vitam relinquere* (epist. 4,5) hat sie das elegische Distichon *Mortalis, mortem perpendas nocte dieque, / Quo, si sors tulerit, tum bene ferre queas* gemacht. Alle Wortstämme der Textvorlage sind ersetzt oder mit mehreren Worten umschrieben: statt *cotidie* verwendet Paffrath die antike Versschlussformel *nocte dieque*, statt *meditare* sagt sie *perpendas*, statt *possis* — *queas*, statt *bene ferre* — *aequo animo* usw.³⁶ Das folgende elegische Distichon gründet sich auf einen Zitat aus *De Senectute* von Cicero: “Moriendum enim certum est, sed id incertum, an eo ipso die”. Ein Vergleich mit den Versen von Paffrath zeigt, dass sie auch verschiedene grammatische und syntaktische Kategorien geübt hat. Sie war fähig, aus einer mit Gerundium gebildeten Konstruktion

einem Gedicht “Ihrem Herrn Vetter und Nahen Anverwandtin” Dietrich von der Reck und Juliana Fircks. Diese kleine Hochzeitsschrift ist insbesondere deshalb bemerkenswert, weil eines der unterzeichnenden Kinder — Charlotte Sibylla bzw. Sibylla Charlotte von Knigge (1686–1759) — Großmutter väterlicherseits von Elisa von der Recke (1754–1833), der bekanntesten Dichterin und Aufklärungsschriftstellerin des Nordbaltikums im letzten Viertel des 18. Jahrhunderts war. Auch wenn sie ihr Gedicht nicht selbst geschrieben hat — sie war zum Zeitpunkt dieser Hochzeit erst 4 Jahre alt — zeigt sich daran, dass in dieser Familie weibliche Autorschaft für hiesige Verhältnisse schon sehr früh denkbar wurde.

³⁵ Zu dieser morphologischen Variation s. Emanuel Swedenborg, *Ludus Heliconius and other Latin poems*, ed. by Hans Helander, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Latina Upsaliensia, 23 (Uppsala, 1995), SS. 23–24.

³⁶ Diese Folgerung gilt auch auf dem Fall, wenn sie neben ihrer grundlegenden Inspirationsquelle, dem Florilegium von Langius, gar nicht mit dem originalen Wortlaut des antiken Autors bekannt war (s. unten).

moriendum certum est einen Akkusativ mit Infinitiv zu gestalten (*omnes namque homines certum est, excedere vita*). Im nächsten Vers variiert sie den ciceronischen temporalen Ablativ *eo ipso* die mit einem temporalen Nebensatz...*quo tempore fiat*. Unzweifelhaft hatte Paffrath einen zeitty-pischen lateinischen Sprachunterricht hinter sich.

Ihren Versen nach zu urteilen, ist die Bildung von Paffrath jedoch nicht bei dem lateinischen Sprachunterricht stehengeblieben — sie hat auch einen zeitty-pischen lateinischen Poesieunterricht gehabt. Im Kontext der kleinen Anzahl ihrer lateinischen Verse ist die häufige Verwendung der antiken Versschlußformel besonders gut bemerkbar. Die festen Formeln und Junktoren am Versanfang, Versende oder auch in der Versmitte bestätigen mindestens die Kenntnis einiger Verse von Ovid, Vergil, Lukan, Martial und Horaz.

Für ihre deutschen Gedichte hat Gertrud Paffrath eine andere Strategie der Gelehrsamkeit gewählt — sie sind als Reihen gelehrter Belege (*inventiones*) zu einem Leitmotiv oder Stichwort zu charakterisieren. Das erste Hochzeitsgedicht an Meiners und Dunte (Edition 1.2), eine Sammlung von Belegen zum Thema Eintracht (*concordia*), signalisiert uns, dass Paffrath Vorlagen verschiedener Art umdichtete. Dem Gedicht geht ein angeblich aristotelisches Zitat aus der *Physik* (cap. 12) in lateinischer Übersetzung voraus, eine Art Vorlage, die wir zur Gruppe der *Sententiae philosophorum* rechnen können. Der Inhalt des Zitates wird dann in ersten zehn Versen auf Deutsch umschrieben. Danach ist ein Beleg aus der Bibel, ein *exemplum biblicum* aus dem ersten Buch Mose ausgewählt (*Gen.* 13,8), das die Versöhnung der Brüder Abraham und Loth schildert. Drittens kommen zwei *exempla* aus der antiken Überlieferung, wofür Apophthegmata verwendet worden sind: in der dritten und vierten Strophe sind die Gedanken des antiken Philosophen Musonius Rufus über die Einigkeit in Ehe und Freundschaft zu lesen, in der fünften und sechsten die Geschichte des Skythen Scilurus, wie er seine 80 Söhne an seinem Sterbebett zur Einigkeit aufruf. Beide antiken Exempla gehören zu den sogenannten historischen Beispielen, die im Vergleich zu den fiktiven Beispielen schon in der antiken Rhetorik als wirkungsvoller galten.³⁷ Erst die drei Schlusstrophen des Gedichtes sind den Brautleuten gewidmet.

Schon in diesem ersten deutschen Gedicht findet man Hinweise, dass Paffrath bei der Auswahl ihrer gelehrten Vorlagen adressatenbezogen vorging. So hatte der Adressat, Bräutigam Hermann Meiners während

³⁷ Quintilian, 5,11,17.

seines Studiums am Rigaer Gymnasium wenigstens einmal über die Logik disputiert und dabei öfters auf Aristoteles hingewiesen.³⁸

Ihr zweites und längstes deutsches Gedicht an die trauernde Familie Horn unterscheidet sich insoweit von dem früheren deutschen Gedicht, dass die Belege sich auf drei *loci communes* beziehen. Dem Thema entsprechend sind es *Mors*, *Luctus* und *Misericordia*. Neben den schon erwähnten Quellengruppen wie *Apophthegmata* und *Exempla biblica* dichtet Paffrath jetzt auch einen Spruch des Kirchenvaters Bernhard von Clairvaux um. Man bemerkt wieder eine sorgfältige Anpassung der gewählten Exempla an den Adressaten. Die Beispiele von trauernden Personen schildern nämlich entweder einen hohen Staatsbeamten und

³⁸ Hermannus Meiners, *Publica disputatio Logica de praedicamento Substantiae. Quam Deo bene propitio sub moderatione Clarissimi et Excellentissimi Viri Domini M. Johannis Stuborgii Philosophiae Professoris publici. Praeceptoris sui fidelissimi, publico examini submittit Hermannus Meiners, ad diem 14. Novembr. horis locoque consuetis* (Riga, 1644). Nach dem Besuch der Domschule zu Riga studierte Hermann Meiners (Sohn des gleichnamigen Rigaer Bürgermeisters) in Franeker (imm. 11.9.1645) und Straßburg (imm. 10.10.1648) Jura und war bis zu seinem Tod (1657 an der Pest) in Riga als Ratsekretär tätig (Arvo Tering, *Lexikon estländischer, livländischer und kurländischer Studenten an europäischen Universitäten 1561–1800. Zum Druck vorbereitet von Jürgen Beyer* (Köln, voraussichtlich 2013), Nr. 3233). Aufgrund der Rigaer Gelegenheitsdichtung gehörte er zu den Gönnern der Poeten, z.B. von Nicolaus Witte, dessen Druckschrift *Der neun Musen hochzeitliche Glück-Wünsche, Ihrem Werten Freunde und sonders-geneigten Gönner Hr. Herman Meiners, Alß Er Die so wol an Adel alß Tugend reiche Jungfrau Sophia von Dunten Ihm Ehelich trauen ließ/ Zu behäglichen Ehren In neuerlei Sprachen abgelegt und hernachmals durch Nicolaus Witten Dients-meinendlich zu Papier gebracht* (Riga, 1654) eine Gedichtkomposition mit den Beiträgen von neun Musen in der Tradition des Musenliedes von Martianus Capella enthält. Das Gedicht von Witte ist für die Gattungstradition insoweit von Interesse, dass die Musen nicht nur in verschiedenen Metra, sondern auch in verschiedenen Sprachen ihre Glückwünsche vortragen. Neben den modernen Sprachen, die in der damaligen Handels- und politischen Praxis wichtig waren (Französisch, Italienisch, Spanisch, Deutsch, Schwedisch, Englisch und Holländisch) weisen die ersten Beiträge von Clio und Euterpe, die die griechische und lateinische Sprache benützen, auf die humanistische Bildung des Adressaten hin. Witte bedachte Hermann Meiners auch in einer lateinischen Trauerschrift, die Johann Sebastian Markard ins Deutsche (und in Verse) übertrug und 1658 in Lübeck herausgab: *Rigische Ehrn= und Gedächtniß=Seule/ Zum unvergänglichen Nachruhm denen hochbegabten und um gemeinen Nutzen in geist= und weltlichen Ständen wolbedienten Patrioten, Welche im Jahr Christi M. DL. LVJJ. von Weihnachten ab biß auf S. Michaelis/ nach Gottes unerforschlicher/ doch allweiser und allezeit gütiger Schickung/ durch die grimmige und geschwinde Pest=Seuche/ nicht ohne sonderbares Mitleiden und Betraurung der ganzen hochlöblichen Statt Herzscherzbetrüblich dahin gerissen wurden/ Aus Henning Wittens Lateinischen Sermon in der Eile Poetisch aufgesetzt und mit etlichen nützlichen Anmerkungen erleutert von Johann Sebastian Markard/ aus Schweinfurt in Franken/ P.L.C. der Rahtsschule in Reval ehemals gewesenen Rectorn/ und hernachmahls auf dem Schloß Oberpahlen in Lifland Ehstnisch=deutschen Prediger, hier V. 316–319.*

Kriegsherrn (Funktionen, die auch Gustav Horn ausübte) oder einen Vater, der sein Kind verloren hat. So ist in der zweiten Strophe die Rede von Julius Caesar über das Verhältnis des Senators Lucius Silanus zum Tod zitiert (wie in Sallusts *Catil.*, 51,20), in der dritten und vierten Strophe das Beispiel des Feldherren Xerxes dargestellt, der nach einer erfolgreichen Schlacht weinte, als er erkannte, dass in hundert Jahren auch kein Sieger mehr leben wird. Die Beispiele des trauernden Vaters betreffen den Sophisten Quirinus und den König David (2 *Sam.*, 12,23).

In diesem Gedicht kümmert sich Paffrath bemerkenswerterweise auch um die visuelle Präsentation ihrer Gelehrsamkeit, als sie ihren Versen am Rande die Textvorlagen in Form summarischer Stellenangaben (Name des Autors und Werkes, Buch bzw. Kapitel, manchmal auch Vers) hinzufügt. Dieses Mittel erweckt bei den Adressaten schon vor der Lektüre einen ersten Eindruck von ihrer Dichtungsart. Es ist jedoch nicht für eine spezielle Art der Legitimierung der schriftstellerischen Tätigkeit einer Frau in der Welt der Männer zu halten, eher vielleicht mit dem hohen Rang des Adressaten, mit dem livländischer Generalgouverneur Gustav Horn, zu erklären.

Im dritten deutschen Hochzeitsgedicht an Arnoldi und Bemoll hat Paffrath den *locus* Freundschaft (*amicitia*) als zentrales Stichwort gewählt. Teilweise operiert sie mit denselben Typen der Vorlagen wie in den zwei ersten Gedichten, teilweise bringt neue Quellentypen hinzu. Die erste Strophe ist wieder aufgrund einer *Sententia philosophorum* entstanden. Da sie bei diesem Gedicht keinen Hinweis auf ihre Quellen gibt, ist schwer zu entscheiden, ob sie hier eine Stelle aus der Nikomachischen Ethik des Aristoteles (*Eth. Nic.*, 1171B2) oder aus *De Amicitia* von Cicero (20–22) berücksichtigt hat. Die Verse 5–10 zeigen einen weiteren Typus der Vorlage, nämlich das Sprichwort, *adagium* (ein guter Freund ist ein edles Kleinod oder *amicus verus thesaurus*). Auch die nächsten zwei Verse stellen uns einen neuen Typus der Vorlage, nämlich die *Sententiae poetarum* vor. *Ein treuer Freund der wird von jenem Mann genannt/ Die halbe Seele deß/ dem er die Freundschaft gönnt* ist eine Anspielung auf die Horazode 1,3,8 *animae dimidium meae*, womit der antike Poet einst seinen abreisenden Freund Vergil bedacht hatte.

Die betonte Vielfalt der Quellentypen musste auf das zeitgenössische Publikum von Paffrath zweifellos den anvisierten gelehrten Eindruck ausüben, besonders im Kontext der übrigen regionalen Gelegenheitsdichtung. In Riga und Dorpat findet man unter den tausenden Gedichten der

1630er bis 1650er Jahre insgesamt zwar weniger als zehn Beispiele vom Gedichttyp, in dem die biblischen Stellen nacheinander gedichtet und am Seitenrande angegeben sind, aber nur ein einziges vergleichbares Epithalamium, das auf der gleichen Vielfalt der Quellentypen aufgebaut ist (zwei Bibelstellen, ein griechischer und zwei römische Autoren, ein humanistischer Autor und ein juristisches Handbuch).³⁹ Da diese ebenso zweiteilige und -sprachige (Latein und Deutsch) Gedichtkomposition knapp fünf Jahre vor dem schriftstellerischen Auftreten von Paffrath erschien⁴⁰ und aus der Feder einer wegen seiner Dichtkunst und Gelehrsamkeit hochgeschätzten Person, dem Lehrer und späteren Rektor der Rigaer Domschule Johannes Hörnick (1621–1686) stammte,⁴¹ konnte die Leistung unserer Autorin in den Augen der Zeitgenossen noch mehr auffallen.

Heutzutage führt uns die Breite der Quellentypen der Gedichte von Paffrath jedoch zur Frage, ob die anscheinend junge Autorin wirklich schon eine umfangreiche, teilweise zeittypische (Frauen)lektüre (die Morallehrer Cicero, Seneca und Aristoteles, moralische Beispiele aus den *Apophthegmata* von Erasmus, der Historiker Sallust, der Dichter Horaz, der Kirchenvater Bernhard von Clairvaux und die Bibel) hinter sich hatte

³⁹ Vulg., *1 Pet.*, 3, 18 und *1 Tim.*, 4, 3; Plutarchos, *Problemata*, Persius, *Satyra* 5, Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, 10, 13; Polydorus Vergilius, *De rerum inventionibus libri octo* (benutzt ist die erweiterte Ausgabe 1521) und Justinianus *Institutiones*, Lib. 1 Tit. 9 §9. Obwohl hier dieselben Quellentypen vertreten sind wie in den Gedichten von Paffrath, stammen die konkreten Beispiele nicht aus einem bzw. mehreren Stichwörtern des Florilegiums von Langius.

⁴⁰ Johannes Hörnick, *Taediae, Quas Viro Reverendo, Eximio, Praestantissimo Doctissimo Dn. Stephano Derschovio, Pastori Piltenae vigilantissimo, Sponso, Virginem, Qua prosapiam Nobilem, qua virtutem Laudabilem, qua formam Amabilem Dorotheam Schwarzenberg/ Viri Nobilissimi, Spectatissimique Dn. Abrahami Schwarzenberg, Arcis Pilten. Praefecti emeriti et Haereditarij in Lardinem etc. Filiam Sponsam Ducenti, ipso solemnitate die, qui erat 7. Septemb. animo sincero atque affectu fraterno, praeferendas transmissit Johannes Hörnick/ Sch. Rig. Coll.* (Riga, 1649). Eine digitale Kopie der Gedichte ist auf der Webseite der SUB Göttingen zu sehen [<http://resolver.sub.uni-goettingen.de/purl?PPN592279162>].

⁴¹ Johannes Hörnick aus Plauen im Vogtland arbeitete seit 1648 an der Rigaer Domschule, zuerst als Kollega, seit 1655 als Konrektor und seit 1658 als Rektor. 1671 zog er nach Reval, wo er am Gymnasium als Professor der Poesie und 1678–1683 auch der Eloquenz und Geschichte tätig war. Seine letzten Lebensjahre verbrachte er in Riga. Vater von David Hörnick, späteren Professor der Dichtkunst in Riga, s. oben (Recke-Napiersky, *Allgemeines Schriftsteller- und Gelehrten-Lexikon*, 2 (1828), 319–321). Der Ruhm seiner Gelehrsamkeit dauerte bis in das 19. Jahrhundert hinein, vgl. z.B. Arend Buchholtz, *Geschichte der Buchdruckerkunst in Riga 1588–1888. Festschrift der Buchdrucker Rigas zur Erinnerung an die vor 300 Jahren erfolgte Einführung der Buchdruckerkunst in Riga* (Riga, 1890), S. 70.

oder ihre Gelehrsamkeit eher aus einem zeitgenössischen Florilegium schöpfte. Aufgrund der genauen Identifizierung der zitierten Vorlagen muss die Frage nach ihrer eigenen Lektüre jedoch verneinend beantwortet werden. Bedeutend ist dabei vor allem das Aristoteles-Zitat am Anfang des Hochzeitgedichtes an Meiners und Dunte. Den Satz *Concordia sustinemur, discordia pessum imus* sucht man vergeblich aus der *Physik* des Aristoteles bzw. aus deren Übersetzung ins Lateinische — der Satz stammt nicht aus diesem Werk. Stattdessen ist es eine Verallgemeinerung aus dem populärsten frühneuzeitlichen Florilegium von Josephus Langius,⁴² das dank der Zusammenstellung von mehreren Quellentypen eigenartig und beispiellos war,⁴³ und zwar aus der Abteilung Vergleiche (*Similitudines*) des Stichwortes *Concordia*.⁴⁴ Langius begann diese Abteilung seines Florilegiums mit einem Zitat aus der

⁴² Der Vergleich einer Oktavausgabe von 1621, *Loci communes, sive Florilegium rerum et materialium selectarum: Praecipue Sententiarum, Apophthegmatum, Similitudinum, Exemplorum, Hieroglyphicorum: Ex Sacris Literis: Patribus item: aliisque Linguae Graecae et Latinae Scriptoribus probatis collectum: Studio et opera Josephi Langii Caesaremontani. Additus est index fabularum, Emblematum ac Symbolorum. Editio nova prioribus correctior* (Argentorati, 1621) und einer Folio-Ausgabe von 1645, *Florilegii Magni, Seu Polyantheae Floribus Novissimis Sparsae, Libri XX: Opus praeclarum, suavissimis celebriorum sententiarum, vel Graecarum, vel Latinarum flosculis refertum; Elenchus Titulorum totius Operis Epistolae nunc primum adjunctus / studio dehinc et opera Josephi Langii, meliore ordine dispositum...*; *Editio titulis item novissimis aucta: ... Fr. Sylvii Insulani industria et labore* (Argentorati, 1645) zeigt, dass Gertrud Paffrath eine umfangreiche Folio-Ausgabe benutzt hat. Deshalb stützen wir uns in hiesiger Edition auf die Folio-Ausgabe von 1645. Auf dem Rigaer Buchmarkt waren jedoch auch die Oktavausgaben verbreitet, da man aus einem Memorial des Rigaer Buchhändlers und -druckers Gerhard Schröder aus dem Jahre 1645 weiß, dass zu den Büchern, die der Rigaer Buchbinder Lorenz Bemol aus Rostock von J. Hallervort bestellte, in Riga während drei Jahre nicht verkaufen konnte und 1643 Schröder überlieferte, auch ein Exemplar des Florilegiums von Langius (1631, 8^o) gehörte (Wilhelm Stieda, 'Zur Geschichte des Buchhandels in Riga', *Archiv für Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels*, 6 (1881), 114–150, hier Beilage III, 132). Eine nicht vollständige bibliographische Übersicht von Editionen des Florilegiums enthält Mieczysław Mejór, 'Polyanthea nova von Joseph Lange: ein Exempel der neulateinischen Florilegia', in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Hafniensis. Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies Copenhagen 12 August to 17 August 1991* (Binghamton, New York, 1994), SS. 651–662.

⁴³ Verschiedene Editionen des Florilegiums bieten eine unterschiedliche Anzahl von Quellentypen. In der Ausgabe von 1645 sind Definitionen, Bibelzitate, Sentenzen der Kirchenväter, Sentenzen der Dichter, Sentenzen der Philosophen, Apophthegmata, Vergleiche, Exempla aus der Bibel und aus der Weltgeschichte, Adagia, Hieroglyphica, Emblemata und Märchen vertreten. Ann Moss, 'Emblems into Commonplaces: The Anthologies of Josephus Langius,' in *Mundus Emblematicus. Studies in Neo-Latin Emblem Books*, ed. by Karl A. E. Enenkel and Arnoud S. Q. Visser (Turnhout, 2003), SS. 1–16, hier 6, charakterisiert das Werk von Langius als *a compilation of compilations, ... perhaps the richest and most methodical example of the commonplace-book*.

⁴⁴ Langius (Argentorati, 1645), S. 581.

Naturgeschichte des Älteren Plinius über den Bimsstein, der als *grandis innatat, comminutus sidit* und fügte hinzu: *Ita concordia sustinemur, discordia pessum imus* Plinius lib. 2. c. 106 et Arist. de Natur. c. 12. Dank der Untersuchung von B. L. Ullman verfügen wir über die Informationen, dass Langius diese Zusammensetzung von Plinius und Aristoteles den *Parabola*e von Conradus Lycosthenes entnommen hat.⁴⁵ Aufgrund der *Physik* des Aristoteles konnte Lycosthenes der Plinius-Stelle jedoch keine ethische Maxime hinzufügen, sondern sie mit einem allgemeinen physikalischen Bewegungsprinzip der Körper und mit der Ausnahme, dass die schweren Körper sich manchmal unerwartet nicht nach unten, sondern nach oben bewegen, unterstützen (s. mögliche vergleichbare Stellen in der Edition 2.2). Gertrud Paffrath scheint aus dem Wortlaut des Florilegiums aber den Schluss gezogen zu haben, dass der erste Satz über den Bimsstein von Plinius, das ethische Urteil dazu von Aristoteles stammt. Ihrem Gedichtthema entsprechend verwendete sie nur die vermutete aristotelische Maxime zu diesem Vergleich.

Vergleicht man die übrige antike und biblische Überlieferung in den Gedichten von Paffrath mit dem Florilegium von Langius, sieht man, dass die Dichterin ihre Gedichte fast völlig aufgrund dieses Florilegiums schrieb. Für das deutsche Hochzeitsgedicht an Meiners und Dunte schöpfte sie ihr Material aus dem Stichwort 'Eintracht', für das Epikedium an Familie Horn aus den Stichwörtern 'Tod', 'Trauer' und 'Mitleid' und für das Hochzeitsgedicht an Arnoldi und Bemoll aus dem Stichwort 'Freundschaft' (s. *apparatus fontium* in der Edition). Von den Quellentypen der Vorlage blieben nur die Hieroglyphica, Emblemata und Fabula außerhalb ihres Interesses.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Berthold L. Ullman, 'Joseph Lang and his anthologies', in *Middle Ages, Reformation, Volkskunde: Festschrift for John G. Kunstmann*, ed. by George Fenwick Jones et al. (Chapel Hill, NC, 1959), S. 193 und Conrad Lycosthenes, *Parabola*e, siue similitudines, per Erasmus ex Plutarcho, Seneca et aliis authoribus excerptae, deinde per C. Lycosthenem dispositae, ac nunc tandem sedulo purgatae et auctae (Lugduni, 1602), S. 29.

⁴⁶ Manchmal hat sie die Vorgaben aus ihrer lateinischen Vorlage jedoch durch die Lektüre deutschsprachiger Quellen ergänzt. Im Wortlaut finden sich Reminiszenzen an Luthers Bibel- und Apogryphenübersetzungen (im letzten Fall vor allem an das Buch Sirach), aber auch zeitgenössische renommierte deutsche Dichter treten in der Vorbildfunktion auf. So erinnern die Eingangsverse des deutschsprachigen Gedichts an Gustav Horn gleich an zwei Sonette von Andreas Gryphius, sowohl an das *Auf H. Sigismund Gutsche, Ratsverwandten zu Fraustadt, als er zum ersten nach dem Brande der Stadt geheiratet und gebauet* (1637) als auch *Dominus de me cogitat* (1640), diejenigen des Gedichts *Wie seelig wird der Mensch vor andern doch geschätzt* aber an Gryphius Gedicht *Auff den andern Pfingst-Tag. Joh. 3.*

Damit reduziert sich die Gelehrsamkeit von Paffrath hinsichtlich der *inventiones* auf ein einziges Florilegium, das zwar „für den weitesten Markt der Lateinbenutzer konzipiert war“, ⁴⁷ jedoch kaum zufällig ausgewählt wurde. Ihr Umgang mit der früheren lateinischen Literatur und entsprechend auch die Verwendung der Lesefrüchte in der eigenen Dichtung folgt den Vorschlägen des großen Lateindidaktikers Johannes Amos Comenius. In der *De sermonis latini studio... absolvendo didactica dissertatio* schrieb Comenius, dass das Florilegium von Langius (und von Gruterus) als einzige Ausnahmen unter den *loci communes* Sammlungen die Lektüre der Autoren selbst ersetzen und eine Quelle des Wissens (*rerum cognitio*) bilden können. ⁴⁸ Der Vorschlag von Comenius war nicht speziell für die Frauenbildung vorgesehen, hat aber in der entfernsten Nord-Ost Ecke Europas einen Impuls dazu gegeben.

Biographische Ergänzungen

Auf die Frage, wie eine lateinkundige Frau in der Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts in Riga auftauchen konnte, aus welchem sozialen Milieu sie stammte oder wie sie zu ihrer Gelehrsamkeit gelangte, kann man bis jetzt nur teilweise antworten. Fest steht, dass Gertrud Paffrath aus keiner einheimischen Familie stammte — aufgrund des Rigaer Bürgerbuches gab es unter den Stadtbürgern des 17. Jahrhunderts keine Person namens Paffrath. ⁴⁹ Ob ihre Herkunft mit dem deutschen oder niederländischen Zweig der Familie (Paffrath bzw. Paffraet) verbunden ist, gelang nicht festzustellen. ⁵⁰ Ebenso wenig lässt sich entscheiden, ob Gertrud Paffrath in Riga geboren oder erst in ihrer Kindheit oder frühen Jugend nach Riga kam. ⁵¹

⁴⁷ So Moss, 'Emblems into Commonplaces', S. 6.

⁴⁸ Joannes Amos Comenius, *De sermonis latini studio, per vestibulum, ianuam, palatium et thesauros Latinitatis, quadripartito gradu plene absolvendo, Didactica dissertatio, Opera didactica omnia I*, I (Praha, 1957), Sp. 345–403, hier 359–360.

⁴⁹ Bürger-Verzeichniss 1603–1800, LVVA 1382-2-243a. Auch in den Quartalbüchern sucht man vergeblich nach diesem Namen, vgl. Quartalbuch 1615–1634, Register, LVVA 1382-2-233, Quartalbuch 1648–1653 LVVA 1382-2-234, Quartalbuch 1660–1680 (Register S. 253-267), LVVA 1382-2-235.

⁵⁰ Zum deutschen Zweig der Familie s. die Homepage der Familie Paffrath mit den weiterführenden Literaturhinweisen http://www.paffrath.biz/ahnen/linie_hueckeswagen.htm [28.10.2010]; zu den wichtigsten niederländischen Vertretern z.B. *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, 1 (Leiden, 1911), Sp. 1399.

⁵¹ Aufgrund der Rigaer Kirchenbücher kann man dazu nichts sicheres behaupten: gerade aus dem Zeitraum 1621–1656 scheinen gar keine Kirchenbücher erhalten geblieben

Auch über ihre soziale Herkunft kann man nur vorsichtige Vermutungen anstellen. Ausgeschlossen sind solche aus den anderen Ecken Europas bekannte Paradigmen der dichtenden Frauen wie die Tochter bzw. Schwester eines Pädagogen oder eines Predigers, aber auch eines Ratmitgliedes, da die Angaben über diese Amtsmänner in Riga für diese Periode gut dokumentiert sind.⁵² Die Herkunft aus einer Handwerkerfamilie ist sehr unwahrscheinlich, wie neben dem Rigaer Bürgerbuch auch die Listen der Mitglieder der Kleinen (St. Johannis) Gilde, die Handwerker vereinigte, bestätigen.⁵³ Damit kommen vor allem zwei typisch von den Fremden

zu sein, was mit der Belagerung Rigas 1656 durch russische Truppen und der folgenden Pest erklärt werden könnte. Also klappt eine grosse Lücke in den Daten gerade zu jener Zeit, in der Gertrud Paffrath wahrscheinlich geboren und aufgewachsen ist. Die erhaltenen Kirchenbücher aus dem früheren und späteren 17. Jahrhundert enthalten keine Informationen zum Namen Paffrath, s. der digitale Archiv Raduraksti des Staatlichen Historischen Archivs Lettlands, <http://www.lvva-raduraksti.lv/> [1.11.2010] und Harald Biezais, *Das Kirchenbuch der St. Jakobikirche in Riga 1582–1621* (Uppsala, Wiesbaden, 1957).

⁵² Die Herkunft aus einer hochgebildeten Familie ist ausgeschlossen vor allem durch die Tatsache, dass der Name Paffrath in keiner Matrikel einer europäischen Universität aus der frühen Neuzeit dokumentiert ist (wir danken Arvo Tering für diese Informationen). Bei der Identifizierung hilft auch keine Spezialuntersuchung über Riga und Livland: Clara Redlich, „Literaten“ in Riga und Reval im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert, in *Reval und die baltischen Länder. Festschrift für Hellmuth Weiss zum 80. Geburtstag*. Im Auftrage der Baltischen Historischen Kommission und des Johann-Gottfried-Herder-Instituts hrsg. von J. von Hehn und Czaba János Kenéz (Marburg, 1980), SS. 295–311; Kurt Tiersch, *Deutsches Bildungswesen im Riga des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Schriften der Deutschen Akademie, 10 (München, 1932); Bernhard Hollander, *Geschichte der Domschule, des späteren Stadtgymnasiums zu Riga*. Hrsg. v. Clara Redlich (Hannover-Döhren, 1980); Paul Baerent, *Die evangelischen Prediger Livlands bis 1918*, hrsg. von M. Ottow und W. Lenz (Köln, Wien, 1977); Isidor Brennsohn, *Die Ärzte Livlands von der ältesten Zeit bis zur Gegenwart* (Riga, 1905); Heinrich Julius Böthführ, *Die Rigische Rathslinie von 1226 bis 1876 nebst einem Anhang. Verzeichniß der Aeltermänner, Aeltesten und Dockmänner der großen Gilde in Riga von 1844 bis 1876* (2., vollst. umgearb. Aufl. Riga, 1877); August Christian Berkholz, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kirchen und Prediger Rigas. Abth. 1, Geschichte der einzelnen Kirchen nebst chronologischem Verzeichniß der Prediger und statistischen Auszügen aus den Kirchenbüchern* (Riga, 1867); Theodor Kallmeyer, bearb., erg. und bis zur Gegenwart fortgesetzt von G. Otto, *Die evangelischen Kirchen und Prediger Kurlands*, 2. Ausg. (Riga, 1910).

⁵³ Der Name Paffrath findet sich weder in der Liste der Ältermänner der kleinen bzw. St. Johannis Gilde, der allerdings nur bis 1621 geht (*Schragen der Gilden und Aemter der Stadt Riga bis 1621*, hrsg. v. d. Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde der Ostseeprovinzen Russlands. Bearb. v. Wilhelm Stieda und Konstantin Mettig (Riga, 1896), SS. 198–199), noch in den umfangreichen Listen in der Monographie von Friedrich Brunstermann, *Die Geschichte der Kleinen oder St. Johannis-Gilde in Wort und Bild (zum Jubiläumsjahr 1901)* (Riga, 1902) oder unter den Ältermännern, die in Markards *Ehron- und Gedächtniß=Seule* (s. oben) auf der vorletzten Seite als Pesttote verzeichnet werden. Unter den Rigaer Druckern oder Buchbindern gab es keinen Vertreter dieses Namen [Buchholtz (Riga, 1890)], was etwa auf die Verbindungen mit dem niederländischen Zweig der Familie hinweisen könnte.

ausgeübte Berufe in Frage: Militär oder Kaufmann.⁵⁴ Bei diesen Varianten ist einerseits zwar fraglich, ob ein solches Leben, das wegen der öfteren Umstationierung der Truppen bzw. des Handels ein recht unstetes Leben bedeutete, das Heranwachsen einer gebildeten jungen Dame gefördert hätte, andererseits wäre es eine Erklärung für die Tatsache, dass die Gedichte von Gertrud Paffrath in den Rigaer Druckschriften während einer relativ kurzen Periode (1654–1657) vorkommen und dann abrupt verschwinden. Am wahrscheinlichsten scheint ihre Abstammung aus einer Kaufmannsfamilie, worauf eine Reihe von Zeichen hinweisen: das erste dichterische Hervortreten zur Hochzeit eines Kaufmannssohnes signalisiert den nächsten und vertrautesten Bekanntenkreis; die Veröffentlichung ihrer zwei ersten Gelegenheitsdruckschriften als Autorendrucke sowie die intensive Benutzung der Anthologie von Langius, eines relativ teuren Buches, entweder in der Familienbibliothek oder (als Privatschülerin) unter den Büchern ihres Lehrers setzt einen gewissen Vermögensstand voraus.

Für die Rekonstruktion des Bildungsweges bzw. der lokalen Vorbilder von Paffrath darf vor allem die Art und Weise bewertet werden, wie die Überlieferung über sie zu uns gekommen ist. In der ersten Erwähnung im Lexikon *Riga literata* stellt Phragmenius sie als keine allgemein bekannte Person oder aus der eigenen Kenntnis vor, sondern tradiert seine Informationen aufgrund einer Nachricht seines ehemaligen Professors David Hörnick. Dass der Name von Gertrud Paffrath damit fast wie eine Familienüberlieferung der Familie Hörnick vorgestellt ist, weist in die Richtung, dass sie in den 1650er Jahren mit Johann Hörnick, dem Vater des

⁵⁴ Aufgrund der fremden Herkunft der Familie ist verständlich, dass der Name Paffrath in der Liste der Älterleute der damals wichtigsten Handelsgesellschaft, der Grossen Gilde nicht vorkommt [*Verzeichniß der Aelterleute großer Gilde in Riga seit der Zeit der Reformation, dem gegenwärtigen Herrn Aeltermann Georg Conrad Wiggert bei Gelegenheit seiner 25jährigen Amts-Feier überreicht* (Riga, 1829)]. Nach den Angaben von Vassili Doroschenko, *Torgovlja i kupetšestvo Rigi v XVII veke* (Riga, 1985), SS. 184–188 gab es in Riga aufgrund der Akzise- und Lizenzbücher sowohl im Jahre 1632 als auch 1641 ungefähr 350 Kaufmänner, davon 45 Grosshändler. Unter den Exporteuren dominierten die Einheimischen, unter den Importeuren die ausländischen Kaufmänner, vertreten in Riga durch Agenten (*factores*) und Kommissen. Die Mehrzahl der fremden Kaufleute bildeten Holländer und Engländer (s. das Kapitel über die fremden Kaufmänner, SS. 231–239). Der Name Paffrath kommt in dieser Monographie nicht vor, ebenfalls fehlt er in G. Tieleman, *Geschichte der Schwarzen=Häupter in Riga, nebst einer Beschreibung des Arthushofes und seiner Denkwürdigkeiten, nach handschriftlichen Nachrichten* (Riga, 1831), deren Mitgliederliste, die neben jungen unverheirateten einheimischen Kaufmännern auch ausländische aufführt, allerdings erst 1658 einsetzt.

David Hörnick, im Kontakt war. Es ist unbekannt, ob sie zu seinen Privatschülern gehörte oder sonst seine Dichtungsart verehrte.⁵⁵ Der Sohn David Hörnick (geboren 1665) hat Paffrath anscheinend nicht persönlich gekannt oder nur aufgrund seiner Kindheitserinnerungen vor dem Umzug der Familie nach Reval 1671 im Gedächtnis gehabt, da die von ihm vermittelten Angaben an Phragmenius relativ allgemein sind (kein Vorname, keine Daten und Bibliographie).

Gertrud Paffrath ist weder eine lokale noch internationale langjährige „Sehenswürdigkeit“ geworden, wie Anna Maria van Schurman in Utrecht oder Sophia Elisabeth Brenner in Stockholm. Im erhalten gebliebenen Rigaer Gelegenheitsschrifttum treffen wir außerhalb ihrer eigenen Dichtung auf keinen weiteren Hinweis, keine Dedikation, keine Erwähnung.⁵⁶ Ergebnislos war auch die Durchsicht der Stammbücher der Rigenser und der Riga-Besucher aus der Periode 1625 bis 1690 — niemand hat sein Stammbuch mit ihrem Eintrag verzieren lassen.⁵⁷ So unerwartet wie sie im Februar 1654 mit ihrer ersten Druckschrift erschien, so spurlos scheint sie nach Januar 1657 auch verschwunden zu sein.

⁵⁵ Sowohl in Riga als auch in Reval hat J. Hörnick Privatschüler gehabt und einige ihre Schriften auch herausgegeben, z.B. Johannes Hörnick, *Soteria Rigensia Sive panegyrici duo, quos Inclutae Livonorum metropoli, Rigae, et de soluta felicitate, obsidione Moschorum, durissima, et de recepta salubriter pace, cum iisdem, dulcissima, pro undique obstricto pietatis fervore. Cum nonnullis civibus, gratulaturus, ex voto olim concinnavit, modo edit, Johannes Horniceus, Scholae Rigensis Rector* (Rigae, 1670) enthält nach dem einleitenden Programm des Lehrers eine Versrede *Riga pressa* von Laurentius Zimmermann und eine Prosarede *Riga victrix* von Johannes Dreiling. Beide Verfasser der Reden sind in der Vorrede als *Ex privata Cl. Dn. Rectoris informatione* charakterisiert [Hörnick (Riga, 1670), f. A2].

⁵⁶ *Handbuch des personalen Gelegenheitsschrifttums*, 12–15 (Hildesheim, 2004).

⁵⁷ Durchgearbeitet sind folgende Sammlungen und Kataloge: Vello Helk, Eesti-, liivi- ja kuramaalaste sissekanded reisialbumites välismaal ja Eesti-, Liivi- ja Kuramaal – koopiad [„Die Einträge der Est-, Liv- und Kurländer in den ausländischen Stammbüchern“], Tartu, EHA, 5383-1-20-29; die Stammbücher in der Akademischen Bibliothek Lettlands und im Lettischen Historischen Staatsarchiv in Riga; die Stammbücher in der Königlichen Bibliothek Stockholm (Katalog: Lotte Kurras, Eva Dillman, *Die Stammbücher der Königlichen Bibliothek Stockholm. Handschriftenkatalog* (Stockholm, 1998); Jussi Nuorteva, *Suomalaiset muistokirjat ja muistokirjamerkinnät ennen isoavihaa* (Helsinki, 1983) sowie zwei grossen Stammbuchsammlungen Deutschlands Stammbücher der Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek Weimar [<http://www.inka.uni-tuebingen.de/stamm.php>] und Werner Wilhelm Schnabel, *Repertorium Alborum Amicorum. Internationales Verzeichnis von Stammbüchern und Stammbuchfragmenten in öffentlichen und privaten Sammlungen 1998/2004* [<http://www.phil.uni-erlangen.de/~p2gerwi/Schnabel/raba/raatext.html>].

Edition

1. Cum / Nobilißimum et Lectißimum Par, / Nobilißimus et Doctißimus / DN. HERMANNUS MEINERS, / et / Nobilißima atque virtutibus dotatißima / VIRGO, /SOPHIA a DUNTEN, / Sacra connubii copula Idibus Februarii Anni mil-/lesimi sexcentesimali quinquagesimi quarti / connecteretur, / Observantiae et debitae reverentiae ergo ita /modulabatur / GERDRUTA PAFFRATH. / RIGAE, / Literis GERHARDI SCHROEDERI.

[1.]

Felicitas nihil aliud est, nisi honestarum rerum
prosperitas. *test. Tull.*

Connubio dulci et stabili quid honestius unquam?

Svaves quippe homines efficit atque Deum.

Fausti, igitur, Vos O genitores sanguine clari,

Queis sorti huic soboles annumerata cluet! ⁵⁸

[2.]

Concordia sustinemur, discordia pessum
imus. *Arist. de natur. c. 12.*⁵⁹

⁵⁸ 1.1. *Felicitas*... — Langius, s.v. *Felicitas*, Sp. 1079, *Sententiae historicae* 9: *Felicitas nihil aliud est, nisi honestarum rerum prosperitas Tullio teste* (recte Cic., *fragm. epist.*, 5, 2: *Neque enim quidquam aliud est felicitas, nisi honestarum rerum prosperitas*); v. 3 *sanguine clari* — antike Versschlussformel, vgl. Lucanus, *Phars.*, 10, 382; Statius, *Theb.*, 9, 777 etc.

⁵⁹ 1.2. *Concordia*... — Langius, s.v. *Concordia*, Sp. 581, *Similitudines* 1. Plinij. *Tyrrhenus lapis quamvis grandis innatat, comminutus sidit. Ita concordia sustinemur, discordia pessum imus lib. 2. c. 106 et Arist. de Natur. c. 12* (recte Plinius, *Nat. Hist.*, 2, 233: *Syrium lapidem quamvis grandem innatare eundemque comminutum mergi*. Vgl. Aristoteles, *Phys.*, 4,4,211a,15-18; 4,8,216a,12-17; 4,9,217b,15-20; 8,4,255a).

v. 10 *bringt zum Fall* — vgl. Wortlaut Luther 1912 mit Apokryphen Sprüche 13, 6 *aber das gottlose Wesen bringt zu Fall*...

v. 11-12 *Moses* — Langius, s.v. *Concordia*, Sp. 582, *Exempla biblica*. Abraham et Loth Gen 13. v. 8 (1 Mo 13, 8: *dixit ergo Abram ad Loth ne quaeso sit iurgium inter me et te et inter pastores meos et pastores tuos fratres enim sumus*).

v. 13-24 *Musonius* — Langius, s.v. *Concordia*, Sp. 579, *Apophthegmata*: *Musonius dicebat, nullas nuptias sine concordia esse honestas: nec ullam societatem utilem. Improbos vero inter se concordiam alere non posse. Sicuti lignum rectum cum curvo, aut duo ligna curva inter se convenire nequeunt. Stob. Serm. 78* (recte Stobaios *serm.* 68).

v. 25-36 *Scilurus* — Langius, s.v. *Concordia*, Sp. 580, *Apophthegmata*: *Scilurus octoginta liberos masculos habens, cum esset moriturus, fasciculum jaculorum singulis porrexerat, iussitque rumpere. Id cum singuli recusassent, eo quod videretur impossibile, ipse singula*

- Daß die Zwietracht nichts erwecke/
 Alß nur lauter Zorn und Streit/
 Alles Vbel auch entdecke/
 Wird bezeugt zu jederzeit
 5 Durch so viel gelehrte Weisen/
 Die mann billig stets soll preisen.
- Drumb denn auch die Klugen lehren/
 Daß man Zwietracht überall
 Meiden sol/ und ganz abkehren;
 10 Denn dieselbe bringt zu Fall.
 Moses selbst vom Streit auch zeuget/
 Den sie Brüdern hat eräuet.
- Daß die Eintracht nun hergegen
 Alles gutes hab gebracht/
 15 Viel begabet auch mit Segen/
 Welche sie stets hoch geacht/
 Wil Musonius auch melden.
 Eintracht die gewinnet Helden.
- Er sagt auch/ daß nicht die Ehe/
 20 Nicht die Freundschaft nimmermehr
 Ohn die Eintracht recht bestehe/
 Wenn sie noch so groß auch wehr.
 Einigkeit die ists/ so führet
 Alle Völcker/ und regieret.
- 25 Alß Scilurus sterben wolte/
 Rief er sein Geschlecht für sich/
 Sagte/ wie ein jeder solte
 Sich befleissen stetiglich
 Auff die Eintracht/ weil sie geben
 30 Könt ein recht erwünschtes Leben.

jacula exemit, atque ita facile confregit omnia, filios admonens his verbis: Si concordēs eritis, validi invictique manebitis: contra si dissidiis et seditione distrahemini imbecillēs eritis: et expugnati faciles. Non potuit Scythia magis scythae rem ob oculos ponere. Plut. in apoph. Stob. Serm. 82 (vgl. Erasmus, Apophthegmata, 5, 43).

v. 53 Drumb/ O Gott/ wolst mich erhören — vgl. den Wortlaut Luther 1912 mit Apokryphen Ps. 86, 7 *In der Not rufe ich dich an; du wollest mich erhören.*

- So Ihr werdet treue Brüder/
 Sagt er ferner/ stetes sein/
 Wird euch nichts stehn zuwieder/
 Frey sein werd: ihr aller Pein.
 35 Wolt ihr aber feindlich leben/
 Werdet ihr in Furchten schweben.

 Nun/ Herr Bräutigamb/ Euch wird nimmer
 Etwas Böses stossen zu/
 Sondern werdet gutes immer
 40 Haben/ grünen gleich wie nu:
 Weil Ihr Eure Jungfrau Braut/
 Euch aus Eintracht habt vertraut.

 Jungfrau Braut/ jetzt Ihr erfahret/
 Was Euch Eintracht Nutz gebracht.
 45 Hat sie nicht in Lieb gepaaret
 Euer beyder Herz gemacht?
 Weil Ihr sie denn hoch geliebet/
 Hat sie guts an Euch verübet.

 Wünsche nun/ GOtt wolle geben/
 50 Daß Ihr möget biß zum Grab/
 Wie Ihr angefangen/ leben;
 Euch auch Eris nichts anhab.
 Drumb/ O GOtt/ wolst mich erhören/
 Und mir diese Bitt gewehren!

[3.]

In importunum Zoilum.

Quod circumrodis tenuem, haud miror, meam opellam,
 Quippe tenellam autor parva reliquit eam.
 Impense, ast, doctum te non tantum arte valere,
 Miror, ut innocuis parcere scurra scias.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ 1.3. v. 1. *circumrodis* — vgl. Horatius, *epist.*, 1, 18, 82 *quid dente Theonino cum circumroditur*; v.1. *tenuem... opellam* — vgl. Lucretius, 1, 1114 *parva perductus opella*; v. 2 *autor parva* — vgl. Horatius, *carm.* 4, 2, 31-32 *operosa parvus/carmina fingo*. v. 3 *arte valere* — antike Versschlussformel, vgl. Ovid., *am.*, 1, 15, 14 *arte valet*, Martialis,

2. Klag- und Trost-Reimen an den Erlauchten/ Hochwolgebohrnen Grafen/ und Herrn/ Herrn Gustav Horn/ Grafen zu Bernburg/ Freyherren auff/ Marienburg/ Herrn zu Häringen/ Malla/ Erfwula/ Wyck und Eßpo/ etc. Rittern u. Ihrer Königl. Mayestät/ und dero Reiche Schweden Raht/ Reichs Marsch und General Feldherrn/ Ober Præsidenten des Königl. Kriegs Collegii, General Gouverneurn über Liefland/ und OberLand-/ Richtern über Süderfinland/ Alß derselbe Seine Hertzzielgeliebte beide Junge/ Herren/ Die Hochwolgebohrne Grafen und/ Herren/ Herrn Gustav Carl/ im vierdten und Eberhard Horn/ im dritten Jahr Ihres Alters/ den 3. April deß 1655sten Jahres mit Gräflichen Ceremonien in der Thumbkirchen der Königl. Statt RIGA beerdigen und beysetzen ließ/ Auß demütigster Pflicht und Ehr-Erbietung aufgesetzt/ von/ Gerdruta Paffraht. / Gedruckt zu RIGA bey Gerhard Schrödern.

[1.]

Mortalis, mortem perpendas nocte dieque,
 Quo, si sors tulerit, tum bene ferre queas. *Senec. in Epist.*
 Omnes namque homines certum est, excedere vita,
 Nullus, quo fiat, tempore nosse potest. *Cic. de senect.*
 5 Cur igitur luges, O Illustrissime PRAESES?
 Infringens luctum, mitte, repelle gravem.
 Quid luctu assequimur? nihil ah! nisi vulnera cruda,
 Quaeque manu medica nemo levare potest.⁶¹

[2.]

OBschon der strenge Todt/ der grimmiglich verstöret/
 Das Menschliche Geschlecht/ ja oft und viel vermehret

epigr., 2, 64, 6 *arte vales*; v. 4. *innocuis parcere...scias* — Verg., *Aen.*, 8, 316-317 *quis neque mos neque cultus erat /.../ aut componere opes norant aut parcere parto*.

⁶¹ 2.1. v. 1-2 *Senec. in Epist.* — Langius, s.v. *Mors*, Sp. 1996, *Sententiae philosophicae: Effice mortem tibi cogitatione familiarem, ut si sors tulerit, possis illi obviam exire. Senec. in epist.* (recte: *epist.* 4, 5: *hoc cotidie meditare, ut possis aequo animo vitam relinquere*); v. 1 *nocte dieque* — antike Versschlussformel, vgl. Ovid, *met.*, 4, 260; Sil., *Pun.*, 12, 483; 13, 290; Statius, *Theb.*, 5, 82 etc.

v. 3-4 *Cic. de senect.* — Langius, s.v. *Mors*, Sp. 1998 *Moriendum enim certum est, sed id incertum, an eo ipso die. Cic. de senectute* (recte Cicero, *sen.*, 20, 74: *moriendum enim certe est et incertum an hoc ipso die*); v. 3. *certum est excedere* — antike Versschlussformel, vgl. Verg., *Aen.*, 3, 686 *certum est dare*; Ov., *met.*, 5, 533 *certum est educere*; 9, 53 etc.; v. 4 *nosse potest* — antike Versschlussformel, cf. Ov., *am.*, 2, 3, 2; *fast.*, 5, 346; 5, 636.

v. 5 *cur igitur* — antike Formel am Versanfang, vgl. Lucr., 4, 814; Ov., *her.*, 19, 139; *fast.*, 2, 283; 4, 361; 4, 681 etc.; v. 8 *quaeque manu medica...* — vgl. Verg., *Aen.*, 12, 402 *multa manu medica...*; *levare potest* — vgl. Martialis, *epigr.*, 14, 22, 2.

- Groß Trauren/ Klagen/ Leid; von vielen wird erkant
 Vor ein recht nützlich Ding/ und eine Ruh genandt;
- 5 Wie jener weise Mann/ der Caesar dort gedencket/ *apud Salust.*
 In dem er spricht; der Todt die süsse Ruhe schencket/
 Und macht die Menschen loß von allen Tyranny/
 Des Kummers und der Pein/ dazu vom übel frey.
 Auch dort Bernhardus sagt/ das Köstlich wird genennet
- 10 Derselbe/ weil er uns/ vor Mühe/ Ruhe gönnet.
 Doch schafft er Trauren auch/ und schämet sich gar nicht/
 Wenn er die Menschen Frist/ und dadurch Leyd anricht.
 So thät er Abraham/ der sich gar hoch beklaget/ *Gen. 23. v. 2.*
 Alß ihm die Sara Starb/ die doch war schon betaget.
- 15 Der Xerxes, ob er wol ein König an gewalt
 Sehr Mächtig, hat dennoch verendert sein Gestalt/
 (Alß er dort dermahleins vom Berg' herab gesehen
 Sein Mächtig Kriegesheer auff einem Hauffen stehen)
 Geweinet bitterlich/ weil derer einer nicht
- 20 Würd' über hundert Jahr ihm kommen zu gesicht.
 Was sol man aber thun? sol man sich drumb ergeben
 Der blöden Traurigkeit? Nein! Sie verkürzt das Leben.
 Erlauchter Herr/ man muß auch lindern diese Pein/
 Das Trauren/ Klagen/ Leyd in etwas stellen ein/
- 25 Wie Syrach uns vermahnt/ da er so Kürztlich saget/ *Eccl. 22.11.*
 Was nützt eß das man viel des Freundes Todt beklaget?
 Er ist zur Ruh gesetzt/ da er viel guts geneust/
 Kein Leyd ihn jetzt berührt/ in Freuden er GOtt preist.
 Qvirinus hat sich wol ins Creutz zuschicken wissen; *Erasm. Apophth. l.8.*
- 30 Alß ihm vom Wüterich sein Söhnlein weggerissen/
 Hat er sich selbst getröst/ gesprochen also fein:
 Wenn solt' ich mehr behertzt/ alß itzt im Unglück seyn?
 O welche schöne Wort des Heyden; die bewehgen
 Das wir/ die Christen sind/ groß Trauren von uns legen/
- 35 Vnd Trost uns legen vor/ vergessen aller Qual/
 Die uns gar oft und viel betrübet ohne Zahl.
 Wie hat sich doch so wol zu frieden geben können
 Der König David/ da der Todt auch wollen trennen *2.Sam. 12.23.*
 Von ihm sein Liebstes Kind? Er hat sich zwar/ als noch
- 40 Der Knab am Leben war/ und unter dessen Joch/
 Von Herten sehr betrübt; doch/ da die Botschafft kommen/

- Das schon die Seel von GOtt in Himmel auffgenommen/
 Sich wiederumb erfreut/ gesprochen diese Wort/
 Mein Sohn ist nun dahin/ Ach leider er ist fort!
- 45 Was sol Ich aber thun? Ich werde zu ihm fahren/
 Geniessen gleicher Freud' und mich mit ihm bepaaren.
 Drumb werfft/ Erlauchter Herr/ ein theil deß Klagens hin/
 Hoch Wolgebohrne Frau/ gedenckt in Eurem Sinn/
 Ob schon der bleiche Todt die Liebsten hingeraffet/
- 50 Ach! Ach! wol fast zu früh/ und Euch groß Leyd geschaffet;
 Sein Sie dennoch nicht Todt/ und auß der argen Welt
 Von Gott beruffen nur ins Himmlische gezelt;
 Da Sie die grosse Freud und süsse Ruh empfangen/
 So wird mit Paulo und den Frommen zuerlangen 2. Tim.4.8.
- 55 Auch hoffen; Sie sehn da des Paradeyses Lust
 Die nie kein Mensch geschmeckt/ ja keinem ist bewust.⁶² 1.Cor. 2.9.

⁶² 2.2. v. 1 *Obschon der strenge Todt/ der grimmiglich verstöret* — vgl.den Wortlaut im Gedicht von Andreas Gryphius, Auf H. Sigmund Gutsche, Ratsverwandten zu Frau-
 stadt, als er zum ersten nach dem Brande der Stadt geheiratet und gebauet v. 1-2: ...
obschon das grimme Toben/ Der Flammen eure Stadt zu Aschen hat gemacht (Gryphius.
 Werke in einem Band, hrsg. von Marian Szyrocki (Berlin, Weimar, 1966), S. 29) und ders.
 im Gedicht *Dominus de me cogitat*, v. 1-4: *In meiner ersten Blüt, im Frühling zarter Tage/*
Hat mich der grimme Tod verwaist und die Nacht/ Der Traurigkeit umhüllt, mich hat die
herbe Macht/ Der Seuchen ausgezehrt. Ich schmach in steter Plage (in *Lyrische Gedichte*
 von Andreas Gryphius, hrsg. von Julius Tittmann, Deutsche Dichter des 17. Jahrhun-
 derts, 14 (Leipzig, 1880), S. 34.

v. 5-8 *apud Salust.* - Langius, s.v. *Mortis*, Sp. 1986, *Definitio 2: Mors requies aerum-
 narum in luctu atque miseriis est, et cuncta mortalium mala dissolvit. Caesar apud Sallust.*
in Catil. (recte Sallustius, *Cat.*, 51, 20: *de poena possum equidem dicere, id quod res*
habet, in luctu atque miseriis mortem aerumnarum requiem, non cruciatum esse; eam
cuncta mortalium mala dissolvere; ultra neque gaudio locum esse).

v. 9-12 *Bernhardus* — Langius, s.v. *Mortis*, Sp. 1991, *Patrum Sententiae: Bona mors*
justi propter requiem melior propter novitatem, optima propter securitatem. E contra mors
peccatorum pessima, mala siquidem in mundi amissione, peior in carnis separatione,
pessima in vermis ignisque duplici contritione. [Bernardus] In epist. (recte *Sententiae*, 6:
Econtrario bonorum mors optima, quoniam quidem fit ibi quies a labore, fit jucunditas de
novitate, fit securitas de aeternitate).

v.13-14 *Abraham* — Langius, s.v. *Luctus*, Sp. 1721, *Loci biblici: Lugentium exempla:*
Abraham lugebat Saram Gen 32, 21 [sic!]. recte 1 Mo, 23, 1-2 vixit autem Sarra centum
viginti septem annis et mortua est in civitate Arbee quae est Hebron in terra Chanaan
venitque Abraham ut plangeret et fleret eam.

v. 15-20 *Xerxes* — Langius, s.v. *Misericordia*, Sp. 1953, *Apophtegmata 3: Xerxes*
videns Hellespontum navibus suis contractum omnia littora atque Abydenorum plana
hominibus referta, jactavit se beatum, moxque misericordia ductus fudit lachrymas, Arta-
bano causam hujus mutationis quaerenti dicens, subiit animum meum cogitatio, quam

3. APOPHORETA HYMENEAE, / Qvae ad/ Humanibimum ac Doctibimum/ VIRUM, Dn./ WOLFGANGUM/ ADAMUM ARNOLDI, / Scholae Mitoviensis p. t. Con-/ Rectorem fidelissimum, SPONSUM;/ Nec non/ Lectibimam Pudicibimamque Virginem/ ANNAM DOROTHEAM/ VIRI/ Multum Reverendi, Clarißimi ac Doctis-/ simi/ JOHANNIS BEMOL,/ Pastoris Candoviensium Primarii, Ejus-/ demque Districtus Praepositi, Dignissimi,/ Filiam Dilectissimam, SPONSAM,/ a Promotoribus, Fautoribus atque Amicis missa, data et/ ipsis Calendis Januarii S. V./ ANNO,/ VIIta, qVies et AMor, fors, PaX, BeneDICTIO IhoVæ,/ RItte NoVos sponsoV VsqVe et VblqVe beent!/ [1.1.1657] RIGÆ, Literis SCHROEDERIANIS.

Wie seelig wird der Mensch vor andern doch geschätzt/
So einen treuen Freund hat/ der Ihn stets ergetzet

brevis sit hominum vita, quando ex tam numerosa hominum multitudine, post centesimum annum nemo superfuturus est. Herodot. l. 7. (vgl. auch Erasmus, Apophthegmata, 5, 12).

v. 25-28 Syrach — Langius, s.v. *Luctus*, Sp. 1722, *Sententiae biblicae: Super mortuo moderate: Modicum plora super mortuum, quoniam requiescit. Luctus mortui septem dies. Eccl 22 (recte Eccl., 22, 11: Modicum plora supra mortuum quoniam requievit /.../ luctus mortui septem dies).*

v. 27 *Er ist zur Ruh gesetzt* — vgl. den Wortlaut Luther 1912 mit Apokryphen Sir. 22, 11 *denn er ist zu Ruhe gekommen.*

v. 29-32 *Quirinus* — Langius s.v. *Luctus*, Sp. 1723, *Apophthegmata. Quirinus Sophista: Amicis eum de morte filij consolantibus: Quando, inquit, potius apparebo vir, quam nunc? Sentiens dolorem quidem esse acerbum, sed hoc fortitudinis laudem fere splendidiorum. Philostratos.* (vgl. auch Erasmus, *Apophthegmata*, 8, 52).

v. 37-46 *David* — 1 Sam., 12, 19-23: 19. *intellexit quod mortuus est infans dicitque ad servos suos num mortuus est puer qui responderunt ei mortuus est* 20. *surrexit igitur David de terra et lotus unctusque est /.../* 21. *dixerunt autem ei servi sui quis est sermo quem fecisti propter infantem cum adhuc viveret ieiunasti et flebas mortuo autem puero surrexisti et comedisti panem* 22. *qui ait propter infantem dum adhuc viveret ieiunavi et flevi dicebam enim quis scit si forte donet eum mihi Dominus et vivet infans* 23. *nunc autem quia mortuus est quare ieiuno numquid potero revocare eum amplius ego vadam magis ad eum ille vero non revertetur ad me.*

v. 45 ... *Ich werde zu ihm fahren* — vgl. den Wortlaut Luther 1912 mit Apokryphen 2 Sam. 12, 23 *Ich werde wohl zu ihm fahren.*

v. 47-50 vgl. Andreas Gryphius, *Auf H. Sigmund Gutsche, Ratsverwandten zu Frau-stadt, als er zum ersten nach dem Brande der Stadt geheiratet und gebauet*, v. 5-8: *Obgleich der Mauren Pracht, der Türme Last von oben/ Nun auf die Erde stürzt, ist Gutsche doch bedacht,/ Wie was die Glut auffraß, euch werde wiederbracht./ Weint nicht mehr über die, die wir im Grab auch loben!* (in M. Szyrocki (Hrsg.), *Gryphius, Werke in einem Band* (Berlin, Weimar: Aufbau-Verlag, 1966), S. 30).

v. 53-54 *Paulo* — 2 Tim., 4, 8 *in reliquo reposita est mihi iustitiae corona quam reddet mihi Dominus in illa die iustus iudex non solum autem mihi sed et his qui diligunt adventum eius.*

v. 55-56 1 Cor., 2, 9 — *quod oculus non vidit nec auris audivit nec in cor hominis ascendit.*

- Mit seiner Gegenwart in Freud- und Leidens-Zeit/
der ihm vertreiben kan die blöde Traurigkeit?
- 5 Denn ob er gleich besitzt des Croesus Schätz und Gelder/
Wie auch des Perseus-Land/ und Rosen-volle Felder’/
Ist er dennoch nicht reich/ wo er nicht haben kan
So einen Freund/ der Ihn vor Leid mit Freud legt an.
Drumb auch die Weisen recht und wol gesaget haben/
- 10 Wer einen treuen Freund bekömpft/ krieget edle Gaben;
Ein treuer Freund der wird von jenem Mann genennt
Die halbe Seele deß/ dem er die Freundschaft gönt.⁶³
Herr Bräutigam/ GOtt der HErr hat selbst recht außersehen
Euch diese Freundin/ die Euch treulich wird beystehen;

⁶³ 3. v. 1-4 — vgl. Langius, s.v. *Amicitia*, Sp. 155, *Sententiae philosophicae*: *Svavis est amicorum praesentia, et in prosperis rebus et adversis. Moerore enim et luctus facit amicitia communicans partiensque leviores. Amici aspectus svavis est, ei praesertim, qui in miserij luctuque versetur: in eoque ad depellendum dolorem praesidium quoddam est paratum et constitutum* Arist. 1.9. Eth. c. 11 sive *Excepta sapientia nihil melius datum est homini a dijs immortalibus amicitia. Quid enim dulcius, quam habere cum quo omnia audeas sic loqui aut tecum? Quis esset tantus fructus in prosperis rebus, nisi haberes amicum, qui illis aequae ac tu ipse gauderet? Adversa etiam ferre difficile esset, sine eo, qui illa gravius etiam quam tu ferret.* Cic. de ami. (recte Aristoteles, *Eth. Nic.*, 1171B2; Cicero, *amic.*, 20-22).

v. 1 wie selig... geschätzt!...stets ergetzet — vgl. den Wortlaut Daniel Czepko von Reigersfeld (1605-1660) Gedicht *Wie selig irrt der Mensch...* (http://gedichte.xbib.de/-38598_23737_43896_46132_50538_55987-htm) und Andreas Gryphius, *Auff den andern Pfingstag. Joh. 3 v. 1-8* (http://gedichte.xbib.de/-73833_29028_58247_58251_73782_73783-.htm): Der ewig treue Gott/ hat die nicht wehrte Welt/ So hoch auß heisser Lieb’ in seinem Sinn geschätzt/ Daß Er sein einig Kind/ für sie in Tod gesetzt/ Sein Kind.../ Er wird im Freuden-Schloß deß Himmels stets ergetzet/ Wenn nun der Erden Bau in letzten Brand’ einfällt.

v. 5-10 — Langius, s.v. *Amicitia*, Sp. 173, *Theologorum veterum Breves quaedam de Amicitia Sententiae*: Gregorius Nazianz. *Amicus fidelis, thesaurus* (recte Ad Gregorium Nyssenum, 1 Φίλος πιστός θησαυρός ἔμψυχος), Chrysostomi *Amicus verus immensis thesauris anteponeendus* (recte Chrysostomus, *In Epistulam ad Ephesios commentarius Hom.*, 9, cap. 4, 1 ‘Ο ἐνάρετος οὐ προτιμᾷ χρήματα φιλίας). Vgl. Luther 1912 mit Apokryphen Sir. 6, 14: *Ein treuer Freund ist ein starker Schutz; wer den hat, der hat einen großen Schatz* und Sir. 26, 3: *Ein tugendsam Weiß ist eine edle Gabe und wird dem gegeben, der Gott fürchtet.*

v. 11-12 — Langius, s.v. *Amicitia*, Sp. 173, *Theologorum veterum Breves quaedam de Amicitia Sententiae*: Augustini: *Amicus animae dimidium* (recte Augustinus, *confess.*, 4, 6 *Bene quidam dixit de amico suo dimidium animae meae.* Vgl. Horatius, *carm.*, 1, 3, 8 *animae dimidium meae*).

v. 15-16 — Langius, s.v. *Matrimonium*, Sp. 1867, *Exempla sacra*: Tobias et Sara Tob 7, 11-14 (recte Tob., 7, 12: *dixit ei angelus noli timere dare illam isti quoniam huic timentis Deum debetur coniux filia tua propterea alius non potuit habere illam*).

v. 21 *Der Herr der Herrlichkeit* — vgl. den Wortlaut Luther 1912 mit Apokryphen Jac. 2, 1; Korinther 2, 8 *Herrn der Herrlichkeit*.

- 15 Der HErr hat Euch versorgt nach seinem weisen Raht/
 Wie er der Sara dort und dem Tobias that.
 Herr Bräutigam/ hemmt die Klag/ denn die Euch soll erqvicken/
 Wird Euch heut zugestellt; Last Eure Freud' erblicken;
 Komm nun mein JEsulein/ schenck diesem werthen Paar
- 20 Zu einer Hochzeit Gab ein Freuden-reiches Jahr!
 Der Herr der Herrlichkeit steh' Euch allzeit zur Seiten
 Mit seinem Segen; Ach! der HErr laß Euch begleiten
 Mit seinen Engelem; Er geb daß Ihr erreicht
 Die Jahr Methusalah/ und ihm am Leben gleicht.
- 25 Irene weiche nicht von Euch in Eurem Leben/
 Die Juno/ so die Eh' befördert/ wolle geben/
 Daß Ihr/ verliebtes Paar/ Eur Leben bringet zu
 Ohn Erisches Gezänck/ im Friede/ Freud' und Ruh!

Dieses schrieb auß hertzlicher
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PAUL-HENRI MARRON, POÈTE NÉO-LATIN SOUS L'ANCIEN
RÉGIME, L'EMPIRE ET LA RESTAURATION

Des peintres qui ajoutèrent des lys sur une
bannière dans un tableau de la Révolution, aux
écrivains qui substituèrent le duc de Berry au Petit
Tondeu dans une ode...

Aragon, *La Semaine sainte*

Dans *La France littéraire*, Joseph-Marie Quérard n'est pas tendre pour Paul-Henri Marron (1754-1852), premier président du Consistoire de l'Église réformée de Paris et l'un des organisateurs des cultes protestants dans le cadre de la loi sur le Concordat votée en 1803:

Une biographie moderne dit, dans l'article qu'elle consacre à ce pasteur, que 'dans ses écrits comme dans son ministère, Marron a fait preuve d'une conduite juste et exempte de flatterie': la dernière partie de cette phrase est, au moins, très inexacte, car Marron a encensé (...) toutes les idoles qui se sont succédées au pouvoir, Louis XVI, Napoléon, Louis XVIII, le duc de Bordeaux, Charles X, etc.¹

Quérard, qui ne juge que d'après les œuvres, est loin d'être le plus sévère. Sa notice intervient dans un jeu entre dictionnaires biographiques qui traverse le XIX^e siècle et qui commence en 1815 dans le *Dictionnaire des girouettes*.² La carrière de Paul-Henri Marron n'est pas tout à fait la

¹ Joseph-Marie Quérard, *La France littéraire, ou dictionnaire bibliographique des savants, historiens et gens de lettres* (Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1833), V, 560. Quérard cite la *Biographie universelle et portative des contemporains, ou dictionnaire historique des hommes vivants et des hommes morts depuis 1788 jusqu'à nos jours*, dir. A. Rabbe, puis C.-A. Vieilh de Boisjolin (Paris: V. de Boisjolin et compagnie, 1830), III, 483.

² *Dictionnaire des girouettes, ou Nos contemporains peints d'après eux-mêmes, par une société de girouettes*, dir. A. Eymery (Paris: A. Eymery, 1815), pp. 319-320. Il sera suivi du *Nouveau dictionnaire des girouettes, ou nos grands hommes peints par eux-mêmes, par une girouette inamovible* (Paris: Lerosey, 1831), dans lequel Marron figure encore (pp. 447-449).

même d'une notice à l'autre. En 1787, par exemple, quand l'Édit de tolérance rendit l'état civil aux protestants, ceux de Paris 'choisirent'.³ Marron comme pasteur mais peut-être est-ce Rabaud-Saint-Étienne, le principal artisan de cet édit, qui le 'fit choisir'.⁴ En 1793, Marron porta les quatre coupes d'argent de son culte à la Convention, où il prononça un discours à la tonalité républicaine. Pour certaines notices, il 'offrit'⁵ les coupes par conviction, pour d'autres, il 'dut'⁶ les porter. Enfin, pendant la Terreur blanche de 1815 qui suivit le retour des Bourbons, il soutint le gouvernement: il écrivit à Londres pour apaiser l'émotion que les persécutions des protestants avaient suscitée. Cette lettre est pour les uns une trahison⁷, d'autres la jugent 'fort honorable'.⁸ La dispute porte aussi sur les qualités humaines de Paul-Henri Marron. On le dit 'charitable' et serviable⁹; on lui prête cependant un tempérament indécis et un 'esprit d'intrigue'. Il aurait entretenu de mauvais rapports avec ses coreligionnaires mais d'excellents avec les ministres¹⁰; il aurait eu, en outre, 'la manie de faire parler de lui dans les journaux'.¹¹

³ *Biographie des hommes vivants, ou histoire par ordre alphabétique de la vie publique de tous les hommes qui se sont fait remarquer par leurs actions ou leurs écrits* (Paris: Michaud, 1818), V, 356.

⁴ *Nouvelle biographie générale depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours*, dir. d^r Hoefer (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1860-1861), XXXIII-XXXIV, 952.

⁵ *Biographie universelle, ancienne et moderne, ou Histoire, par ordre alphabétique, de la vie publique et privée de tous les hommes*, dir. Michaud, 2^e éd. (Paris: Mme C. Desplaces et M. Michaud – Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1843, XXVII, 60.

⁶ Eugène Haag – Émile Haag, *La France protestante* (Paris: J. Cherbuliez, 1846-1859), VII, 284.

⁷ *Biographie moderne, ou Galerie historique, civile, militaire, politique et judiciaire: contenant les portraits politiques des Français de l'un et de l'autre sexe, morts ou vivants, qui se sont rendus plus ou moins célèbres depuis le commencement de la révolution jusqu'à nos jours, par leurs talents, leurs emplois, leurs malheurs, leur courage, leurs vertus ou leurs crimes* (Paris: A. Eymery, 1815), II, 443.

⁸ La *Biographie universelle, ancienne et moderne*, p. 60, qui reprend la *Biographie des hommes vivants*, p. 353. Il convient de remarquer que ces deux dictionnaires qualifient les persécutions de 'faux bruits'.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ 'Le pasteur Marron trouva quelque crédit pour presque tous les ministres qui se sont succédés depuis le retour de la famille royale. Ainsi il servit puissamment les intérêts de ses coreligionnaires sous l'abbé Montesquiou, sous M. Decazes et à d'autres époques encore; il devait surtout cette influence à M. Guizot, protestant comme lui, longtemps conseiller d'état et ministre déjà deux fois depuis la révolution de juillet', *Encyclopédie catholique, répertoire universel et raisonné des sciences, des lettres, des arts et des métiers, formant une bibliothèque universelle publiée par la Société de l'encyclopédie catholique*, dir. abbé Glaire, M. le Vte Walsh (Paris: Parent-Desbarres, 1839-1848), XIV, 310.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

C'est dans des périodiques, souvent proches du pouvoir, que Paul-Henri Marron a publié la plus grande partie de ses œuvres. On trouve ses vers dans le *Moniteur universel*, *Le Journal de Paris* et le *Magasin encyclopédique*; à l'étranger, dans le *Nieuwe algemene konst - en letter - bode* de Haarlem ou *The Classical Journal* de Londres. Marron a également participé à des publications collectives comme la *Couronne poétique de Napoléon-le-Grand*¹² ou *Hommages poétiques à leurs majestés impériales et royales, sur la naissance de S. M. le roi de Rome*.¹³ Il n'est pas rare cependant que ses poèmes aient été par la suite publiés en plaquettes. Leur réunion dans un ensemble formerait un recueil, d'une quarantaine de pièces, représentatif d'un usage essentiellement politique et civique du genre épидictique, tel qu'il fut pratiqué à la fin du XVIII^e siècle et dans le premier tiers du XIX^e.

Éloge de Pieter von Bleiswijk

Paul-Henri Marron s'est surtout illustré dans le genre épидictique. Il composa, en strophes alcaïques ou en distiques élégiaques, un grand nombre d'odes civiques.¹⁴ Né à Leyde, où ses parents vivaient exilés depuis la révocation de l'Édit de Nantes, il débuta en poésie en 1769 par l'éloge de Pieter van Bleiswijk, le curateur de l'université de Leyde, où il faisait de brillantes études. Cette pièce de vers fut publiée l'année suivante sous le titre *Carmina heroico-elegiaca*, en même temps qu'une autre sur le même thème, par Pieter-Hendrik Koppiers, accompagnées de leur traduction grecque en regard.

Le rapprochement avec le texte de Koppiers permet de dégager quelques particularités de la muse de Marron. Koppiers, en effet, privilégie les références antiques et s'en tient à l'humilité qui convient à un élève ou à un exercice de *recusatio*:

¹² *Couronne poétique de Napoléon-le-Grand, empereur des Français, roi d'Italie, ou choix de poésies composées en son honneur*, éd. Jacques Lablée (Paris: A. Bertrand, 1807).

¹³ *Hommages poétiques à leurs majestés impériales et royales, sur la naissance de S. M. le roi de Rome*, éd. Jean-Jacques Lucet – Jean Eckard (Paris: impr. de Prudhomme fils, 1811).

¹⁴ Pour une bibliographie des vers néo-latins de Paul-Henri Marron, voir Romain Jalabert – Dirk Sacré, 'Bibliographie intermédiaire des poètes et versificateurs latins en France au XIX^e siècle', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 59 (2010), 223-304 (pp. 286-287).

Si vacat, exiguo si Numina thure moventur,
 Et Jovis ante focos agna tenella cadit,
 Accipe, si tanti est, inculti carmina vatis,
 Sed Tibi gratantis carmina mentis opus:
 Inclyte Maecenas, titulis & honoribus auctam
 Illustrans animi nobilitate domum.

Si tu as le temps, si les Divinités sont touchées par un peu d'encens,
 Et si la tendre agnelle est digne de tomber devant les autels de Jupiter,
 Reçois, si cela en vaut la peine, les vers d'un poète inculte,
 Mais qui sont l'œuvre d'un esprit reconnaissant:
 Illustre Mécène, toi qui illumines par la noblesse de ton âme
 Une maison richement dotée de titres et d'honneurs.¹⁵

Dans le corps de son poème, Koppiers insiste sur le magistère de Pieter von Bleiswijk et sur le rôle de protecteur des sciences et des arts qui fait de lui un représentant de Pallas en citant Archimède, Aristote et le 'divin Platon'. Les derniers vers prennent une tonalité politique, à travers une comparaison avec Périclès et Auguste:

Graecia magnanimo qualis moderante Pericle,
 Qualis & Augusto Caesare Roma fuit;
 Belgica talis eris BLEISVICO vindice: tolle,
 Ominibus faustis, Belgica, tolle caput!

Telle que fut la Grèce sous la conduite du magnanime Périclès,
 Et telle que fut Rome sous César Auguste;
 Telle, Belgique, tu seras sous la protection de BLEISWIJK: lève la tête,
 Belgique, devant ces heureux présages, lève la tête!¹⁶

La muse de Paul-Henri Marron paraît plus audacieuse. C'est à l'Histoire nationale hollandaise, tout d'abord, non au modèle antique, qu'elle confie l'expression de son patriotisme. Ce dernier, d'ailleurs, est batave plutôt que belge. Ainsi les premiers vers font-ils allusion à Johan de Witt, Grand pensionnaire de Hollande pendant les guerres anglo-néerlandaises de la fin du XVII^e siècle et qui étudia à l'université de Leyde:

Wittiaden, Batavi sidus praelustre Lycei,
 Grande Camoenarum Cecropidosque decus,

¹⁵ *Carmina heroico-elegiaca in honorem viri generosissimi et illustrissimi Petri van Bleiswyk, A. L. M. J. V. et Ph. D. nuper celebrata nunc Graece versa a C. Tzechani, Macedone* (Lugduni Batavorum: apud Cornelium Heyligert, 1770), p. 4, vv. 1-6. Nous adressons de sincères remerciements à Berry Dongelmans, de l'Université de Leyde, qui nous a grandement facilité l'accès à ce texte.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 6, vv. 31-34.

Impia sustulerat Lachesis, cineresque sepultos
 Condiderat gelido funebris urna sinu.

De Witt, brillante étoile du Lycée batave,
 Grand honneur des Camènes et de la fille de Cécrops
 Lachesis l'avait emporté, l'impie, et une urne funéraire
 Renfermait dans sons sein gelé ses cendres ensevelies.¹⁷

La référence antique est également très présente. Marron choisit plus volontiers ses modèles dans la mythologie que dans l'histoire romaine. Il s'attache, en outre, à les rendre vivants, en multipliant les hypotyposes. La mort de De Witt, par exemple, est la cause d'un grand deuil chez les divinités: Thémis a revêtu un habit de couleur sombre, Suada a couvert ses joues d'un fleuve d'eau salée, Pallas et les Muses se frappent la poitrine; mais le plus malheureux est sans doute Apollon:

Quin etiam Clarius vestes lacerabat Apollo,
 Abjiciens citharae tinnula plectra suae:
 Laurus spreta jacet, flavam cupressae frontem
 Serta tegunt, taxis addita luctificis.

Bien plus encore, Apollon de Claros déchirait ses vêtements,
 Rejetant le plectre argentin de sa lyre:
 Le laurier dédaigné gît à terre, une couronne de cyprès
 Couvre ses tempes blondes, mêlée à l'if funèbre.¹⁸

Marron ne s'interdit pas, enfin, de se représenter dans son poème. Mais il ne le fait pas, comme Koppiers, dans le cadre d'un exercice d'humilité. Au contraire, il se donne à voir en poète confirmé. Alors qu'il s'apprête à accompagner le deuil général par un chant triste ('Orsus eram moesto carmina moesta sono', 'j'avais commencé un chant triste avec des sons tristes', v. 14), la Renommée vient le trouver et lui annonce qu'il n'y a plus lieu de se lamenter:

Pone modum lacrymis, longas, age, mitte querelas
 Qui gemis absunti damna dolenda Viri.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 8, vv. 1-4: Johan de Witt (1725-1672), qui mena une politique pro-française, fut assassiné en pleine rue, avec son frère Cornelis, par une foule gagnée à la cause des orangistes. Marron fait une nouvelle fois allusion à cet événement en 1786, dans un poème adressé à deux meneurs de la Révolution batave, après qu'ils ont fait l'objet d'une tentative d'assassinat dans des circonstances comparables: *Viris nobilissimis Ockero Gevaerts et Cornelio de Gyselaar, parricidarum manibus ereptis, Hagae Com., d. XVII mensis martii 1786* (s. l., 1786).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 8, vv. 9-12: le cyprès est habituellement attribué à Pluton à cause de la couleur sombre de son feuillage; l'if passait pour un arbre vénéneux.

Mets un terme à tes larmes, allons! laisse les longues plaintes
 Toi qui déplores la perte, digne d'affliction, d'un héros disparu.¹⁹

Dans la suite de son discours, la Renommée engage l'université de Leyde à se réjouir et le poète ('Te quoque, te comitem vatibus ire decet', 'Toi aussi, tu dois te joindre aux poètes', v. 36) à célébrer Pieter von Bleiswijk, que Jupiter a choisi en remplacement de Johan de Witt.

Ainsi, la muse de Paul-Henri Marron est plus intime avec les dieux et les habitants du Parnasse que celle de son camarade Koppiers. La prosopopée de la Renommée contribue à installer ce sentiment dans la mesure où le passage au discours direct sert l'effet de réel. Marron utilisa plusieurs fois cette figure de rhétorique par la suite: en 1800, dans un poème où il confie au maréchal Desaix, mort à Marengo, le soin de rédiger son épitaphe à la première personne²⁰; en 1810, dans une saynète amoureuse entre Mars et Vénus, au terme de laquelle le mariage entre Napoléon et Marie-Louise d'Autriche est décidé.²¹

La muse de Paul-Henri Marron recherche aussi l'intimité de son destinataire. La Renommée partie, les derniers vers de l'éloge de Pieter van Bleiswijk sont le lieu d'une démonstration d'enthousiasme suscitée par Apollon ('Et mihi Castalio mens calet acta Deo', 'Et mon esprit me brûle sous l'impulsion du dieu de Castalie', v. 40). En ajoutant l'interrogation à l'apostrophe, Marron atteint une familiarité de ton que Koppiers ne se permettait pas:

Te Duce Barbaries, Stygiis adstricta catenis,
 Demittat tumidum, rite subacta, caput.
 Te Duce per Clarios Phoebeae Phocidis agros
 Larga Caballino copia fonte fluat.
 Te Duce florentes Batavorum litore Musas
 Quaelibet aethereo terra sub axe colat.
 Fallor? an Aëniæ movere cacumina sylvae,
 Atque hilares reddunt antra canora sonos?
 Fallor? an optatae genialia tempora lucis
 Inscribit fastis laeta Minerva suis?

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, vv. 17-18; v. 18: 'absunti', lire 'absumpti'.

²⁰ 'D[is] M[anibus] strenuissimi Gallorum ducis Desaix', *Nieuwe algemene konst - en letter-bode*, 342 (18 juillet 1800), p. 17. Pour une traduction allemande et un commentaire de ce poème, voir l'ouvrage de Hermann Krüssel, *Napoleo Latinitate vestitus. Napoleon Bonaparte in lateinischen Dichtungen vom Ende des 18. bis zum Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts*, 1: *Von der Revolution bis zum Konsulat Bonapartes 1790-1804*, Noctes neolatinae, 15 (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2011), pp. 215-218.

²¹ *Napoleoni Magno et Mariæ Ludovicæ Austriacæ sponsis augustissimis, auspiciatissimis* (Lutetia Parisiorum: I. H. Stône, [1810]).

Sous ton commandement, que la Barbarie, entravée par les chaînes du Styx,
 Assujétie comme il convient, baisse sa tête orgueilleuse.
 Sous ton commandement, qu'à travers les champs de Phoebus, à Claros en
 Phocide,
 Une copieuse abondance coule de la fontaine d'Hippocrène.
 Sous ton commandement, que toute terre sous l'axe du ciel honore
 Les Muses qui fleurissent sur les rives bataves.
 Suis-je abusé? Les forêts d'Aonie ont-elles agité leurs cimes
 Et leurs antres mélodieux rendent-ils des sons joyeux?
 Suis-je abusé? Ce temps de fécondité et de lumière désirée,
 Minerve, joyeuse, l'inscrit-elle dans ses fastes?²²

On retrouve dans cette péroraison la référence mythologique multipliée à l'envi et des lieux communs que Marron a repris par la suite: les chaînes du Styx, la tête baissée du vaincu, la lumière d'un jour heureux. Le dernier vers souligne l'importance de la période célébrée (la cure de Pieter van Bleiswijk), à travers l'allusion aux 'fastes'. Cette façon d'attacher le poème à la mémoire de l'événement au moyen d'une mise en abyme reparait dans d'autres poèmes, à l'occasion du retour d'Égypte de Bonaparte²³, de la prise de Cadix par le duc d'Angoulême²⁴, de l'anniversaire de la création de l'université de Leyde.²⁵ Il s'agit, à chaque fois, de marquer le jour faste d'une petite pierre blanche (*niveus lapillus*) ou d'un petit caillou blanc (*niveus calculus*). Il va de soi que le poème est métaphoriquement un caillou blanc lui-même. Le procédé, par conséquent, fait rejaillir sur le poème toute l'importance de l'événement.

Par son commerce avec les figures de l'Olympe et du Parnasse, par son éthos de poète confirmé et sa liberté de ton, Marron fait sa promotion plus brillamment que ne le fait Koppiers, les vers qu'il offre à son destinataire paraissant appeler une réponse. Cette réponse, Paul-Henri Marron la reçut: devenu Grand pensionnaire de Hollande à l'instar de Johan de Witt, Pieter von Bleiswijk se souvint de lui en 1782, en le faisant nommer chapelain de l'ambassade de Hollande à Paris.

²² *Carmina heroico-elegiaca*, p. 12, vv. 45-54.

²³ 'Terque quaterque beate dies, niveoque lapillo | Signande' ('Bonapartus redux', dans *Couronne poétique*, p. 23, v. 1).

²⁴ 'Salve, salve iterum! niveo signata lapillo, | Aeternum in fastis, Galle, legenda tuis!' (*Tertia dies octobris. Ad regium principem Ludovicum Antonium ducem Engulismensem, Gadium domitorem* (Parisiis: e Typographeo regio, 1823), vv. 23-24).

²⁵ 'Hunc niveus signet calculus usque diem!' (*Carmen gratulatorium, Academiae Lugduno-Batavae, post exactos CCL annos, natalem suum solemniter festo celebranti, dicatum* (Lugduni Batavorum: apud H. W. Hazenberg, 1825), v. 54).

Louis XVI, Napoléon, Louis XVIII, le duc de Bordeaux, Charles X, etc.

Les vers que Paul-Henri Marron a publiés à Paris, dans la même veine héroïco-élégiaque, poursuivent cet échange de don et de contre-don: sous l'Empire, Marron fut parmi les premiers à recevoir la Légion d'honneur; sous la Restauration, selon l'*Encyclopédie des sciences religieuses*, sa poésie latine 'lui valut une sorte de faveur auprès de Louis XVIII'.²⁶ En définitive, les vers latins ont permis à Paul-Henri Marron d'exister dans le champ politique et de se signaler auprès de ses acteurs: en 1783, il chantait les mérites de Louis XVI après les traités de Versailles et de Paris, qui firent l'indépendance américaine et démêlèrent les intérêts européens corrélés.²⁷ En 1825, il fit bon accueil à Charles X et à son fils le duc d'Angoulême.²⁸ Il n'adressera à Louis-Philippe qu'un discours en français.²⁹

Paul-Henri Marron a d'abord fait publier ses vers sur Bonaparte à l'étranger, en 1798, dans le *Nieuwe algemene konst- en letter-bode*. La Hollande, émancipée pour un temps du stathoudérat de la maison d'Orange-Nassau, s'est constituée en république sur le modèle français. Correspondant de la revue à Paris, Paul-Henri Marron encourage cette francophilie en publiant un court portrait mythologique de Napoléon avec son imitation en français:

Laeva manus, belli fulmen, sed pacis olivam
Dextera fert; Cythereae haec gratior, illa Gradivo.

L'olivier de la paix, les foudres de la guerre,
Console, dans sa main, ou font trembler la terre.³⁰

Paul-Henri Marron, dans l'imitation de ces deux vers, fait disparaître les figures mythologiques et ne rend compte ni de la figure de symétrie ni de la discordance du deuxième vers. Le rejet est cependant une construction qu'il utilise volontiers en latin. Dans la même lettre au *Nieuwe algemene konst- en letter-bode*, par exemple, Marron donne huit autres

²⁶ *Encyclopédie des sciences religieuses*, dir. F. Lichtenberger (Paris: Librairie Sandoz et Fischbacher, 1877-1882), VIII, 738.

²⁷ *Regi pacifico, Ludovico XVI* (Paris, 1783).

²⁸ 'Carolo decimo, Gallorum regi, in festis Rhemensibus, die XXIX maji MDCC-CXXV', *Moniteur universel*, 171 (lundi 20 juin 1825), p. 946.

²⁹ Cf. *Discours, allocutions et réponses de S. M. Louis-Philippe, roi des Français* (Paris: Vve Agasse, 1834), pp. 27-29.

³⁰ 'Laeva manus...', *Nieuwe algemene konst- en letter-bode*, 223 (1798), p. 106. Notre traduction: 'Sa main gauche tient le foudre de la guerre, mais la droite | L'olivier de la paix; celle-ci est plus douce à Cythérée, à Mars celle-là'.

vers sur la bataille du pont de Lodi, qui conclut victorieusement la deuxième campagne d'Italie, en mai 1796. Le site de la bataille est esquissé au moyen de deux exclamations et d'un rejet:

En fluvium! en pontem! Stant illinc millia multa
Austriadum: hinc acies stant, Buonaparte, tuae.

Voici le fleuve! voici le pont! Là se tiennent des milliers
D'Autrichiens: ici se tiennent, Bonaparte, tes armées.³¹

Marron envoie enfin à la revue six vers sur Jacob Arnout Bloys van Treslong, capitaine de navire blessé à la bataille de Camperdown, qui opposa, le 11 octobre 1797, les flottes hollandaises et anglaises. L'évocation d'un militaire de la République batave après Bonaparte établit un lien entre les deux républiques sœurs. Ce lien se fonde sur la désignation d'un ennemi commun. Les vers de Paul-Henri Marron se caractérisent à cette époque par une forte hostilité envers les Anglais, peuple 'incautus'³² ('imprudent'), 'atri (...) odii tenax'³³ ('tenace dans sa sombre haine'), 'infamis'³⁴ ('infâme'). Marron presse Napoléon d'imposer sa loi ('Britoni dare jura protervo'), c'est-à-dire la civilisation³⁵, à ces 'effrontés', comme Horace en demandait pour les Mèdes.³⁶

On retrouve le même discours dans des vers sur un buste en marbre de l'amiral Michiel de Ruyter, par Philippe-Laurent Roland, dont Paul-Henri Marron attribue la commande à Napoléon. Reprenant à son compte le lieu commun de l'art comme trompe-l'œil, tiré notamment de la description des statues du gymnase de Zeuxippe dans l'*Anthologie Palatine*, le poète interpelle la statue du héros des guerres anglo-hollandaises de la fin du XVII^e siècle:

Et vivis, Rutere, et spiras totus! ad arma
Prorue! Brito minas foedaque probra vomit.
Quid cessas? (...)

³¹ 'En fluvium!', *ibid.*; Krüssel, *Napoleo Latinitate vestitus*, p. 96.

³² [signé E.], *Ad Napoleon Bonaparte, Primum Gallicae Reipublicae Consulem, Pacis Restauratorem* (Lugduni Batavorum: apud P. Delfos, 1802), v. 35. Pour une traduction allemande et un commentaire de ce poème, voir Krüssel, *Napoleo Latinitate vestitus*, pp. 315-322.

³³ *Napoleonti, primo Gallorum imperatori, semper augusto, Feliciter! Ode* (Parisiis: J.-J. Marcel, 1804), v. 55.

³⁴ 'Bonapartus redux', dans *Couronne poétique*, p. 23, v. 9

³⁵ 'Napoleoni et Josepho meritissimis e Bonaparteo sanguine duumviris', dans *Couronne poétique*, p. 65, v. 3.

³⁶ Hor., *carm.*, 3, 3, 43-44: 'possit | Roma ferox dare jura Medis'.

Mais tu vis, Ruyter, et tout entier tu respirez! Cours
aux armes! L'Anglais vomit des menaces et d'horribles outrages.
Qu'attends-tu? (...) ³⁷

L'amitié franco-hollandaise, cependant, ne paraît pas aller de soi. La dernière partie du poème prévient les objections de ceux qui, en Hollande, pouvaient être tentés de voir dans l'initiative française une forme d'ingérence:

Non ita sit! nec vos tam degenerasse, Batavi,
Sperans NAPOLEON grandia quaeque putat.
Ruterum hîc statuens sed ait: Virtutis avitae
Facta nepos stimulis in generosa volet.

Que cela ne soit pas! et Napoléon, qui attend de vous les plus grandes choses,
Ne pense pas que vous soyez dégénérés, Bataves;
Ici au contraire, en statufiant Ruyter, il dit: avec l'aiguillon
De la vertu du grand-père, le petit-fils aspirera à des actions généreuses. ³⁸

À la chute de l'Empire, Paul-Henri Marron reconnaît implicitement la fragilité de sa position en approuvant la libération des Bataves et la fin de la tutelle française. La reprise du thème des ancêtres et celle du verbe *degenerare* ('dégénérer') dans un sens qui corrige le discours pro-français de 1801, dans des vers adressés à Louis XVIII et publiés en 1814, sont particulièrement significatives de ce point de vue:

Reiicis exosas, animose Batave, catenas,
Et pudet invictos degenerasse patres.
Tu rejettes, courageux Batave, des chaînes détestées
Et tu rougis d'avoir dégénéré de tes pères invaincus. ³⁹

Un poète pacifiste

Le retour des Bourbons ne freina pas la verve de Paul-Henri Marron. Il l'explique à sa muse dès 1814, dans une pièce que plusieurs dictionnaires bibliographiques désignent comme son chef-d'œuvre:

³⁷ 'In Ruteri effigiem, Bonaparteo jussu, à Rolando, marmore sculptam. Ex Belgico P. V. viatoris batavi' [1801], dans *Couronne poétique*, p. 248, v. 3.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, vv. 12-16.

³⁹ *Pauli Henrici Marron elegia ad Musam, in Borboniorum ad Gallos reditu et auspiciatissimo Ludovici XVIII Lutetiam Parisiorum adventu* (s. l., 1814), vv. 30-31.

An, quia Cymaeus cecidit dux, Musa, silendum
 Sit tibi, Borbonio iam redeunte suis?
 Publica nec deceat Gallorum commoda festo,
 Qui patriae adfulget, dicere, Musa, die?
 Non tu Cymaeo male dignos vilis honores
 Obtuleras, famulo dedecorata iugo.
 Facta, (nec ô! pudeat,) celebrasti grandia, magnas
 Spes, foeta et raris tempora prodigiis.

Sous prétexte que le chef de la Corse est tombé, tu devrais
 Te taire, Muse, quand les Bourbons sont de retour parmi les leurs?
 Et il te serait interdit de dire les bienfaits pour le public français,
 En ce jour de fête qui brille pour la patrie?
 Non, tu n'as pas offert au Corse des hommages indignes et sans valeur,
 Déshonorée par un joug servile.
 Tu as célébré (ô Muse, n'aie pas honte!) de hauts faits, de grands
 Espoirs, et une époque qui a enfanté de rares prodiges.⁴⁰

Les changements dynastiques n'affectent pas l'inspiration du poète, qui chante de préférence la paix.⁴¹ Marron n'a pas publié de vers sur les exploits de la Grande Armée ou sur la victoire d'Austerlitz; il se distingue ainsi de ses contemporains, comme de Louis-François Cauchy, qui publia à la même époque, dans le *Moniteur universel*, plusieurs pièces de vers latins sur l'épopée napoléonienne, en insistant sur la rupture des traités davantage que sur la paix qu'ils avaient permis d'instaurer.⁴² Marron, en ce qui le concerne, paraît célébrer les gouvernements tant qu'il les juge vertueux. Dans une 'Épithaphe de Bonaparte' qu'il fit paraître en 1821 dans un journal de Londres, *The Classical Journal*, il tire les leçons du Premier Empire:

Cymaeus, toto semotus ab orbe, Prometheus,
 Quem rigido nimium presserat imperio,
 Heu! rupe in summâ, corrosus viscera cancro,
 Hic jacet: haec vitae meta suprema fuit,
 Nobilius numquam exemplum mage nescia fraeni
 Ambitio, ut doceat saecula sera, dedit.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, vv. 1-8.

⁴¹ C'est également l'analyse d'Hermann Krüssel dans *Napoleo Latinitate vestitus*, pp. 224-232.

⁴² Voir par exemple Louis-François Cauchy, *Sur la rupture du traité d'Amiens par les Anglais, ode latine à Sa Majesté Napoléon, empereur des Français et roi d'Italie* (Paris: P. Didot l'aîné, an XIII-1805). Pour une bibliographie des vers néo-latins de Louis-François Cauchy, voir Jalabert – Sacré, 'Bibliographie intermédiaire', pp. 265-266.

Le Prométhée corse, rejeté par la terre entière
 Qu'il a pressée d'un pouvoir trop rigide,
 Hélas! sur son rocher, les viscères rongées par un cancer,
 Ici repose: telle fut la limite suprême de sa vie,
 Jamais ambition sans frein ne donna plus noble
 Exemple pour instruire les siècles futurs.⁴³

La raison de ce désaveu est donnée dans le rejet du dernier vers: '(...) nescia fraeni | Ambitio' ('Ambition sans frein'). L'empereur a péché par excès d'autorité et de violence dans l'exercice du pouvoir. En ce qui concerne l'identification de Napoléon à Prométhée, elle ne date pas de l'exil à Sainte-Hélène. On trouve en effet une première trace de ce mythe dès la campagne d'Italie, chez le poète italien Vincenzo Monti qui publia, en 1797, un *Prometeo* dans lequel Bonaparte apparaît en libérateur.⁴⁴ Malgré tout, la chute, l'exil et la mort de Napoléon en 1821 donnèrent à cette association toute la complexité du mythe de Prométhée. Deux vers de Marron, publiés en 1828, reflètent l'ambiguïté de l'héritage napoléonien:

Te quoque, NAPOLEO, grande inter grandia nomen!
 Te, nove Prometheu, rupe ligate tuâ!
 Te quoque, NAPOLEO, nos vidimus, instar ad umbrae,
 Transisse instabili, teque tuosque, pede!
 Toi aussi, Napoléon, grand nom parmi les grands noms!
 Toi, nouveau Prométhée, enchaîné à ton rocher!
 Toi aussi, Napoléon, nous vous avons vu, comme une ombre,
 Passer, toi et les tiens, d'un pied chancelant!⁴⁵

Paul-Henri Marron fut aussi un bon observateur de l'esprit du temps. En 1821, son jugement sur l'empereur déchu reprend celui de l'*Ode to Napoleon* de Byron (1814), et annonce le *Napoléon* en vers d'Edgar Quinet (1836). De même, en 1802, à l'occasion de la paix d'Amiens, il adressait à Bonaparte, à la manière d'Horace, des vers proches de ceux de Vincenzo Monti:

Musis amicus carmine candidos
 Laetosque terris quae referunt dies
 Cyro fati miranda facta,
 Fert animus celebrare blando.

⁴³ 'Épithaphe de Bonaparte', *The Classical Journal*, 24 (1821), 174.

⁴⁴ Vincenzo Monti, *Il Prometeo* [1797], éd. Luca Frassinetti (Pisa: ETS, 2001).

⁴⁵ *Pauli Henrici Marron solemnia hagana, celebrata dd. XXII et XXIII julii 1828* (Paris: F. Didot, 1828), vv. 78-81.

Tandem serenum, quod piceis modo
 Nimbis latebat, Pax! relevas caput.
 O Nata coelo! tandem amoena
 Gentibus otia redde fessis!

Cyrnea voto Te soboles pio,
 Gallis renascens laetitia et decus,
 Et gloria adscendens ad astra
 Napoleon petiit perenni.

Moi qui suis l'ami des Muses, les prodiges d'un fils de la Corse qui ramènent sur la terre des jours heureux et candides, mon humeur me porte à les célébrer par un doux chant.

Paix! tu relèves une tête enfin sereine, que de noirs nuages masquaient il y a peu. Ô fille du ciel! redonne de doux loisirs aux peuples fatigués!

Par un vœu pieu, un rejeton de la Corse, joie et honneur naissants pour les Français et dont la gloire monte aux astres, Napoléon, T'a obtenue pour longtemps.⁴⁶

La paix, dans les vers de Paul-Henri Marron, est célébrée par un ensemble de figures récurrentes: les nuages se dispersent, l'*otium* est rendu au peuple, la Paix allégorisée relève la tête, Cérès de redonne la fertilité aux champs. La déesse est parfois accompagnée de Bacchus et de la corne d'abondance: 'Dulcis inexhausto fundat tibi Copia cornu | Mille bona, et Baccho tam bene juncta Ceres'.⁴⁷ Avec l'agriculture, le commerce reprend. L'océan accueille de nouveau les navires et le marin le traverse en toute sécurité: 'Securus alto nauta ponto | Velivolâ insequitur carinâ'.⁴⁸ En marge de ces deux événements, les arts de Pallas refleurissent, les Érynnies retournent dans le Tartare, Bellone agite en vain son fouet sanglant ('Sanguineum frustra quassans Bellona flagellum!'⁴⁹) et les armes sont transformées en houes: elles cherchent des mottes de terre ('Mutata curvis arma ligonibus | Glebas reposcunt'⁵⁰).

⁴⁶ [signé E.], *Ad Napoleon Bonaparte*, pp. 1-12. 'Musis amicus' reprend Hor., *carm.*, 1, 26, 1.

⁴⁷ *Regi pacifico, Ludovico XVI*, v. 1.

⁴⁸ 'Carolo decimo, Gallorum regi', vv. 31-32.

⁴⁹ *Napoleoni, augusto, invicto, Gallorum imperatori, Lutetiam reduci* (Parisiis: P. Didot natu major, 1807), vv. 11-12. On lit chez Virgile, dans l'*Énéide*: 'cum sanguineo sequitur Bellona flagello' (Verg., *Aen.*, 8, 703).

⁵⁰ *In pacis festum*, v. 46. Marron reprend à l'envers un thème des *Géorgiques*: 'et curvae rigidum falces conflantur in ensem' (Verg., *georg.*, 1, 508).

La guerre apporte elle aussi son lot figures récurrentes. Vénus s'adressant à Mars commence par en faire une énumération :

Satisne tetri flumine sanguinis
 Conspecta tellus ingemuit suos
 Orbata natos, celsa planctu
 Dum iuga, dum reboare valles?

Satisne frugum moesta Ceres parens;
 Satisne, nullis tempora pampinis
 Cingens, Iacchus rapta aratro
 Brachia et indoluere viti?

Satisne mater Gallica, Teutonum
 Satisne matres pignora flent sua?
 Fratrumne sat plorant sorores?
 Taedaque palluit heu! iugalis?

N'a-t-elle pas assez gémi à la vue de ce fleuve de sang noir, la terre privée de ses enfants, tandis que les hauts sommets et tandis que les vallées faisaient retentir un chant de deuil?

N'a-t-elle pas assez gémi, la triste Cérès, mère de récoltes, pas assez, Iacchus dont les tempes ne sont pas couronnées de pampre et dont les bras arrachés à la vigne par la charrue ont souffert?

Ne pleurent-elles pas assez leur enfant, les mères françaises, pas assez, les mères des Teutons? Les sœurs ne pleurent-elles pas assez leur frère? Et le flambeau nuptial, hélas! n'a-t-il pas assez pâli?⁵¹

Ces figures et expressions récurrentes créent l'unité de l'œuvre. La plupart d'entre elles sont puisées chez les auteurs latins. Dans les vers qui précèdent, par exemple, la 'couronne de pampre' est empruntée à Horace (*carm.*, 3, 25, 20), le 'flambeau nuptial' à Ovide (*her.*, 4, 121) et l'expression *parens frugum* vient des *Géorgiques* (2, 173). Il conviendrait toutefois d'élargir considérablement le champ des emprunts, en le rapportant aux lectures de Marron, qui en donne lui-même la mesure, en esquissant, dans des vers de 1802, un court panorama de la poésie néolatine. Marron se place d'abord sous les auspices de Virgile, d'Horace et de l'«expressif» (*argutus*) Tibulle. Il déplore, ensuite, le manque d'intérêt des Français pour le latin depuis le XVIII^e siècle, qui connut Jean Commire, Jean-Baptiste Santeuil, Noël-Étienne Sanadon et Bénigne Grenan. Il oppose à ce manque d'intérêt la vitalité de l'école italienne. Il cite l'école hollandaise, qui peut s'enorgueillir de Hugo Grotius et de

⁵¹ *Napoleoni Magno et Mariæ Ludovicæ Austriacæ sponsis*, vv. 1-12.

l'‘effronté’ (*procax*) Jean Second, de Constantin et de Christian Huygens, de Janus et Franciscus Dousa. Jacob Henrik Hoeufft est le dernier représentant de cette tradition.⁵²

À ce titre, Paul-Henri Marron mérite également d'être rapproché de ses contemporains de langue latine: Auguste-Jean-Baptiste Bouvet de Cressé (1772-1839), Pierre Crouzet (1753-1811), Nicolas-Éloi Lemaire (1767-1832), Louis-François Cauchy (1760-1848), Paul-Gabriel Le Preux, etc. Ces auteurs partagent avec Marron un même usage politique de la poésie latine. Tous, en outre, ont été formés avant la Révolution. Ces poètes constituent dans l'ensemble de la production néo-latine en France du XIX^e siècle un exemple unique de génération.

Il faut enfin rapprocher Paul-Henri Marron de ses contemporains de langue française, dont les vers utilisent le même matériau poétique: Nicolas François de Neufchâteau (1750-1828), Louis de Fontanes (1757-1821), qui fut Grand maître de l'Université, Charles-Simon Théveneau (1759-1821), Joseph-Alphonse Esménard (1770-1811), Charles-Hubert Millevoye (1782-1816), etc. Marron les retrouve dans les recueils *Couronne poétique de Napoléon-le-Grand* et *Hommages poétiques à leurs majestés impériales et royales*.⁵³ Leurs vers sont inspirés des odes de Le Brun-Pindare ou de Marie-Joseph Chénier, mais peut-être Jacques Delille, le grand vainqueur des prix décennaux de 1810, est-il la référence absolue pour l'époque, en matière de poétique.⁵⁴

⁵² *Pax ambianensis, ad v. c. Rutgerum-Janum Schimmelpenninck, Reipublicae batavae ad gallicam legatum, unum e Concessus pacifici Quatuorviris spectatissimis* (Parisiis: Typis Reipublicae, 1802), vv. 1-20.

⁵³ *Couronne poétique; Hommages poétiques*. Sur les poètes de langue française publiés dans *Hommages poétiques*, voir Jean-Noël Pascal, ‘Des Pindares comme s’il en pleuvait: odes et dithyrambes sur la naissance du roi de Rome (1811)’, in Didier Alexandre – Geneviève Cammagre – Marie-Catherine Huet-Brichard (eds), *L’ode, en cas de toute liberté poétique. Actes du colloque organisé à l’Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail les 14-15-16 janvier 2004* (Bern e.a.: Lang, 2007), pp. 62-80.

⁵⁴ *Rapport du jury institué par S. M. l’empereur et roi, pour le jugement des prix décennaux, en vertu des décrets des 24 fructidor an 12 et 28 novembre 1809* (Paris: imprimerie impériale, 1810), pp. 53-60. Delille remporta le prix du ‘meilleur poème épique’ pour sa traduction en vers de l’*Énéide* et, devant Joseph-Alphonse Esménard, le prix du ‘meilleur poème en plusieurs chants, didactique, descriptif, ou en général d’un style élevé’.

Autour de l'université de Leyde

Paul-Henri Marron reprend également des éléments lexicaux d'un destinataire à l'autre: Louis XVI et Bonaparte reçoivent l'épithète de 'pacifique'⁵⁵ et les mots 'pilier'⁵⁶ (*columen*) et 'honneur'⁵⁷ (*decus*) leur sont apposés. Avec Charles X, ils partagent l'«espoir»⁵⁸ (*spes*) des Français. Le caractère conformiste de l'éloge, que Marron partage avec ses contemporains français et latins, constitue, nous semble-t-il, une limite du genre épидictique.

Une autre limite apparaît lorsqu'au fil des alliances entre puissances et des changements de régime, la guerre se fait moins épique et les généraux moins héroïques. Sous l'Empire, Marron chante le génie militaire de Napoléon et de ses maréchaux Kléber, Joubert, Desaix ou Moreau.⁵⁹ Dans un contexte européen moins guerrier, sous la Restauration, on consacre des vers au rétablissement de la statue de Louis XIV place des Victoires⁶⁰, à l'assassinat du duc de Berry par Louis Louvel et au baptême de l'héritier du trône, le duc de Bordeaux.⁶¹ En 1823, cependant, le duc d'Angoulême prit le commandement d'une expédition visant à rétablir Ferdinand VII sur le trône d'Espagne, contre les républicains. Inexpérimenté, le fils de Charles X accepta de n'assurer que l'honneur de son titre. Marron fait néanmoins son éloge. Il le nomme le 'dompteur de Cadix' (*Gadius domitor*).⁶² Cet éloge, comparé à celui des généraux de la décennie précédente, paraît l'œuvre d'un rhéteur plus que d'un poète.

Dans ses vers au duc d'Angoulême, Marron consacre plus d'espace que de coutume à un autre sujet. Sur une vingtaine de vers, il évoque

⁵⁵ *Regi pacifico, Ludovico XVI*; 'Primo Gallice Consuli pacifico', dans *Couronne poétique*, p. 85.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, v. 39: 'Hunc columnen sibi Libertas [praedicabit]'; 'Ad Bonapartum', v. 5-6: 'Te columnen, Bonaparte, poscit!'

⁵⁷ *Regi pacifico, Ludovico XVI*, v. 18: 'Totius et mundi decus'; 'Ad Bonapartum', v. 5-6: 'ô decus | Et una carae spes patriae'.

⁵⁸ *Regi pacifico, Ludovico XVI*, v. 17: 'ô Patriae spes una et amor'; 'Ad Bonapartum', v. 5-6: 'ô decus | Et una carae spes patriae'; 'Carolo decimo, Gallorum regi', v. 21: 'Gallis spesque salus suis!'

⁵⁹ *In pacis festum*, v. 32 et 35.

⁶⁰ *In statuam Ludovici XIV, Lutetiae Parisiorum solemnem pompam restitutam, die XXV augusti 1822, auspice rege Ludovico XVIII* (s.l., 1822).

⁶¹ *Ludovico XVIII, Galliae regi, in festis baptismalibus regii Burdigalae ducis ipsius Kalendis maiis 1822* (Parisii: P. Didot natu major, 1822).

⁶² *Tertia dies octobris. Ad regium principem Ludovicum Antonium ducem Engulismensem, Gadium domitorem* (Parisii: e Typographeo regio, 1823).

la levée du siège de Leyde, le 3 octobre 1574. Le 3 octobre est aussi la date de la reddition de Cadix; d'où la digression. Marron s'attarde sur le rôle de Jan Dousa, qu'il oppose au cruel (*acerbus*) Francisco Valdès, le commandant des troupes assaillantes; le rôle de Guillaume I^{er} d'Orange-Nassau, qui offrit à la ville son université à l'issue du siège, en hommage à sa résistance. Il signale, enfin, le comportement héroïque de Magdalena Moons.⁶³ En fonction du prestige du destinataire, Paul-Henri Marron donne plus ou moins de latitude à ses tropismes, en l'occurrence, la cause batave et l'université de Leyde.

La dernière guerre dont Marron se fit l'écho illustre cette tendance. Elle eut lieu à La Haye en 1831. Un étudiant belge insulta ses camarades hollandais lors d'un concours de poésie ('Castalidum (...) palaestra Sororum'). Dans une épître à l'université de Leyde, le pasteur parisien amplifie l'incident à la manière du *Lutrin* de Boileau: on s'arme au nom de la patrie et bientôt les professeurs comme les élèves attaquent le camp adverse:

"Hostis ubi? poenas, Belga nefande, dabis!"
 Euge bene est! patriae obtinuit bona causa triumphum,
 Nec vos, ô cives! degenerastis avos.
 Et venit Belga, et vidit, fugitque repente,
 Averso cautus pectore tuta petens.

"Où est l'ennemi? Misérable Belge, tu seras châtié!"
 Hourra! une juste cause nationale a triomphé
 Et vous, ô citoyens! vous n'avez pas dégénéré de vos aïeux.
 Le Belge est venu, il a vu et il a fui tout de suite,
 Tournant prudemment le dos, cherchant un lieu sûr.⁶⁴

Marron, dès qu'il le peut, donne toute son attention à la Hollande. La cause batave est très souvent citée en marge du règlement des conflits entre les grandes puissances. En 1783, grâce au traité de Paris, le 'Belge' (*Belga*) n'est plus forcé de subir les humiliations des Anglais⁶⁵; La paix d'Amiens de 1802 est l'œuvre, en partie, du grand pensionnaire de la

⁶³ *Ibid.*, vv. 1-20. Magdalena Moons s'offrit en mariage à Francisco Valdès pour obtenir une trêve, ce qui laissa le temps aux renforts et au ravitaillement d'arriver.

⁶⁴ *Ad Academiae Lugduno-Batavae alumnos e castris reduces* (Lugduni-Batavorum: J. G. la Lau, 1831), v. 20-24.

⁶⁵ *Regi pacifico, Ludovico XVI*, vv. 30-33: '(...) quod nimium securus Belga, rapinis | Nudatus infandum in modum, | Ludibrium invisio totus spoliūque Britanno | Non est coactus cedere'.

République batave, Rutger Jan Schimmelpenninck⁶⁶; en 1810, Paul-Henri Marron salue, dans la fête de la Paix donnée le 14 juillet, un renouvellement du traité de Paris et la fin du conflit anglo-hollandais.⁶⁷ Plusieurs poèmes de Marron publiés en France sont des hommages à des personnalités hollandaises des siècles passés: les patriotes Hugo Gervers et Cornelis de Gijselaar⁶⁸, l'orientaliste Sebald-Foulques-Jean Rau⁶⁹, l'amiral Ruyter⁷⁰, Jan Dousa⁷¹; ou contemporaines: le mathématicien Pierre Nieuwland⁷², le poète Hieronymus De Bosch⁷³, le théologien Philip-Willem van Heusde⁷⁴ et le baron Hendrick Collot d'Escury.⁷⁵

Deux poèmes de 1825 et 1828, enfin, célèbrent l'université de Leyde. Marron évoque les humanistes qui sont passés dans ses murs. Il cite, entre autres, Joseph Scaliger, le médecin Pierre Tiara, le philologue Vulcanius, l'éditeur Johannes van Meurs (Meursius), le mathématicien Willebrord(us) Snellius.⁷⁶ Il rend également hommage à ses professeurs David Ruhnken, professeur d'histoire et d'éloquence, Johan Valckenaer, professeur de droit, le théologien et orientaliste Johann-Jacob Schultens.⁷⁷ Mais il s'adresse surtout à ses condisciples (*socii*), nous informant dans le même temps de ses amitiés hollandaises: l'anatomiste Gérard Sandifort et le philologue et historien Petrus Hofman Peerlkamp⁷⁸;

⁶⁶ *Pax ambianensis, ad v. c. Rutgerum-Janum Schimmelpenninck* (cf. note 52).

⁶⁷ *In Pacis festum*.

⁶⁸ *Viris nobilissimis Ockero Gevaerts et Cornelio de Gyselaar, parricidarum manibus ereptis, Hagae Com., d. XVII mensis martii 1786* (s. l., 1786).

⁶⁹ ['Le burin vient de transmettre à la postérité les traits de (...) M. Rau'], *Magasin encyclopédique: ou Journal des sciences, des lettres et des arts*, 8^e année (1802), III [t. XLV], 68.

⁷⁰ 'In Ruteri effigiem'.

⁷¹ 'Jano Dousae, Nordovici, egregia laudatione a Matthia Siegenbeek celebrato', dans M. Siegenbeek, *Laudatio Jani Dousae cum subjunctis annotationibus* (Leyde, 1812), pp. 169-170.

⁷² ['Pour le portrait de Pierre Nieuwland, [imitation] de Jean de Kruyff'], *Magasin encyclopédique: ou journal des sciences, des lettres et des arts*, 8^e année (1802), III [t. XLV], 498.

⁷³ 'Viro clarissimo Hieronymo De Bosch, uni e curandae academiae Lugduno-Batavae IV viris, poemata sua edenti' [1802], dans Hieronymus De Bosch, *Poëmata* (Utrecht: B. Wild & J. Altheer, 1803).

⁷⁴ 'Viro meritissimo Phil. Guil. van Heusde, initia philosophiae platonicae edenti', *Algemene konst- en letter-bode*, 39 (1827), pp. 196-197.

⁷⁵ 'Arma Batavorum', dans H. Collot d'Escury, *Hollands roem in kunsten en wetenschappen* (La Haye-Amsterdam, 1835), VI, 1, 340.

⁷⁶ *Carmen gratulatorium*, vv. 27-30.

⁷⁷ *Pauli Henrici Marron solemnia hagana*, vv. 24-30.

⁷⁸ *Carmen gratulatorium*, vv. 47-48.

le diplomate Jean-David Pasteur (*amicissimus*), le professeur et journaliste Jean Luzac, le poète Peter van Braam, le pasteur Henri-Daniel Guyot, Rutger Jan Schimmelpenninck, l'écrivain et poète David-Jacob van Lennep, le baron Collot d'Escury, le poète Jacob-Henri Hoeufft, qui chante comme un cygne ('et ô! te, | Cynaeis, HOEUFFTI, nobilitate sonis!')⁷⁹.

Le destin de certains fait naître chez Paul-Henri Marron une émotion pathétique, que soulignent des allitérations et des parallélismes de construction: Jean-David Pasteur, 'quem cecini in thalamo; quem cecini in tumulo!'⁸⁰ ('que j'ai chanté au berceau, que j'ai chanté au tombeau!'); Jean Luzac, 'in nocte cadaver, | Pulvere et à pyrio fulmine tacte truci!'⁸¹ ('cadavre dans la nuit, touché par une poudre sauvage, et par un tonnerre de feu!'). À l'évocation des morts, les vers prennent une tonalité évangélique absente des autres œuvres:

Innumerus numerus, mundi quos luce supremâ,
Expectant vitae munera certa novae.

Innombrable est le nombre de ceux qu'attendent, de la lumière suprême du monde,
Les dons certains d'une vie nouvelle.⁸²

Dans ses derniers vers Marron laisse poindre un lyrisme plus intime. L'âge venant, l'importance du destinataire s'efface au profit de l'instance poétique et si l'éloge conserve une destination, il est médiatisé par le souvenir des études, 'sérieuses et mêlées de douces plaisanteries' ('blandis seria mixta jocis'⁸³), et d'une muse érotique qu'il quitta ensuite pour une autre, plus civique:

Tunc ego mendaces ludebam ignarus amores,
Et mihi non notae basia Iuliolae:
Temporis et te, Libertas, pro more canebar:
Altera tu iuvenis Iulia digna chely!

Alors, ignorant, je jouais à chanter des amours mensongères,
Et les baisers d'une petite Julie inconnue:
Et je te célébrais, Liberté, à la mode du temps:
Toi, seconde Julie, jeune, digne de la lyre!⁸⁴

⁷⁹ *Pauli Henrici Marron solemnia hagana*, vv. 35-76.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, v. 54.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, vv. 57-58. Jean Luzac mourut en 1807 dans une explosion sur le port de Leyde.

⁸² *Ibid.*, vv. 59-60.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, v. 36.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, vv. 41-44.

Paul-Henri Marron ne perdit pas tout à fait, cependant, l'usage de sa veine érotique. Dans des vers de 1810, il prête à Vénus une sensualité qui en porte la trace:

Suffusa pulchro protulerat Venus
 Rubore tales ambrosio sonos
 Ab ore; pacatumque Martem
 Grata iuvat meminisse tela.

Vénus colorée de belle rougeur,
 Libérait de tels sons de sa bouche
 D'ambrosie, que Mars apaisé
 Se rappelle avec plaisir ses charmantes armes.⁸⁵

Paul-Henri Marron, enfin, n'est pas avare de détails sur sa vieillesse. En 1825, empêché par sa santé, il envoie sa Muse assister au sacre de Charles X à Reims:

Ingenii te vectam alâ intervalla locorum
 Non retinent; adstas quâ tibi cunque placet.
 Nephritis vatem exosis ligat impia vinclis,
 Et torquens renes nocte dieque dolor.

Mue par les ailes de l'esprit, les distances entre les lieux
 Ne te retiennent pas; tu vas où il te plaît.
 Une néphrite maudite retient ton poète par des chaînes impies,
 Et jour et nuit une douleur lui tord les reins.⁸⁶

En 1828, la même raison l'empêche d'assister aux solennités de La Haye. S'adressant à d'anciens camarades, il se permet une allusion plus pittoresque à son état de santé:

Sequanicâ retinet populosa Lutetia ripâ
 Marronum; at vestris vellet adesse choris.
 Invida Nephritis disturbat vota precesque,
 Sponsaque quae nimio curat amore senem.
 Quam mihi vobiscum primae meminisse iuventae,
 Non reditura Eheu! tempora dulce foret!

La populeuse Lutèce retient Marron sur les rives
 De la Seine; mais il aurait voulu être présent dans vos chœurs.
 Sa néphrite, jalouse, le dérange dans ses vœux et ses prières
 Et son épouse soigne sa vieillesse avec beaucoup d'amour.
 Comme il me serait doux d'évoquer avec vous les souvenirs de notre jeunesse,
 D'un temps hélas! qui ne reviendra pas!⁸⁷

⁸⁵ *Napoleoni Magno et Mariæ Ludovicæ Austriacæ sponsis augustissimis, auspicatissimis* (Lutetia Parisiorum: I. H. Stône, 1810), vv. 29-32.

⁸⁶ 'Carolo decimo, Gallorum regi...', vv. 5-8.

⁸⁷ *Pauli Henrici Marron solemnina hagana*, vv. 17-22.

L'expérience d'une vie et les souvenirs modifient la hiérarchie entre le poète et le destinataire de l'éloge. Si le projet reste le même, le poème s'émancipe d'une logique de don et de contre-don pour devenir plus intime. Cependant, le goût de la subjectivité poétique traverse toute l'œuvre de Paul-Henri Marron, avec des évolutions: l'ethos de la jeunesse est ambitieux et enthousiaste, celui de la vieillesse est sage et pittoresque. Il est permis de voir, dans ce goût de la mise en scène de soi, un usage qui dépasse le cadre d'une poésie d'amateurs et qui revendique le statut de poète.

Paul-Henri Marron mérite d'être associé à ses amis poètes néo-latins hollandais qui, pour certains, ont publié en recueils. Élargissant le cercle, Jean-François Boissonade de Fontarabie, professeur à l'Université et critique littéraire, évoque, dans le *Journal de l'Empire*, 'la Muse classique qui inspira Lotz et Grotius, et qui de nos jours encore dicte des vers antiques à MM. [Jacob-Henri] Hoeufft, [David-Jacob] van Lennep, Marron, [Joseph] Planché, [Nicolas-Éloi] Lemaire, et à quelques autres heureux, mais rares favoris'.⁸⁸ Mais c'est au vaste ensemble, très homogène, des productions épidiectiques néo-latines de la fin du XVIII^e siècle et du premier tiers du XIX^e siècle, en France et en Europe, qu'il convient surtout de rattacher les vers Marron.⁸⁹

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⁸⁸ *Journal de l'Empire* du 2 avril 1810, cité dans Jean-François Boissonade, *Critique littéraire sous le Premier Empire* (Paris: Didier, 1863), I, 90.

⁸⁹ On peut notamment se reporter à l'ouvrage que Corinne Legoy a consacré aux thuriféraires de la Restauration (*L'Enthousiasme désenchanté: éloge du pouvoir sous la Restauration* [Paris: Société des études robespierristes, 2010]).

Ralph LATHER

EIN BRIEF VON KARL FLESCH (FLESCAROLUS) AN MAX
BREITHAUPT, NEBEN WEITEREN *FLESCAROLINA*

1. Einleitung

Die Insel Reichenau im Bodensee bewahrt das Andenken Karl Fleschs (geb. 01.11.1874 in Deggenhausen/Baden, gest. 08.10.1945 auf der Insel Reichenau): sie hat ihn 1925 zum Ehrenbürger gemacht, und noch heute trägt dort eine Straße den Namen des 'Inselarztes', wie ihn der Volksmund nannte. Für diese Tätigkeit genoss er, auch über die Klosterinsel hinaus, großes Ansehen, wenngleich die Verleihung des Ehrenbürgerrechts in unmittelbarem Zusammenhang mit seinem zweiten großen Tätigkeitsfeld, der Schriftstellerei, steht. Zur 1200-Jahrfeier der Gründung des Reichenauer Klosters 1925 verfasste er das mehrfach aufgeführte Festspiel über Hermann den Lahmen; das darin enthaltene *Pirminiuslied* wird beim jährlich stattfindenden Pirminsfest im Reichenauer Münster traditionell gesungen.¹ Fleschs knapp 250 Seiten umfassendes, in Latein und Deutsch geschriebenes Werk ist heute zum allergrößten Teil vergessen.² Manche seiner Veröffentlichungen sind mittlerweile nur noch schwer aufzufinden, da sie als an entlegenem Ort in kleinster Auflage publizierte Privatdrucke nicht im regulären Buchhandel erschienen und stattdessen von Flesch selbst bzw. einem Mitautor auf persönliche Anfrage verschickt wurden. In diesem Beitrag wird, zusammen mit weiteren Dokumenten, ein kürzlich aufgefundener lateinischer Brief an den Freiburger Philologen und Historiker Max Breithaupt, dem Flesch 1943 einige Proben seines schriftstellerischen Könnens zugesandt

¹ Auf die Schriften Fleschs wird im Folgenden mithilfe der Nummern im Anhang verwiesen. Für das *Pirminiuslied* vgl. [3], pp. 31-32.

² Die Rechnung berücksichtigt nicht die beiden medizinischen Schriften [1] und [2]. Erwähnt wird Flesch von Jozef IJsewijn, 'Conspectus poetarum Latinorum saeculi vicesimi', *Euphrosyne*, 3 (1961), 149-190 (p. 161) sowie von Dirk Sacré, 'Conspectus poetarum Latinorum 1900-1960: Supplementum', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 39 (1990), 328-339 (p. 332).

hatte, erstmals zugänglich gemacht; daneben soll der Fund zum Anlass genommen werden, durch grundlegende biographische und bibliographische Informationen zu Flesch und seinem Werk, das er zum größten Teil unter dem latinisierten Namen *Flescarolus* veröffentlichte, einen Zugang zur Wiederentdeckung des Reichenauer Dichters zu eröffnen.

Flesch wurde am 01.11.1874 in Deggenhausen/Baden geboren. Am Konstanzer Gymnasium, wo er 1894 das Abitur ablegte³, lernte er Latein bei Otto Kimmig, vielleicht mit der Grammatik Karl Gottlob Zumpt, die er einen der Protagonisten von *Ferocia Latina* so ausführlich loben lässt.⁴ Er studierte in München, Freiburg und Berlin, erwarb den medizinischen Dokortitel an der Universität Freiburg⁵, und verbrachte dann seine Zeit als Assistenzarzt in Kenzingen. Kinderlos und unverheiratet führte Flesch von 1900 bis zu seinem Tode eine ärztliche Praxis auf der Insel. Er starb am 08.10.1945, als er nachts zu einem Patienten aufbrechen wollte, an einem Schlaganfall.

Flesch widmete sich mit zunehmendem Alter immer mehr der Schriftstellerei, auch zu Ungunsten sonstiger kultureller Aktivitäten auf der Reichenau, an denen er vorher größten Anteil genommen hatte, und war spätestens seit 1937 Mitglied der 1932 in München gegründeten *Societas Latina*, eines Vereins, der die Verbreitung und Nutzbarmachung des Lateinischen als internationale Verständigungssprache beförderte. In der gleichnamigen Zeitschrift (im Folgenden: *SL*) findet sich 1934 in einer Buchbesprechung sein Name zum ersten Mal; 1937 nennt man ihn in einer Ankündigung *sodalis noster*.⁶ Flesch identifizierte sich offenbar stark mit dem Programm des Vereins, das Georg Lurz im *SL*-Eröffnungsheft

³ Für wertvolle biographische Informationen danke ich Karl Wehrle vom Verkehrsverein Reichenau e.V., der mir auch das Sterbebildchen Fleschs (p. 454) zukommen ließ. Die einzigen publizierten Quellen für Fleschs Biographie sind Joseph Holzer, 'In memoriam Caroli Flesch Augiensis, medicinae doctoris', *Societas Latina*, 14 (1948), 22-23 sowie Sabine Hierholzer, 'Der Inselarzt Dr. Flesch in Allensbach', *Allensbacher Almanach*, 58 (2008), 14-18 (enthält zwei Fotografien; das p. 17 angegebene Erscheinungsjahr von *In Walahfridi decessum* ist unrichtig). Das Jahr des Schulabschlusses ist aus dem Erscheinen von [5] zu schließen, das Flesch seinen Konstanzer Schulfreunden zum 40. Jahrestag ihres Abiturs widmete. Bestätigt wird dieses Datum implizit im Vorwort von [1], p. 5: 'Die nachfolgende Arbeit entstand bereits im Sommer 1898 während meines 8. Studiensemesters in München'. Als Zeitpunkt seines Studieneintritts ergibt sich also das Wintersemester 1894.

⁴ Vgl. [12], pp. 5-7. Otto Kimmig (1858-1913) ist neben seiner Tätigkeit als Lehrer literarisch (unter dem Pseudonym 'Peter Sirius') besonders als Aphoristiker und Reiseschriftsteller hervorgetreten. Flesch gedenkt seiner in [5], pp. 42-43; vgl. hierzu auch Appendix I.

⁵ Dissertationsschrift: [1].

⁶ Vgl. 'Librorum recensio', *SL*, 2 (1934), 46 und 'Noscenda. Interrogata. Responsa.', *SL*, 5 (1937), 29.

dargestellt hat ('Wozu eine Societas Latina?', *SL*, 1 (1932), 1-4), und unternahm in *Ferocia Latina*, seinem letzten und umfangreichsten Werk, die literarische Rechtfertigung einer *Latinitas viva* in diesem Sinne — der Rezensent Julius Dutoit bemerkt wohlwollend: 'Plerumque hae sententiae eius congruunt cum nostris'.⁷ Die *SL*-Redaktion besprach regelmäßig seine lateinischen Veröffentlichungen und druckte kürzere Auszüge ab, wobei hier auch manche seiner sonst nicht publizierten lateinischen Übersetzungen deutscher Gedichte erschienen, eine Kunstform, die von Anfang an einen festen Platz im Programm der Zeitschrift hatte.⁸ Insgesamt belegen seine Beiträge für *SL*, die Zusammenarbeit mit dem bekannten Abraham a Sancta Clara-Forscher Karl Bertsche⁹ sowie seine offenbar sehr freundschaftliche Bekanntschaft mit Max Breithaupt eine ausgesprochen gute Vernetzung mit süddeutschen Gelehrten seiner Zeit. Jedes einzelne Werk des Reichenauers zu charakterisieren, ist hier nicht möglich, jedoch wurden für das bisher unauffindbare *Hora Latina*, um überhaupt einen Eindruck des Büchleins zu geben, eine kurze Inhaltsbeschreibung und zwei Leseproben beigelegt (vgl. Appendix I).¹⁰

Wo die Verbindung von Flesch und Breithaupt ihren Ursprung nimmt, ist bislang nicht bekannt. Dass sie in Verbindung mit dem Gymnasium Konstanz in Kontakt kamen, mit dem Flesch sich, wie die Veröffentlichung von *Hora Latina* (vgl. Anm. 3) zeigt, lange über die eigene Schulzeit hinaus eng verbunden gefühlt haben muss, und dessen Leitung Breithaupt in den dreißiger Jahren innehatte, scheint eine plausible Annahme zu sein. Breithaupt selbst, 14 Jahre jünger als Flesch, wurde nach seinem Studium in Heidelberg und Berlin (u.a. bei Eduard Norden, Johannes Vahlen und Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff) 1913 mit einer kommentierten Fragmentsammlung des Grammatikers Parmeniskos bei Franz Boll promoviert.¹¹ Er leitete zunächst das Gymnasium in Tauberbischofsheim,

⁷ 'Recensio librorum', *SL*, 11 (1943), 19. Ein guter Eindruck des leider nur sehr schwer zugänglichen *Ferocia Latina* lässt sich aus dem in *SL*, 11 (1943), 32-35 abgedruckten Auszug gewinnen.

⁸ Vgl. [7], [8] und [10]. Außerdem enthält [12], pp. 67-68 eine Übersetzung von Wilhelm Müllers *Der Lindenbaum*.

⁹ Vgl. Anm. 23.

¹⁰ Das Buch war mir als eine von Karl-Ludwig Weitzel angefertigte Abschrift zugänglich (für eine biographische Skizze Weitzels vgl. p. 470). Die Abschrift wie auch den unten abgedruckten Brief von Anna Barbara Breithaupt hat Frau Dr. Veronika Moucka, die Tochter Karl-Ludwig Weitzels, freundlicherweise zur Verfügung gestellt. Ihr und Prof. Dirk Sacré, der den Kontakt zu ihr hergestellt hat, habe ich herzlich zu danken.

¹¹ Zur Biographie Breithaupts vgl. Wolfgang Günter, 'Max Breithaupt', in Fred Ludwig Sepaintner (Hg.) *Baden-Württembergische Biographien*, 4 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer,

an dem er auch das Abitur abgelegt hatte, und war dann von 1932 bis zu seiner Amtsenthebung durch die Nationalsozialisten Direktor des Konstanzer Gymnasiums. Da die Machthaber sein Interesse am politischen Geschehen für diese leitende Position als zu gering einschätzten, wurde er 1937 an das Freiburger Friedrich-Gymnasium strafversetzt und degradiert. Der Historiker Joachim Fest, der diese Schule ab 1941 besuchte, bezeichnet sie als 'eine Art Gelehrtschule' und erinnert sich an Breithaupt folgendermaßen:

Ein Beispiel dafür war unser Griechischlehrer, Dr. Breithaupt, ein hochgewachsener, hakennasiger Mann, der seinem Beruf mit enthusiastischem Ernst nachging. Er hatte noch den alten Dörpfelt¹² [*sic!*] gekannt und brachte von Zeit zu Zeit einen Brief des Gelehrten mit, den er mit spitzen Fingern wie eine kostbare Reliquie in die Höhe hielt, während er gleichzeitig, mit leuchtenden Augen, Bank für Bank die Bewunderung einsammelte, die er auf unseren Gesichtern las, er kannte Karl Reinhardt und Otto Seel,¹³ große Namen, die er mit raunender Ehrfurcht aussprach [...]. ('Glückliche Jahre', in *Meine Schulzeit im Dritten Reich: Erinnerungen deutscher Schriftsteller* (Köln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1988²), pp. 199-211 (pp. 208-209).

Nach 1945 leistete Breithaupt wichtige Aufbauarbeit für die alten Sprachen, er war Vorsitzender des badischen Altphilologenverbandes, Ehrenvorsitzender des DAV und Träger des Bundesverdienstkreuzes. Er starb am 12.12.1965 in Freiburg.

Der vorliegende Brief Fleschs fällt in die Zeit von Breithaupts zunächst sehr schwierigen Freiburger Jahren: die Zurückstufung von der Position des Direktors in Konstanz zum normalen Professor am Freiburger Friedrich-Gymnasium bedeutete für ihn einen schweren persönlichen Schlag. Die Lehraufträge für Historiker und Klassische Philologen an der Universität Freiburg, die er ab dem Wintersemester 1941/1942 erhielt und dann über zwei Jahrzehnte hinweg, nach seiner Pensionierung 1953 sogar

2007), pp. 30-33; Eckhard Wirbelauer, 'Breithaupt, Max', in Eckhard Wirbelauer (hg.), *Die Freiburger Philosophische Fakultät 1920-1960* (Freiburg – München: Karl Alber, 2006), pp. 900-901; Heinz Imiela, 'Oberstudiendirektor i.R. Professor Dr. Breithaupt †', *Mitteilungsblatt des Deutschen Altphilologenverbandes*, 1 (1966), 2-3. Seinen akademischen Werdegang hat Breithaupt im *Curriculum vitae* seiner Dissertationsschrift dargestellt; vgl. Max(imilian) Breithaupt, *De Parmenisco Grammatico*, *Stoicheia*, 4 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1915), p. 61.

¹² Gemeint ist der bekannte Archäologe Wilhelm Dörpfeld (1853-1940). Breithaupt veröffentlichte sein Schriftenverzeichnis; vgl. Max Breithaupt, 'Schriftenverzeichnis von Wilhelm Dörpfeld', *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 65/66 (1950/1951), 380-404.

¹³ Karl Reinhardt (1886-1958) und Otto Seel (1907-1975), zwei bedeutende deutsche Altphilologen.

unbezahlt, wahrgenommen hat, müssen gerade in dieser schweren Zeit durchaus belebend auf ihn gewirkt haben.

Diese Kurse sind es wohl, die Flesch im Sommer 1943 zum Anlass genommen hat, Breithaupt einige Proben seiner eigenen schriftstellerischen Arbeit vorzustellen. Im Begleitschreiben berichtet er, ein gemeinsamer Bekannter habe ihn informiert, dass Breithaupt Kurse für Studenten gebe, in denen er auch 'Neueres' behandle.¹⁴ Flesch, selbst ein leidenschaftlicher Leser mittel- und neulateinischer Autoren, von denen er zahlreiche Werke in der Leopold-Sophien-Bibliothek Überlingen vorfand und ausgiebig benutzte¹⁵, nimmt also die Gelegenheit wahr und legt, damit dem Freund das Material für seine Kurse nicht ausgehen möge, ein Konvolut von drei Typoskript-Seiten bei: einen anekdotenhaften Prosatext (*Latinitas spuria*, II), ein Gelegenheitsgedicht (III), das ihm kürzlich ein *Hallensis quidam* mit der Bitte um seine letzte Veröffentlichung zugesandt hatte, sowie seine Replik an den *Hallensis* (IV), in der Flesch ihn aus Mangel an Exemplaren auf einen späteren Zeitpunkt vertrösten muss.

Zusammen mit diesen Texten fanden sich noch zwei weitere, in deren Besitz Breithaupt etwa durch weitere Korrespondenz mit Flesch gekommen sein muss. Hierbei handelt es sich um lateinische Übersetzungen von August von Platens Gedicht *Der Pilgrim vor St. Just*, das bereits in *Societas Latina* abgedruckt worden war¹⁶, sowie die bisher unveröffentlichte Goethe-Übersetzung *Minionis cantio* ('Mignon'), jeweils mit kurzen Kommentaren zu Zeit und Umständen der Abfassung. Gegen die Zugehörigkeit der Texte zum übrigen Konvolut spricht vor allem, dass sie im Brief mit keinem Wort erwähnt werden und es recht unwahrscheinlich ist, dass Flesch sie stillschweigend beigelegt haben würde. Die Blätter unterscheiden sich im Übrigen auch hinsichtlich des Formats von den anderen: *Latinitas spuria* und die beiden Gelegenheitsgedichte befin-

¹⁴ Für den Beleg des Interesses Breithaupts am Neulateinischen mag es hier genügen, kurz die Umstände des Fundes zu beschreiben. In einem Freiburger Antiquariat stieß ich zufällig auf das Konvolut; es befand sich in einem Exemplar von Hermann Wellers *Carmina Latina*, das durch Namensvermerk auf dem Vorsatz als aus Breithaupts Besitz stammend identifiziert werden konnte und durchgehend mit Anmerkungen von seiner Hand versehen ist.

¹⁵ Flesch zitiert allenthalben aus neulateinische Autoren, in [12] etwa aus den *Studentes* des Christoph Stymmelius (p. 69) oder Macropedius' *Andrisca* (p. 29). Letzteres lässt sich, wie auch das im Begleittext zu *Minionis cantio* erwähnte Buch von Caspar Schott, im Katalog der Leopold-Sophien-Bibliothek nachweisen. In [5] gibt Flesch ebenfalls Zitate neulateinischer Autoren, die er in Überlingen vorfand, und zeigt sich gut unterrichtet über die 'Copiosissima Latinorum bibliotheca' (p. 11).

¹⁶ Vgl. [7].

den sich auf Blättern in A5-Format, die Platen -und die Goethe-Übersetzung dagegen auf A4-Format. Ungeachtet dieser Zweifel über die Zugehörigkeit der beiden Gedichte erscheinen sie hier der Vollständigkeit halber ebenfalls (V und VI).

Hinzu genommen wurde schließlich ein kurzer Brief von Anna Barbara Breithaupt (1911-2006), der Witwe Max Breithaupts, an Karl-Ludwig Weitzel, der die Beziehung von Flesch und Breithaupt weiter erhellt. Karl-Ludwig Weitzel (1911-1996)¹⁷ studierte in Freiburg neben den alten Sprachen Theologie und Geschichte, u.a. bei Walther Kolbe, dessen Assistent er 1938/1939 war. In der Freiburger Studienzeit wird er auch mit Anna Barbara Kempf Bekanntschaft geschlossen haben, die sich dann 1941 mit Max Breithaupt verheiratete. In Weitzels Nachlass findet sich ein Corpus von über 20 Postkarten und teilweise sehr ausführlichen Briefen von Anna Barbara Kempf-Breithaupt, das für den Zeitraum von 1937 bis 1944 eine enge Freundschaft bezeugt; danach scheint der Kontakt abgerissen zu sein.¹⁸ Die Einberufung gleich zu Beginn des zweiten Weltkriegs hinderte Weitzel an der Promotion; nach der Rückkehr Ende 1948 gab er, geschwächt von Krieg und russischer Gefangenschaft, die Doktoratspläne endgültig auf und wurde Lehrer am Waldshuter Hochrheingymnasium. Weitzel war Mitarbeiter der neulateinischen Zeitschriften *Tiro* und *Vox Latina* und ein weithin bekannter Sammler und Kenner neulateinischer Literatur. Dem unten abgedruckten Brief, wohl dem ersten neuerlichen Kontakt zwischen Weitzel und Anna Barbara Breithaupt nach 26 Jahren, war die Bitte Weitzels um Zusendung eines Exemplars von *Hora Latina* vorausgegangen, das sich in Breithaupts Nachlass befand. Er belegt, dass Flesch und Breithaupt sich schon mindestens seit der Mitte der 30er Jahre gekannt haben müssen, wobei offenbar häufiger lateinische Briefe und Gedichte hin und her gingen — wie der erste Satz von Fleschs Brief ahnen lässt, mag der Kontakt zwischenzeitlich auch einmal länger

¹⁷ Ein kurzer Eintrag über Weitzel findet sich auch bei Wirbelauer, p. 1019.

¹⁸ Über die Gründe lässt sich spekulieren. Aus der weiteren Korrespondenz Weitzels geht hervor, dass dieser bereits 1939 ans Freiburger Friedrich-Gymnasium, die Schule, an der auch der nicht eingezogene Max Breithaupt zu diesem Zeitpunkt lehrte, versetzt worden war, diese Stelle aber wegen seiner Einberufung nicht antrat. Nach seiner Rückkehr 1948 bemühte er sich, da er auch aus familiären Gründen nach Freiburg zurückkehren wollte, verzweifelt darum, den Dienst an dieser Schule aufnehmen zu können. Der Versuch misslang; Breithaupt, der seit 1945 die Direktion der Schule innehatte und ihm von Dritten als Ansprechpartner in dieser Sache anempfohlen worden war, scheint nichts für Weitzel getan zu haben.

geruht haben. Das vorliegende Konvolut scheint eine dieser freundschaftlichen Sendungen zu sein, von denen Breithaupts Witwe in ihrem Brief spricht. Die Texte mögen vor allem als anschauliche Beispiele für eine manchmal unkonventionelle und ausgelassene, manchmal ehrfurchtsvolle *Latinitas viva* gelten, auch wenn ihre sprachliche Qualität einem Vergleich mit manch anderem lateinischen Autor des 20. Jahrhunderts insgesamt nicht standhalten kann. Sogar wenn man nur den eher niedrigen Grad des Formwillens als Maßstab anlegen will, den man in *SL* vorfindet, und ehrgeizigere Produkte noch außer Acht lässt, ist Fleschs Latein keineswegs als durchgehend klar und elegant zu bezeichnen; durchaus öfter finden sich wenig gelungene, zuweilen sogar fehlerhafte Formulierungen. Es mag den Leser dieser Texte jedoch versöhnlich stimmen, dass ihr Autor sich seiner eigenen Defizite völlig bewusst zu sein schien, so dass er, wie der Brief an Breithaupt zeigt, mit dem Freimut des Properz bekennen konnte, bei großen Unternehmungen sei auch das Wollen allein schon genug.

2. Edition

(I Brief an Max Breithaupt)

Augiae Divitis Non. Jun. XL III

Domino amplissimo Doctori Breithaupt sal. pl. d. Flescarolus!

Quasi e profunditate saeculi ex insperato emergo cupiens opportune advenisse.

Visitavit me ante nonnullum tempus philologiae candidatus Leute Celenensis¹⁹ de Te, Domine, salutes referens. Gratissimum mihi fecerunt [*sic!*] hac re et Tu et ille. Non praetermitto meas agere gratias summas. Sed illo die quo aderat nuntius Tuus, valde eram operatus sic, ut non omnia peragere liceret, quae nobis erant cordi. Apprime illud non fieri potuit, ut Tibi scriberemus chartulam. Quod officium nobile supplere nunc intendo.

¹⁹ Die Identität des gemeinsamen Bekannten von Flesch und Breithaupt ist ebenso ungeklärt wie die Frage, ob er die von Flesch weiter unten empfohlene Übersetzung eines Werks des Abraham a Sancta Clara tatsächlich in Angriff genommen hat.

Confabulationem meam, quam bene nosti, praelo editam visitanti me tradidi.²⁰ Erat ultimum exemplar, quod erat reliquum, neque dubito, quin Tibi monstraverit. At vero candidatus ille mihi narravit Te habere scholas inter studiosos, in quibus etiam res noviores [*sic!*] doceas. Te ergo opus praeclarum tractare gaudeo et liceat mihi aliquid conferre, ne materia Tibi desit. Apposui paginas quasdam, quae usui esse posse arbitror.

Quarum primam deteges cachinnum moventem, pro explicatione nihil addam, quia supervacaneum est. Et aliae duae adjacent, e quibus difficile erat unam dignoscere, quomodo sit dijudicanda. Suntne hexametri ad exemplum Catulli structi, qui in carmine XVII dactylis admiscet trochaeos et more praeclassico in terminatione elidit litteram m et s et sillabas longas nonnumquam breviat? Tamen, quod si fecerit, nimia luxuria fecit et cum libidinosa irregularitate. Si hanc mensurandi et dicendi rationem omnem strictius considero et recogito, ex inscitia legum potius quam ex artis sublimitate ille scripsisse mihi videtur. Neque catenam logaoedicam, quam quaesivi, bene ordinatam reperio. Audire cupidus sum, quale sit Tuum iudicium, qui es doctior me.²¹ Pluris tamen facio, si quis quid composuerit non perfectissime, quam si non ausus sit quicquam conari ex metu et verecundia. In magnis voluisse sat est.²² In responsione mea versus puriores more classico edidi.

Pro Domino Leute habeo opus bellissimum, si vult suscipere laborem. Sunt mihi elaborationes poeticae Abrahami a Sancta Clara, quae adhuc Teudisca conversione carent. Quod munus exsequi me urget Dr. Bertsche Friburgensis, cui hoc officium praestare nequeo deficiente tempore.²³

²⁰ Gemeint sein muss [12], das kurz vorher mit dem Untertitel *Confabulatio romanensis moderna* erschienen war.

²¹ Die Verse des *Hallensis* müssen wohl als missglückte Hexameter angesehen werden; mit dem Priapeus, in dem Catulls c. 17 verfasst ist, und den Flesch mit *dactylis admiscere trochaeos* zu beschreiben versucht, haben sie jedenfalls nichts gemein. Die allgemeinen Bemerkungen zur Prosodie scheinen ein Erklärungsversuch für die starken metrischen Unregelmäßigkeiten im Gedicht des *Hallensis* zu sein.

²² Vgl. Prop., 2, 10, 6.

²³ Über Karl Bertsche informiert grundlegend Andreas F. Cedzich, 'Bertsche, Karl', in Bernd Ottnad (Hg.), *Badische Biographien, Neue Folge* 3 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1990), pp. 42-44. Unter Bertsches Herausgeberschaft wurde [11] veröffentlicht, eine metrische Übersetzung der *Epitome elogiorum* des Abraham a Sancta Clara auf Abraham Megerle, dessen Vetter, die sogar den Beifall Hermann Wellers — Vorstandsmitglied der *SL* und häufiger Beiträger der Zeitschrift — fand; Bertsche schreibt im Nachwort: 'jedenfalls hat Dr. FLESCHE'S Übertragung die volle Billigung [...] gefunden [...], ebenso die Anerkennung des [...] Meisters in der Handhabung neuzeitlichen Lateins Weller, der unsre Übersetzung sogar als eine Riesenarbeit bezeichnet hat'. Wie der Brief zeigt, war Flesch also

Verto me ad Te, ut colloquaris de hac re cum Tuo discipulo, cuius nescio adscriptionem.

Ignoscas, si Te occupatum nimis turbaverim meis quaestionibus!

Accipe meas salutationes et vale quam felicissimus!

Semper ex animo Tibi addictus
Flescarolus.

(II Latinitas spuria.)

Difficile est satiram non scribere (Juv. I.30)

Quod narrabo in anni 1942 decursu pridie festi Sti. Nicolai, quo die liberi discos ponunt muneribus recipiendis et virgam et catenae strepitum famuli Ruperti immitis et terribilis fugiunt pavore trepidantes.

Quidam antea prorsus mihi ignotus accessit ad me salutem dicens et orta est collocutio sequens:

“Quid me vis, bone vir?” ex eo quaesivi.

“Libellum tuum novum,” respondit.

“Esne Latinus??”

Ille: “Omnes mei proavi erant Ladini.”

Extraordinario modo molliens hoc vocabulum prolocutus est.

Ego continuans: “Omnes tui proavi, ut dixisti, erant Latini. Et tu?”

“Non sum rite dictu. Sed scio aliquammultum de hac re.”

Ego: “Librum nulli dabo, qui sermonem Latinum nescit. Periculum tibi faciam. Responde, si verba mea intellexisti. Locuturus sum vere Latine.”

Et rogavi: “Bone vir, loquerisne Latine? Dic, cur veneris!”

Ille deinde: “Nihil sapio.”

Redii ad loquelam Teudiscam: “Ergo tu non es Latinus. Sed qui erant tui proavi? Ubi habitavere?”

“In Rhaetia Helvetica, ubi omnes habitant Ladini.”

von Bertsche bereits um weitere Übersetzungen gebeten worden, zu deren Realisierung es allerdings nicht mehr gekommen ist.

In illa Rhaetia, ut notum est, gens Ladinorum habitat, quae sermone Ladino utitur, qui est ortus e Latino, ei similis. Sed tamen sic a Latino differt eorum lingua, ut nec Ladini intelligant Latinum nec Latini Ladinum.

Propterea iterum advenae illi reddidi: "Non habebis librum meum, non tibi commode esset."

At vero ille: "Cave hoc dixeris. Rem et artem, quam exerces, etiam capesso, ita videlicet, ut per eam conficiam tam alimentaria quam stercoralia. Ne te pudeat disserere de illis, quae agis. Humanum est. Et societati illi tuae conjungi et tibi et mihi erit decorum. Artifex summus sum in meo opere. Recipe me in tuam societatem."

"Quam in societatem?"

"In illam, de qua hodie mane legi in diurnali novissimo. Nam ego quoque stercoralia excoquere scio."

"Insulsa blateras."

"Nullomodo. Ipse verissime legi: Scripsisti librum pro societate latrina"

Perii prae stupore, dum sic[c] ille repetit: "Librum pro societate latrina!" mihi arridens quasi amicus.

Eheu, ter eheu!

Campanile, quod mihi jam in cogitatione elatus exstruxeram, in quo pendebat summa mea exspectatio, ex abrupto corruere vidi miserrime.

Annotatio: Rundschau, Konstanz, 5.XII. 42.

Dr. Flesch hat einen Bodenseeroman in lateinischer Sprache vollendet, der in 50 Exemplaren gedruckt wird und verdienstvollen Lateinübersetzern der Societas Latina als Ehrengeschenk zugedacht ist.²⁴

Fl.

²⁴ Gemeint ist [12], was u.a. aus Julius Dutoit, 'Recensio librorum', *SL*, 11 (1943), 19-20 hervorgeht: 'Hic libellus in ephemeride quadam cognomine "Bodenseeroman in lateinischer Sprache" praeditus est. Non plane id consentit cum argumento. Neque enim regio lacus Brigantini in eo commemoratur, et etiam titulus "Roman" non congruit cum re'. Zum erwähnten 'Ehrengeschenk' heißt es weiter p. 20 n. 2: 'Quod addit illa ephemeris libelli quinquaginta exemplaria esse impressa ac bene meritis translatoribus Societatis Latinae esse destinata, nihil nobis notum est; unum librum nos accepimus recensendum'. Auch Bertsche erwähnt diese Nachricht im Nachwort zu [11], p. 13.

(III *Hallensis quidam.*)

a.d.X.Kal.Jun. MCMXLIII.

Augia deliciarum est insula felix in orbe.
 Hortus et exitus Hortuli monachi Strabonis.²⁵
 Semper det cuncta bona Deus hominibus illis,
 vitam herbarum scribentibus docentibusque.
 Nuper vulgatum est loco diurnis in actis
 medicamentarium doctum sermone Latino
 Lacu de Veneto, Augia, fabulose narrasse.²⁶
 Insula qualis felix, quales felices poetae,
 Walafridus, Doctor Flesch, uterque cantor insignis.
 Hortulum possideo, petam a vobis responsum,
 equid fieri sit, me dissertatione potiri.
 Gaudeam, nam regio in magno mari Sueborum,
 in qua Eccehardus monachus Hadvigam ducem,
 corpore Aeneidos magister studiose docebat²⁷,
 semper me delectavit, studio litterarum deditum,
 memoria et recordatio temporum eorum.
 Exitus nam precum me vos beneficio obliget.

(IV *Responsio Flescaroli*)

A me quisque petens impulsus mente animoque
 noscere, quem scripsi Musa auxiliante libellum,
 ut ne sit, cavi, perdens operam iste precatus.²⁸
 Sic factum est, ut, quod doleo, non mittere possim

²⁵ Gemeint ist der *Liber de cultura hortorum* oder *Hortulus* des Walafridus Strabo.

²⁶ Der *Hallensis* nimmt hier Bezug auf die Meldung in der Konstanzer Rundschau; vgl. Anm. 24.

²⁷ Hadwig, Herzogin von Schwaben, und ihr Lehrer und Vertrauter Ekkehard II (10. Jh.). In Kap. 95 der *Casus sancti Galli* Ekkehards IV. findet sich die Episode ihrer gemeinsamen Vergillektüre.

²⁸ Eine schwer durchschaubare Konstruktion: *quisque* fungiert wohl als vorgezogenes Subjekt des von *cavi* abhängigen Finalsatzes und wird mit *iste* wieder aufgenommen; vom an *quisque* angeschlossenen *petens* ist der Infinitiv *noscere* abhängig, wozu *libellum* als in den Relativsatz hineingezogenes Objekt zu konstruieren ist. Zu übersetzen wäre etwa: 'Ich habe dafür gesorgt, dass jeder, der, angeregt durch Verstand und Geist, von mir erbittet, das Büchlein kennenzulernen, das ich mit Hilfe der Muse geschrieben habe, nicht umsonst gebeten hat'.

illud opus mansuetum, quod vis, exiguumque.
Fasciculos omnes vel ad unum, proh dolor, orbe
toto dimisi, raptim celeres abierunt,
exemplar tamen unum, quod cupis, editionis,
quam breviter posse institui gaudens habeo spem,
conservans pro Te retinebo tempore justo.
Opperiare, precor, patienter, cogor et ipse.
Elatis verbis laudasti condicionem,
qua circumclusi nos vivimus undique ponto,
hortos dum colimus floresque laboribus usti.
Atque Tibi studio addicto licet esse beatum!

(V Peregrinator ad St. Justum)

Ante omnia
Tibi universisque Latinitatis amantibus S!
ANNO DOMINI MDLVI.

“Tenebrosa nox adest saeva cum tempestate:
Hispanorum monachorum portas reserate!
Sinite quiescere me, donec Vos campanae
concitant horae sacras ad preces haud profanae!

Date, quod potest, appeto, Vestra domus parca,
atra vestis Vestra misero mi sit et arca!
Locum date cellae, me sacrate, nil egebam,
orbe regnum bipartito majus possidebam!

Caput meum, quod tonsori mox est demittendum,
multis aptius fuit coronis ad ferendum.
Quamquam Caesaris ornatus decoravit dorsum,
asperae cucullae tamen tolerabo morsum.

Ante mortem mortuis consimilis aequabor,
in fragmenta vetus sicut regnum nunc dilabor!”

Illud, quod scripsit Augustus comes de Platen carmen notissimum, ipsa mediae noctis hora, in qua Carolus V Caesar januas monachorum pulsavit, Latine convertens perfecit die V Maji 1938 Flescarolus Augiensis, plane inscius, numne alter prius alio modo idem elucubratus sit. Si talis est inter vivos, ne mihi suscenseat, vel potius capiat delectamentum, quod cunctis benevolis afferre intenditur.

Vale, lector festivissime!

(*VI Minionis Cantio*)²⁹

Nostin terram florecentem citris
inque arbustis malis aurantiis,
de coelo flat puro Favonius,
Cum lauro stat celsa myrtus tacens?
Nostin, dic, hanc?
Eo est, eo est,
tecum volo, mi dilectissime.

Nostin aedem? Tectum pilis cubat,
nitent aulae, splendent cubilia,
idola me tuentur ninguida:
Quid est factum tibi, miserrima?
Nostin, dic, hanc?
Eo est, eo est,
Tecum volo, o mi tutorie.

Nostin montes callemque in nubibus?
Mulus quaerit nimbosam semitam,
sedet fetus draconis in specu,
ruit rupes, supra fluctus ruunt:
Nostin, dic, hanc?
Eo est, eo est,
porro via pergamus, mi pater!

²⁹ Prof. Dirk Sacré verdanke ich den Hinweis auf eine Sammlung von zehn lateinischen Übersetzungen dieses Gedichtes in verschiedenen Versmaßen: Giovanni Giraldi, 'Goethe's Mignon Latine converterunt', *Sistematica*, 22 (1989), 82-93.

In libro crassitie notabili anno 1697 auctore Gaspare Schotto edito sub titulo "Mirabilia naturae et artis" permulta legi de dracone inclusive de eis Helvetiorum, quae noscere aventem invito, etiamsi, quae ibi narrantur, plerumque ut fabulosa relata denominanda sunt. Metrum Goetheanum quinarium jambicum cum caesuris bucolicis transtuli anno 1940 agente Bellona et salutis gratia amicis dedicavi exoptans ex intimo corde, ut omnes bene valeant.

Flescarolus

[*Handschriftliche Anmerkung Breithaupts: Grates et laudes!*]

(VII Brief von Anna Barbara Breithaupt an Karl-Ludwig Weitzel)

[*Merzhausen,*] 20. V. 70.

Lieber Herr Weitzel,

ich freue mich, Ihrem Wunsche entsprechen zu können. Der Name Flesch war mir von den Erzählungen meines Mannes wohl bekannt, das Büchlein allerdings hatte ich heute erstmals in Händen.³⁰ *Tempi passati!* Eine leichte Wehmut kam über mich beim Durchblättern. Wie barbarisch sind unsere Zeitläufte! Vielleicht finde ich gelegentlich noch einen lat. Brief oder ein lat. Gedicht, das der Reichenauer Arzt meinem Mann sandte, um ihm den Abschied von Konstanz zu versüßen. Ich fahre morgen mit Margarete³¹ nach Überlingen - Göggingen und habe drum nicht mehr die Muße zum Suchen.

Im übrigen freute es mich, bei dieser Gelegenheit mal wieder von Ihnen und Ihrer Familie zu hören. Schade, daß es nie mehr Gelegenheit zu einem Gedankenaustausch gibt.

Mit herzlichen Grüßen von Haus zu Haus

Ihre A.B. Breithaupt

³⁰ Mit dem 'Büchlein' ist [5] gemeint. Weitzel fertigte eine Abschrift an (vgl. Anm. 10) und sandte es zurück an Breithaupts Witwe.

³¹ Margarete Theresia Breithaupt (geb. 1942) ist eine Tochter von Max und Anna Barbara Breithaupt.

Appendix I: Inhalt von *Hora Latina*, mit Leseproben

Hora Latina, 1934 mit dem Bodensee-Maler Bernhard Schneider-Blumberg (1881-1956) veröffentlicht, ist ein Gelegenheitsdruck zur Feier des 40jährigen Abitur-Jubiläums Fleschs am Konstanzer Gymnasium. Dargeboten werden Bilder, denen entsprechende lateinische Wortlisten beigelegt sind, sowie lateinische Texte ganz verschiedener Art, die mit den Bildern in einem losen thematischen Zusammenhang stehen. Die Texte, die Flesch über mehrere Jahre gesammelt hat (die früheste Datierung stammt von 1918, obgleich keineswegs alle Texte datiert sind), sind teils Anekdoten aus der Reichenauer Vergangenheit, die Flesch entweder selbst erzählt oder aus anderen Autoren entnimmt, teils ins Lateinische übertragene Witze, Volkslieder oder Zeitungsmeldungen. Der folgende Ausschnitt erzählt eine vergnügliche Begebenheit aus dem Reichenauer Gemeindeleben:

Vites in insula ex anno 810 cultivari coeptae sunt ab abbate Hattone regnante Karolo Magno. In numero imperatorum et regum qui insulam visitabant, Karolus Magnus primus fuit. Postea permulti secuti sunt honestissimo hospitio ab Augiensibus recepti. Et erat inter illos Leopoldus, Badarum quondam dux magnus. Quem cum insulani introducerent ovantes, magister civium poculum honorarium vino plenum bibere ministravit. Dux, postquam de vino gustavit, comites allocutus est verbo: "Vinum excellens!" Deinde civium magister, ut qualitatem vitium indigenarum laudaret, ita respondit: "Re vera! Atenim quid, si Serenitati Vestrae dedissemus de vino nostro optimo!" Non male vertens dictum dux Leopoldus subrisit autumans: "Estne illud tibi soli potandum?" (p. 13)

Das Buch schließt mit der Würdigung Otto Kimmigs (vgl. Anm. 4), des Konstanzer Lehrers Fleschs, durch ein an Hor. 3, 30 angelehntes Grabgedicht:

Der tote Lehrer

Ein Königsdenkmal hab ich mir erstellt,
An dem wohl jede Sturmsgewalt zerschellt,
Das länger hält als Erz und Mauerstein,
Ich grub mich selber in die Herzen ein.
Und füllte sich in langem Lauf die Zeit,
Und ging ich fort, vom Erdenschmerz befreit,
Und hat die Liebe einst um mich geweint,
Ich bleibe gleichwohl stets mit Euch vereint.
Ich lehrte Euch der Sprache klares Wort,
Mit Euch trug mich es selbst zur Höhe fort,
So scharf und schön und klangvoll, kunstgerecht,
Ihr aber gebt's dem kommenden Geschlecht. (p. 43)

Appendix II: Verzeichnis der Veröffentlichungen Karl Fleschs, mit Sekundärliteratur

- [1] *Hundert Gesichtslageschädel* (Heidelberg: Buchdruckerei von Carl Pfeffer, 1900). (Staatsbibliothek Berlin; UB Jena).
- [2] *Die Ausrottung der Tuberculose: für Ärzte und zuständige Nicht-ärzte* (Insel Reichenau: Selbstverlag, 1916/1917). (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München).
- [3] *Hermannus Contractus, der Mönch von Reichenau: ein Lebensbild in 4 dramatischen Aufzügen* (Konstanz: Kommissionsverlag Münsterbuchhandlung, 1924). (UB Heidelberg, Bodenseebibliothek Friedrichshafen, Stadtarchiv Konstanz, Euregio-Bodensee-Datenbank der Universität Konstanz, Hegau-Bibliothek Singen, Hist. Inst. der Universität Stuttgart).
- [4] *In Walahfridi decessum/Klage um Walafried* (Radolfzell: Verlag von Jos. Huggle und Sohn, 1932). (UB Freiburg, UB Konstanz, UB Tübingen); Besprechung: 'Librorum recensio', *SL*, 2 (1934), 60-62 (enthält einen Auszug von 32 Versen nebst Übersetzung).
- [5] *Hora Latina sive Libellus Augiensis iucundus quem edidit L. Flescarolus auxiliante Schneider-Blumberg pictore* (Insel Reichenau: Selbstverlag, 1934); Besprechung: 'Librorum recensio', *SL*, 2 (1934), 46.
- [6] *Phileirenos, sive Pax aequalis: Colloquium Erasmicum propter paucitatem anno 1526 ineditum, nunc ad lucem protractum a quodam Latinante* (Überlingen: Aug. Feyel, 1936). (UB Freiburg, UB Tübingen, Bibliothek des Heinrich-Suso-Gymnasiums Konstanz).
- [6^a] 'Augia insula in lacu Potamico sita', *Iuventus*, 21 (1936-1937), 140-141.
- [7] *Peregrinator ad St. Justum* (zwei Übersetzungen von *Der Pilgrim vor St. Just* des August von Platen), *SL*, 7 (1939), 15-16; Berichtigung: Julius Dutoit, 'Varia', *SL* 7 (1939), 40.
- [8] *Dedicatio ex Fausti tragoedia* (Übersetzung der *Zueignung* J.W. Goethes), *SL*, 8 (1940), 41-42.
- [9] Andreas Adrian, *Faustus Latinus* (Köln: Selbstverlag, 1940; 2. Aufl.: Bonn: Selbstverlag, 1941-43); Besprechung der ersten Auflage: Julius Dutoit, 'De libris quibusdam latine scriptis in usum discipulorum germanicorum', *SL*, 8 (1940), 14-15; Besprechung der zweiten, von Flesch überarbeiteten Auflage: Julius Dutoit, 'Recensio librorum', *SL*, 14 (1948), 36-38.

- [10] Übersetzung von Goethes *Meine Ruh' ist hin*, *SL*, 9 (1941), 59.
- [11] *Abrahams a Sancta Clara Erstlingswerk 'Epitome elogiorum' von 1670: ins Deutsche übertragen von Karl Flesch und versehen mit einem Bildnis Abrahams von Megerle sowie Anmerkungen und einem Nachwort von Karl Bertsche* (Freiburg: Arnold H. Blümer, 1942). (UB Freiburg, UB Heidelberg, UB Tübingen, Badische Landesbibliothek Karlsruhe); Besprechung: Julius Dutoit, 'Librorum recensio', *SL*, 11 (1943), 61-62.
- [12] *Ferocia Latina: Confabulatio romanensis moderna Flescarolo auctore* (Freiburg: Arnold H. Blümer, 1942). (Deutsche Nationalbibliothek Leipzig); Besprechung: Julius Dutoit, 'Recensio librorum', *SL*, 11 (1943), 19-20; Auszug: *SL*, 11 (1943), 32-35.

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»Te nunc Aua gemit sed jam revocare
nequebit.«

„Reichenau klagt, aber Klage weckt
Tote nicht mehr zum Leben.“

Klage um Walafried.



Dem Gedenken
unferes lieben Onkels

Infelarzt Dr. Karl Fleisch

Forfcher und Schriftsteller
Ehrenbürger der Gemeinde Reichenau

geb. am 1. November 1874 in Deggenhaufen
gest. am 8. Oktober 1945 auf Infel Reichenau

AUG FEYEL, ÜBERLINGEN

Philipp WEIß – Alexander WINKLER

DER DICHTER UND HISTORIKER
JOHANNES BISSELIUS SJ (1601-1682) —
EIN PERSONALBIBLIOGRAPHISCHER ÜBERBLICK

Die wissenschaftlichen Bemühungen um die Aufarbeitung des literarischen Erbes der Jesuiten haben in den vergangenen Dezennien deutlich zugenommen. Der wohl einflussreichste lateinische Dichter des deutschen Barock, Jakob Balde, genießt dabei zu Recht große Aufmerksamkeit. Dass in jüngerer Zeit nun auch Baldes 'auf dem Gebiete der Dichtkunst [...] einziger namhafter Doppelgänger'¹, Johannes Bisselius, in den Fokus philologischen Interesses geraten ist, ist im Wesentlichen den Bemühungen Hermann WIEGANDS zu verdanken. Das umfangreiche und vielschichtige Werk des Jesuiten — er betätigte sich über die Gattungsgrenzen hinweg als feinfühliges Elegiker und erzählfreudiger Romancier ebenso wie als wirkungsmächtiger Prediger und produktiver Historiker — ist freilich bislang nur in Ansätzen überblickt, moderne Editionen und Kommentare fehlen gänzlich.² Und auch was das Leben des Bisselius anbelangt, so ist, wenngleich sich hierzu wertvolle Ausführungen in WIEGANDS Arbeiten finden, in Ermangelung umfassender moderner Darstellungen immer noch auf die Arbeit von KRATZ (1916) zu verweisen.

Der folgende personalbibliographische Überblick setzt sich zum Ziel, durch eine möglichst vollständige Dokumentation aller heute bekannten Drucke sowie durch knapp gehaltene Inhaltszusammenfassungen eine vorläufige Orientierung im Gesamtwerk zu ermöglichen.³ Durch diverse

¹ So das Urteil eines ausgewiesenen Kenners der Materie, vgl. WESTERMAYER (1998), S. 60.

² Es sei jedoch angemerkt, dass Hermann WIEGAND eine Edition des *Argonauticon Americanorum* sowie zusammen mit seinem Heidelberger Kollegen Wilhelm KÜHLMANN eine Edition des dichterischen Werks des Bisselius vorbereitet. Die Verf. erarbeiten derzeit eine Edition der *Icaria*.

³ Es wurde zudem versucht, die zu den jeweiligen Gegenständen einschlägige neuere Literatur zusammenzustellen, ohne hierbei auf Vollständigkeit Anspruch zu erheben.

Quellenstudien⁴ war es außerdem möglich, Bisselius einige anonym veröffentlichte Werke zuzuordnen bzw. verschollene Werke wenigstens dem Titel nach zuzuweisen.

Doch zunächst ein kurzer Überblick über seine Lebensstationen: Johannes Bisselius wird am 20. August 1601 in Babenhausen als Sohn des Mesners und Lehrers Nikolaus Bisslin geboren. Der Sechzehnjährige, der sich schon in jungen Jahren durch Talent und Frömmigkeit auszeichnet, wird zum Studium an die Jesuitenuniversität Dillingen geschickt. Dort macht er Bekanntschaft mit den Ordensgrößen seiner Zeit (Matthias Rader, Jakob Keller, Jakob Pontanus, Jakob Bidermann). Nach dem Abschluss des Studiums tritt Bisselius dem Jesuitenorden bei (15. Juli 1621) und beginnt seine Noviziatszeit in Landsberg. Im zweiten Jahr unterrichtet der Novize am Münchener Jesuitengymnasium Grammatik (1622/1623) und wird zum *scholasticus* approbiert (16. Juli 1623). Bisselius geht nach Regensburg, um dort als Lehrer zu wirken (1623-1626). Im Jahr 1626 nimmt er in Ingolstadt das vierjährige Theologiestudium auf, welches er 1630 abschließt (Priesterweihe 1629). Nach seinem Studium unterrichtet er in Ingolstadt ein Jahr Rhetorik und übernimmt dann die Leitung der *Academia Oratoria* in Regensburg (1631/1632). Sein Terziatsjahr verbringt er in der *Domus Tertiae Probationis* in Ebersberg. Nach kurzen Aufenthalten in München (1633/1634) und Burghausen (1634/1635) folgen erneut einige Jahre in Ingolstadt (1635-1639). Von 1635 bis 1637 vertritt er an der dortigen Universität die Professur für Ethik. Die *Quattuor Vota Sollemnia* legt er am 8. September 1637 ab. Von Ingolstadt wird er nach München berufen, um dort das Amt des Hofhistoriographen bei Kurfürst Maximilian I. zu übernehmen. Aus nicht näher bekannten Gründen gibt er diese Stellung nach nur einem Jahr an

⁴ Für wertvolle Hinweise danken wir den Mitarbeitern der folgenden Institutionen: Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu (namentlich Dr. Paul Oberholzer SJ), Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Provinzialbibliothek Amberg (namentlich Tobias Rößler). — Als wichtigste Quelle für das Leben ist — neben den *Catalogi Personarum* — das *Elogium* auf Bisselius anzusehen (BayHStA Jes. 189, S. 113-119; eine ausführlichere Version des *Elogium* liegt photokopiert in der Provinzialbibliothek Amberg, jedoch ohne Angaben zur Provenienz). Für die Werkzuschreibungen von Bedeutung sind zudem ein *Index Operum* (BayHStA Jes. 708, den Hinweis auf dieses Dokument verdanken wir Katharina Kagerer), sein Rechenschaftsbericht über die Regensburger Zeit 1631/1632 *Oeconomia Syntomica* (BayHStA Oef. 40) sowie ein Brief des Bisselius an Ferdinand von Fürstenberg vom 14. März 1652 (AFH 236 S. 605-607; der Brief wurde uns freundlicherweise zur Verfügung gestellt von Michael Jolk). In diesem Zusammenhang sei auch hingewiesen auf einen Brief des Bisselius an den protestantischen Gelehrten Johannes Michael Dilherr vom 21. Oktober 1665 (Krakau, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Signatur M 32).

seinen Ordensbruder Jakob Balde weiter. Bisselius bleibt bis 1644 in München. Hierauf verlässt er die Stadt, um in Landsberg als Prediger tätig zu sein, kehrt dann aber wieder nach München bzw. ins Münchener Umland zurück. 1646/47 ist er Beichtvater in Ebersberg. Nach kurzen Aufenthalten in Innsbruck (1648/1649) und Dillingen (1650/1651) wirkt er von 1651 bis 1653 als Prediger in Straubing. Mit seinem Wechsel ans Amberger Kolleg (1654) beginnt für den inzwischen berühmten Schriftsteller eine ruhigere Lebensphase, in der er sich vor allen Dingen der Ausarbeitung und Vollendung seiner historischen Werke widmet. In dichter Folge werden die *Ruinae* veröffentlicht. Im Jahre 1660 geht er für sieben Jahre nach Dillingen, wo er neben der Kanzeltätigkeit auch seine historischen Studien fortsetzt. Die letzten 15 Jahre seines Lebens verbringt er im Amberger Kolleg, um sich ganz seinen zeitgeschichtlichen Arbeiten, der *Medulla*, hinzugeben. Bisselius stirbt am 9. März 1682 in Amberg.

Lit. zur Vita: ENGLEITNER (1998); KILLY (2008); KRATZ (1916); KÜHLMANN (1987/1988); PÖRNBACHER (2002); WESTERMAYER (1875); WIEGAND (1988); WIEGAND (2009).

1620 — Theses Logicae

THESES LOGICÆ | EX VERBIS ET | SENTENTIIS ARI= | STOTELIS
IN | ORGANO | Collectæ & defensæ | IN CATHOLICA ET CELEBRI
| ACADEMIA DILIN- | GANORUM. | *PRÆSIDE* | WOLFFGANGO
METZGERO, SO- | CIETATIS IESV, PHILOSOPHIÆ | PROFESSORE
ORDINARIO. | *AB* | HONESTO ET PERDOCTO IV- | VENE IOANNE
BISSLIN, PHILO- | sophiæ Baccalaureo, & Physicæ | Studioso. | ANNO
reparatæ Salutis, M.DC.XX. | VII. Idus Octobris. | Dilingæ, Formis May-
erianis, apud | Melchiorem Algeyer.

Dillinger philosophische Dissertation zur Erlangung des Baccalaureats. Widmungsadressen auf der Rückseite des Titelblatts (an Georg und Johann Fugger, die beiden Barone von Kirchberg und Weissenhorn und an Johannes Rechlinger und Adam Schiller, zwei *curatores* von Babenhausen), dann paginierter Text (S. 3-16). Seite 3: kurzer Vorspruch an den Leser. Die behandelten Thesen entstammen folgenden Werken des Aristoteles: cat. (Thesen 1-5), Organ. II (Thesen 6-12), an pr. I (Thesen 13-26), an pr. II (Thesen 27-36), an post. I (Thesen 37-42), an post. II (Thesen 43-44).



1623 — Trophaea Parallela

TROPHÆA PARALLELA | siue | *VETERVM BOICÆ GENTIS* |
HEROVM, QVI ANTE CHRISTVM | *natum claruerunt, illustria facta* |
 COMPARATA CVM TRIVMPHIS | SERENISS: PRINCIPIIS | MAXI-
 MILIANI | COM: PALAT: RHENI, V. BOIAR: | DVCIS, &c. S. R.
 IMP: ARCHIDAPIFERI, | ET ELECTORIS; | *Eidemq; cùm* | *SACRI*
ROMANI IMPERII SEPTEMVIR | à | FERDINANDO II. | IMPERA-
 TORE AVG: P. F. P. P. | solenniter inauguratus esset, | oblata | à *Col-*
legio Soc. JESV Monacensi. | MONACHII, Formis Nicolai Henrici,
 1623.

Festschrift des Münchener Jesuitenkollegs anlässlich der Verleihung der Kurwürde an Maximilian von Bayern. Laut *Elogium* (S. 116; vgl. Anm. 4) war Bisselius, der 1622/1623 in München Grammatik unterrichtete, mit zwei Beiträgen an der Festgabe beteiligt. Ausgehend von herausragenden Episoden aus der bayerischen Frühgeschichte (nach der Darstellung Markus Welsers in seinen *Rerum Boicarum Libri Quinque* von 1602) werden zwölf ‘Trophäen’ errichtet, die sowohl die Tugenden von herausragenden Vertretern des bayerischen Stammes aus vorchristlicher Zeit als auch — parallel zu diesen — die Tugenden Maximilians preisen. Beispielsweise genannt seien das das Werk inaugurierende *Trophæum Boni Ominis* für Sigovesius, ein *Trophæum Magnanimitatis* für eine senonisch-protobayerische Gesandtschaft an Alexander den Großen, ein *Trophæum Pudicitiae* für Chiomara, die Frau Ortiagons, und schließlich ein *Trophæum Fortunæ*.

**1627 — Teda nuptialis**

TEDA | NUPTIALIS. || NOVIS | CONIVGIBVS, | Perillustribvs | SPON-
 SIS, | GENEROSO DOMINO, D. | WOLFGANGO | THEODORICO, |
 LIBERO BARONI A TÖRRING, | IN STAIN, ET PERTEN- | STAIN,
 &c | SERENISSIMO ELECTORI BAV. | à Consilij & Cubiculo, &c. |
 GENEROSAE VIRGINI ATQVE DO- | MINAE, DOMINAE | MARIÆ
 MARGARITÆ, | LIBERÆ BARONISSÆ A TAN- | NEBERG, ET
 AVROLZ- | münster, &c. | FERDINANDVS & SANCTIA, | VETERES
 CONIVGES, | Cantati | AB ADAMO LAVRENTIO, L. B. | à Törring,
 &c. Generosi Domini | SPONSI Fratres, | Gratulabundo.

Die Autorschaft der Hochzeitsdichtung ist durch den *Index operum* (vgl. Anm. 4) für Bisselius belegt. Widmungsgedichte an Albert IV. von Toerring-Stein (Bischof von Regensburg 1613-1649) in Hendekasyllaben, sowie an den Bräutigam (im 5. epod. System) und an die Braut (eleg. Distichen). Nach einem kurzen Vorspruch an den Leser folgen 42 Strophen in anakreontischen

Jamben. Den Abschluss bildet eine Reihe von Epigrammen, u.a. an einen betrunkenen Gast und an den Koch. Datierung auf der letzten Seite: INGOLSTADII, | *Ex Typographeo*, | GREGORII HAENLIN. | ANNO M. DC. XXVII.



1629 — *Peplum Nuptiale*

PEPLVM NVPTIALE, | *seu*, | TOBIAS ET SARA, | SPONSORVM EXEM- | PLARIA. | *INGOLSTADII*, | Typis GREGORII HÆNLINI. | ANNO | M. DC. XXIX. || SPONSIS CLARISSIMIS, | NOBILI, CONSVLTISSIMOQVE | VIRO, DOMINO | VITO ENDRES, | V. I. D. | ELECTORALIS REGIMINIS STRAV- | BINGANI ADVOCATO | vigilantissimo, | *REIPUBLICÆ SYNDICO IVRATO*, | *Affini plurimùm observando*; | PVDENTISSIMÆ VIRGINI | BARBARÆ SCHMETTERINÆ, | *ORNATISSIMI VIRI*, | *Domini* | CHRISTIANI SCHMETTERER, | IMPERIALIS COENOBII RATISPONEN- | sis ad S. Emeranum, Præfecti in Hain- | spach, Filiæ; SORORI | charissimæ, | HIERONYMVS SCHMETTERER, | gratulabundus cecinit.

Zuschreibung durch den *Index operum* (vgl. Anm. 4). Titelblatt mit Widmungsadresse auf der Rückseite, dann zwei Seiten *Ad lectorem*. Das hexametrische *Peplum nuptiale* umfasst 22 Seiten (14 Kapitel), auf S. 23 folgt eine *Appendix: Epithalamica Historica* (Geschichte von der Hochzeit des Cn. Octavius und der Livia Drusilla nach Suet. Galba 1), dann auf S. 24-26 eine hexametrische Bearbeitung dieser Episode im virgilianischen Stil. Schlußseite (S. 27): INGOLSTADII | Typis GREGORII HAENLINI. | M. DC. XXIX. – Der Straubinger Vitus Endres (Veit Enders) war Kanzler zu St. Emmeram. Hieronymus Schmetterer, der Gratulant, wirkte als geistlicher Rat und Dekan 28 Jahre lang in Dingolfing, dann als Benefiziat bei St. Magdalena, Michael und Anna (gest. 23. Mai 1665). Die Braut Barbara ist seine Schwester (gest. 26. Mai 1665).



1629 — *Eques Aureus*

EQVES | AVREVS || EQVES | AVREVS | *SIVE* | DIDACVS SYLVICA- | STRIVS. | IOANNI | ILLVSTRISSIMO S.R.I. PRINCIPI, | REVERENDISSIMO CONSTANTIENSIVM | EPISCOPO. | *Cum Die II. Februarij* | PVRIFICATAE VIRGINI | SACRA, | Primam Deo SACERDOS Hostiam Litaret: | ET | Die IV. mense eodem, ritu solemniori | PONTIFEX | Inauguraretur, | *In Gloriam Circum deductus*, | A | Collegio

Societatis JESV | CONSTANTIAE | Typis LEONARDI STRAVB: |
ANNO M. D C. XXIX.

Eine Festschrift des Jesuitenkollegs Konstanz zur Bischofsweihe von Johann von Waldburg (1598-1644) am 4. Februar 1629. Die Autorschaft des Bisselius ist belegt durch den *Index operum* (vgl. Anm. 4). Bisselius schmückt nach Auskunft der Vorrede einen Bericht des Johannes Pistorius über die Heldentaten des 'Goldenen Ritters' Jakob Truchsess zu Waldburg (gest. 1460), eines Vorfahren des Johann von Waldburg, romanhaft aus. Die Erzählung enthält eine prophetische Vorschau auf die Bischofsweihe Johanns.



1630 — Theologia

THEOLOGIA, | AD DISPUTATIONEM PVBLI- | CAM PROPOSITA,
| IN ELECTORALI VNIVERSITATE | INGOLSTADIENSI, | Ab | IOANNE
BISSELIO, | SOCIETATIS IESV, SS. THEO- | LOGIÆ STVDIOSO. |
Anno M. DC. XXX. 9. Iulij. | INGOLSTADII, | TYPIS GREGORII HÆN-
LINI.

Sammlung von 36 Thesen als Vorlage für die öffentliche Disputation am Ende des vierten Studienjahres. Die Thesen wurden von Leo Menzl, Dekan der Theologischen Fakultät der Ingolstädter Universität, approbiert. Der Druck umfasst acht Seiten.



****1631 — Thomas Morus**

[Perioche:] THOMAS MORVS, | Das ist: | TRAGOEDIA | Von | THOMA
MORO | Dem/ vor Gott und der Welt beruembten/ | Engellaendischen
ReichsCantzler: Wellicher vor | 96. Jahren/ von dem Gottlosen Wieterich
Henrico, den 8. | Engellaendischen Koenig/ wegen verfechtung wahren
Glau= | bens/ und H. Roemischen Stuelß/ Tyrannischer | weiß hingerich-
tet worden. | Gehalten | In dem Churfürstlichen Academischen | Gymna-
sio der Societet IESV zu Ingolstatt. | Den 15. Octobris, | Anno | M. DC.
XXXI. | Gedruckt zu Ingolstatt/ bey | Gregori Haenlin.

Märtyrertragödie in 5 Akten über einen auf den Jesuitenbühnen beliebten Stoff: Der englische Lordkanzler Thomas Morus hält, nachdem sich König Heinrich VIII. von seiner Gattin Katharina von Aragon um seiner Geliebten Anne Boleyn willen getrennt hatte, gegen den Widerstand des Königs an seinem Glauben fest und wird im Jahr 1535 hingerichtet. Auftritte des

spättrömischen Dichters Boethius umrahmen das Stück; im Prolog wird Heinrich mit Theoderich, unter dem Boethius als Hochverräter hingerichtet worden war, verglichen. — Lit.: VALENTIN (1983/1984) Nr. 1083 (mit weiterer Lit.).



****1631/1632 — Unterrichtsunterlagen**

Über seine Zeit als Lehrer in der *Academia Oratoria* (Nov. 1631 bis Nov. 1632) erstattet Bisselius genauen Bericht in seiner *Oeconomia Syntomica* (vgl. Anm. 4). Er erwähnt darin einige Schriften, die er in jener Zeit als Grundlage für seinen Unterricht ausgearbeitet hat. Einige von ihnen bewahrte Bisselius bis zu seinem Lebensende bei sich auf. Für uns greifbar sind die unten angeführten Werke, die Titel sind aus der *Oeconomia* erschlossen und entsprechen wohl nur ungefähr den Originaltiteln; die Werke selbst sind — mit Ausnahme von Nr. 4 — verschollen.

- 1) *De Historicorum Latinorum novem diversis generibus*
- 2) *De modis narrationem apte connectendi*
- 3) Eine Schrift über Gelegenheitsgedichte
- 4) *De Operis Heroici Virgiliani Jacobique Sannazarii De Partu Virginis artificio, ingenio, iudicio, dispositione ac eloquentia libri tres*: Es handelt sich um die im Nachlass Johann Kaspar von Lipperts in der BSB München aufbewahrte Handschrift mit dem Titel *Analysis Virgiliana* (BSB Clm 24562).
- 5) *Feriae Autumnales*: Rhetorische Lehrschrift (vielleicht in Anlehnung an Louis de Cressolles' *Vacationes autumnales* von 1620)
- 6) *Perpendicularum Senarii tragici Senecaeum*: Schrift wohl über Senecas *Medea*



1634 — Cliens Marianus

[Beschriftung des Titelkupfers:] CLIENS MARIANVS | Diuersorum Elegijs descriptus. | EDITIO QVARTA | *Toto primo libello auctior.* | MONACHII. | *Formis Leysserianis 1634.*

Datierung der *Praefatio*: *Monachij Boiorum. Idib. April.* [= 13. April] | *Anno M. DC. XXXIV.* | I. B. [= Ioannes Bisselius]. Auf Bisselius als Verfasser des neu hinzugekommenen ersten Buches (s.u.) weist der letzte Satz der *Praefatio* hin: '[...] & hunc, qui tecum loquitur, si nolis Poëtam, propter infelix carmen: certè tamen, ab Opusculi Augmento, AVCTOREM compellare dignaberis'. Aus dem Vorwort geht hervor, dass Bisselius inmitten der Kriegswirren der Schwedenzeit von der Marianischen Sodalität gebeten

worden war, den bislang in drei Auflagen vorliegenden *Cliens Marianus* zu erweitern. Bisselius stellte dem erfolgreichen Vorgängerwerk ein Buch mit 18 Elegien voran, die den Weg des Marienjüngers zu seiner Schutzherrin beschreiben. Das nicht von Bisselius stammende Buch 2 beinhaltet 16 Elegien (mit vorgeschaltetem *Programma* an den seligen Stanislaus Kostka SJ, Patron der studierenden Jugend); Buch 3 ein in sieben Elegien unterteiltes Lehrschreiben des Ignatius (*Theoclia Loiolaeta*). Dann folgen zwei Werke des Jacopo Sannazaro (1458-1530), *De partu virginis* (3 Bücher) und *Lamentatio de morte Christi*. – Lit.: WIEGAND (1988).



1636 — Palma Boica

PALMA | BOICA, | AUTUMNO | VERNANS. | Anno CHRISTI, | M. DC. XXXVI. | | PALMA | BOICA, | *Sive*, | GRATVLATIO NATALITIA, | SERENISSIMIS POTEN- | TISSIMISQVE PRINCIPIBUS AC | *Dominis vtriusq; Bauariae Ducibus*, | Comitibus Palatinis Rheni, &c. | MAXIMILIANO, | S.R.I. SEPTEMVIRO, | PATRI, | MARIE- ANNÆ, | MATRI, | FERDINANDO-MARIE- | FRANCISCO-IGNATIO- | WOLFGANGO, | FILIO, | PRIDIE CAL. NOVEMB. ANNO CHRISTI, | M. DC. XXXVI. | Felicissimè orto, || A | COLLEGIO | SOCIETATIS | IESV | INGOLSTADI- | ANO | *Debiti, Deuotique* | APPLAVSVS | *ergò* | SVBMISSIS-SIME | SCRIPTA | atq; | DEDICATA, | MENSE DECEMBRI.

Der Ethikprofessor Bisselius, und nicht etwa sein Kollege Balde, Professor für Rhetorik, durfte für das Ingolstädter Kolleg die Gratulationsschrift zur Geburt des bayerischen Thronfolgers Ferdinand Maria verfassen. Verschiedene Wünsche und Prophezeiungen sind zusammen mit z.T. phantastischen Erzählungen in den Rahmen einer allegorischen, prosimetrischen Reiseerzählung eingespannt. Diese endet mit dem eigentlichen Genethliacon auf die *Palma Boica autumno vernans*, d.h. auf den Sohn Kurfürst Maximilians. Trotz des abweichenden Titels handelt es sich offenbar um die bei DE BACKER/SOMMERVOGEL Sp. 1514 erwähnte Erstausgabe. Die Autorschaft belegt der *Index operum* (vgl. Anm. 4).

1637 — Dasselbe

PALMA | BOICA, | AUTUMNO | VERNANS. | *Recusa* | INGOLSTADII | *Typis* GREGORII HAENLINI. | ANNO M. DC. | XXXVII. | | PALMA | BOICA. | *SIVE*, | GRATVLATIO | NATALITIA, | SERENISSIMIS POTENTISSI- | *misque Principibus ac Dominis*, | *vtriusque Bauariae Ducibus*, | Comitibus Palatinis | Rheni, &c. | MAXIMILIANO, | S.R.I. SEPTEMVIRO, | PATRI. | MARIE- ANNÆ, | MATRI. | FERDINANDO-MARIE- | FRANCISCO- IGNATIO- | WOLFGANGO, | FILIO. | *Pridie Cal. Nouemb. Anno Christi*, | M. DC. XXXVI. | Felicissimè orto, || A |

COLLEGIO | SOCIETATIS | IESV | INGOLSTA- | DIANO | *Debiti, deuotique* | APPLAVSVS | *Ergò* | *SVBMISSISSIME* | *SCRIPTA* | *atq;* | DEDICATA, | *MENSE DECEMBRI*, | Anni M. DC. XXXVI.



1637 — Icaria

[Beschriftung des Titeltupfers:] IOANNIS BISSELI, | E SOCIETATE IESV | ICA- | RIA. | Ingolsta- | dij. | ANNO | 1637.

Das Prosimetrum schildert auf z.T. burleske Weise die Flucht einer Gruppe von Regensburger Jesuiten — unter ihnen der Ich-Erzähler *Ilibessus* (hinter dem Anagramm verbirgt sich, wie unschwer zu erkennen ist, Bisselius) — vor den herannahenden Schweden im Jahr 1632 und ihre Reise durch die Oberpfalz, deren bunte konfessionelle Landschaft den Hintergrund für ein aufschlussreiches regional-, konfessions- und mentalitätsgeschichtliches Dokument liefert. Bisselius stellt sich mit seinem fünf Jahre nach den beschriebenen Ereignissen erschienenen Werk einerseits in die Tradition des lateinischen Romans, andererseits knüpft er — ein seltenes Beispiel jesuitischer Romanliteratur — an frühneuzeitliche Formen wie etwa den volkssprachlichen Picaresque oder die lateinische Romansatire z.B. John Barclays an. Widmungsträger ist ein Babenhausener Schulfreund des Autors, Joachim Enzmiller. – Lit.: PÖRNBACHER (1989), SCHROTT (2008) und WIEGAND (1997).

1667 — Dasselbe

[Beschriftung des Titeltupfers] IOANNIS BISSELI, | E SOCIETATE IESV | ICA- | RIA. | Recusa | Allopo= | li. | ANNO | 1667.

1670 — Dasselbe

[diese bei DE BACKER/SOMMERVOGEL Sp. 1514 aufgeführte Ausgabe ist nicht nachzuweisen]

1695 — Dasselbe

[diese bei DE BACKER/SOMMERVOGEL Sp. 1514 aufgeführte Ausgabe ist nicht nachzuweisen]



1638 — Deliciae veris

DE- | LICIAE | VERIS. || [Widmungsblatt] || JOANNIS | BISSELI | E | SOCIETATE | IESV | VERNORVM | LIBRI TRES, | Quibus | DELICIAE VERIS | describun- | tur.

Eine Urban Weber, dem Abt (1628-1659) von Stift Admont und großzügigen Förderer der Jesuiten, gewidmete Sammlung elegischer Gedichte in drei Büchern (Buch I umfasst 23, Buch II 18, Buch III 24 Elegien. Thematisch zeichnet sich die Sammlung durch ihre Vielfalt aus: Naturbeschreibungen und Heiligenlegenden sind gleichermaßen zu finden wie Erzählungen sowohl aus der Geschichte als auch aus der persönlichen Erfahrung des Bisselius. Nach Angabe des Autors soll die Sammlung bereits um das Jahr 1629 entstanden sein. – Lit.: KÜHLMANN (1988); WIEGAND (2006) und WIEGAND (2009).

1640 — Dasselbe

MONACHII. | Formis CORNELII | LEYSERII, Electoralis | Typographi & Biblio- | polæ. | ANNO | M. DC. XL. || [Widmungsbrief; Zensurvermerk] || JOANNIS | BISSELII | è | SOCIETATE | JESV, | VERNORVM | LIBRI TRES, | QVIBVS | DELICIE | VERIS | DESCRIBVNTVR. | *Editio Altera.*



1640 — Phoenix

PHOENIX, | Oder | Fürstlicher Son[n]envogel; | Das ist / | Christliche Leich= und EhrenPredig / | Von dem Gottseeligen Leben und Wandel; wie auch | hochseeligistem Ableiben | Deß Durchleüchtigsten Fürsten und Herrn / Herrn | JOANNIS FRANCISCI | CAROLI, | Pfalzgraffen bey Rhein / Hertzogen in O= | bern und Nidern Bayrn & c. miltseeligister | gedächtnuß. | Gehalten in der Churfürstl. Hauptstadt München / an dem H. | Pfingstmontag dises lauffenden 1640. Jahrs / in unser lieben Frawen Pfarr- | und StifftKirchen; den 3. Tag nach Ihr Durchl. Fürstlichen Erdbestat- | tung: den 10. aber nach dero Christlichen Abscheyden. | Durch | JOANNEM BISSELIVM, | der Societet JESV, Priester.

Deutschsprachige Leichenpredigt auf den frühverstorbenen Prinzen Karl Johann Franz von Bayern (1618-1640), Sohn Herzog Albrechts VI. und bis zur Geburt von Kurfürst Maximilians erstgeborenen Sohn Ferdinand Maria (1636) bayerischer Thronfolger. Die Preisrede steht unter dem biblischen Motto 'In Nidulo meo Moriar; & sicut Phœnix, multiplicabo Dies' (Vulg. Iob. 29, 18). – Lit.: BOGE/BOGNER (1999), S. 395.



1644 — Deliciae Aestatis

JOANNIS | BISSELII, | E | SOCIETATE | JESU, | DELICIE | ÆSTATIS. || [Titelkupfer] || [Widmungsblatt] || JOANNIS | BISSELII, | è | SOCIETATE | IESU, | ÆSTIVORVM | LIBRI TRES, | QVIBUS | DELICIE | ÆSTATIS | DESCRIBUNTUR.

Dem Propst des Augustiner-Chorherrenstifts Baumburg, Johann Baptist Zehentner, gewidmete, über einen größeren Zeitraum hinweg entstandene Elegiensammlung, den drei Sommermonaten Juni, Juli und August entsprechend in drei Büchern (I: 25 Elegien, II: 27 E., III: 32 E.). Formal und in der thematischen Vielfalt entsprechen die *Deliciae Aestatis* im Wesentlichen den *Deliciae Veris*, einzelnen Elegien sind mitunter längere Erläuterungen in Prosa vorangestellt. Bisselius hat dem Werk einen umfänglichen *Indiculus Onomasticus* angefügt, in dem er unbekannte, in den einzelnen Gedichten verwendete Wörter erklärt. Georg Crüger SJ nimmt in seine *Sacerrimae Memoriae Inclyti Regni Bohemiae Coronae* eqs. (Litomisslii 1671) Bd. 3,2 S. 69ff. (*Sacri pulveres mensis Augusti*) eine Elegie des Bisselius auf (*At iuxtim divæ* eqs., der zweite Teil der 27. Elegie des dritten Buches). – Lit.: WIEGAND (2009).



1647 — Argonauticon Americanorum

JOANNIS BISSELI, | è Societate JESU | ARGONAUTICON AME- |
RICANORUM, | SIVE, | HISTORIÆ PERICU- | LORUM | PETRI DE
VI- | CTORIA, AC SO- | CIORUM EIUS, | LIBRI XV. | *MONACHII*, |
Formis LUCÆ STRAUBII, | Sumptibus IOANNIS WAGNERI | Biblio-
polæ. | Anno CHRISTI M. DC. XLVII.

Stark erweiterte und romanhaft umgestaltete Bearbeitung der deutschen Übersetzung (Ingolstadt 1622 u. 1628) von Pedro Gobeo de Vitorias *Naufragio y Peregrinación* (1610) in 15 Büchern. Es handelt sich um eine lebhaft beschreibende Abenteuergeschichte des Petrus Victoria auf seiner Reise in die Neue Welt. Gewidmet ist das Werk Ferdinand Lorenz Graf von Wartenberg (1606-1666), mit dem Bisselius auf einer Reise durch Tirol war, als er mit seiner Arbeit an dem *Argonauticon Americanorum* begann. – Lit.: HILL (1970) und MANCHÓN GÓMEZ (2008).

1688 — Dasselbe [posthumer Nachdruck]

[diese bei DE BACKER/SOMMERVOGEL Sp. 1515 aufgeführte Ausgabe ist nicht nachzuweisen]

1698 — Dasselbe [posthumer Nachdruck]

JOANNIS BISSELI | è Societate JESU | ARGONAUTICON | AMERICA-
NORUM, | SIVE | HISTORIÆ | PERICULORUM | PETRI DE VICTORIA
| AC SOCIORUM EIUS. | LIBRI XV. | GEDANI, | *Prostant apud* | ÆGI-
DIUM JANSSONII à WAESBERGE. | M. D. C. LXXXVIII.



1652 — Exempla tragica

JOANNIS BISSELII, | è Societate JESU, | *DE* | PESTIFERIS | PECCATORUM MOR- | TALIIUM FRUCTIBUS, | EXEMPLA | TRAGICA, | Per Anni M. DC. LI. Quadragesi- | mam, pro suggestu, exposita. | DILINGÆ, | *Formis Academicis*, | ANNO M. DC. LII.

Die erste Predigtsammlung des Bisselius, in lateinischer Sprache (zur Sprachenwahl vgl. insbes. die Vorrede zum *Digitus Dei*, 1666, und die Leseradresse im vorliegenden Werk). Die Vorrede ist datiert auf den 1. Januar 1652: Bisselius schildert in anschaulicher Weise eine Reise nach Passau (Ende Juli 1651), als er von Dillingen nach Straubing übersiedelte. Während seines Aufenthalts wird er vom Widmungsträger des Werks, dem im Dienste des Passauer Bischofs stehenden Grafen Johannes von Santilier, in höchsten Ehren empfangen. Das Werk enthält neun Predigten (Proömium und 8 Exempla inkl. Index), die zwischen Februar und April 1651 in Dillingen gehalten wurden.

1679 — Dasselbe

JOANNIS BISSELII, | è Societate JESU, | *DE* | PESTIFERIS | PECCATORUM MOR- | TALIIUM FRUCTIBUS | EXEMPLA | TRAGICA, | Per Anni M. DC. LI. Quadragesimam, | pro suggestu, exposita. | EDITIO ALTERA. | *Cum Gratia, & Privilegio Sac. Cæs. Majest. | Et Facultate Superiorum.* | DILINGÆ, | Typis & Sumpt. JOANN. CASP. BENCARD, | Bibliopolæ Academici. | Per Joannem Michaellem Spörlin. | ANNO M. DC. LXXIX.

****1652 — Otiorum nemoralium libri XII**

In diesem 1652 beinahe publikationsreifen Werk, das jedoch, wie es scheint, weder publiziert wurde noch handschriftlich erhalten ist, handelte Bisselius *de præstantia Epigrammaticorum, stylo Petronianô* (nach *Index operum*, vgl. Anm. 4) bzw. *stylo soluto* (nach Brief an Fürstenberg, vgl. Anm. 4). Der Titel lässt zudem an eine romanartige Erzählung denken, vgl. Caspar Barthius' lat. Übersetzung von Gaspar Gil Polos *Diana enamorada* unter dem Titel *Erotodidasculus sive Nemoralium libri V* (1625).

****1652 — Spectacula Annalia**

Dieses Werk wohl historischen Inhalts war laut Aussage des Autors in seinem Brief an Fürstenberg (vgl. Anm. 4) 1652 bereits in Zensur, ist jedoch nie erschienen.



****1652 — De Illustribus Saeculi nostratis quibusdam Viris**

Dieses prosopographische Werk war 1652 bereits in Zensur, ist jedoch nie erschienen (nach Brief an Fürstenberg, vgl. Anm. 4). Wahrscheinlich handelte es sich um eine Viten-Sammlung von in der (japanischen?) Mission verstorbenen Jesuiten (vgl. Germ. Super. Epist. Gener. in ARSI Germ. Sup. 8, 219r).

****1653 — Exercitationes Prosimetricae**

Auf Betreiben einiger Bekannter des Bisselius entstandenes Werk, in dem er verschiedene historische Begebenheiten zunächst in schlichter Prosa, dann in Versen ausgearbeitet hat. Auf diese Technik griff er auch in der *Medulla* zurück (vgl. *Medulla* 1, *Ad Lect.*, S. 17).

**1658 — Beitrag zu: Nicolaus Rittershausen, Genealogiae Imperatorum [18 Distichen]**

GENEALOGIÆ | IMPERATORVM, | REGVM, | DUCVM, | COMITVM,
| PRÆCIPUORUMQUE ALIORUM | PROCERUM | ORBIS CHRISTI-
ANI: | Deductæ | Ab Anno CHRISTI M C C C C | Continuatae | Ad
Annum M. DC. LVIII. | à | NICOLAO RITTERSHUSIO. | *EDITIO*
SECUNDA. | Priore auctor & emendator. | *TUBINGÆ*, | Impensis PHI-
LIPERTI BRVNNII. | Typis JOHANN: ALEXANDRI CELLI[I] |
ANNO M. DC. LVIII.

Das Gedicht des Bisselius beginnt mit den Versen: ‘DVm mea per vastas
Asiae, Libyæque RVINAS | Historicis rapitur cura laborque rotis; | Col-
lapsasque (...)’ — Seit spätestens der zweiten Auflage wurden den
Genealogiae Imperatorum (1658) Nicolaus Rittershausens 18 Distichen
aus der Feder des Bisselius vorangestellt. In den Einleitungsversen stellt
sich Bisselius als Autor der *Ruinae* dar, der mit dem Gedanken spielt,
neben biblischen und außereuropäischen auch neuere Themen aus der
europäischen Geschichte zu behandeln. In diesen Äußerungen mag
bereits die Hinwendung zur Zeitgeschichte, wie sie sich in der *Medulla*
vollziehen wird, vorausbedeutet sein. Bisselius hebt die Nützlichkeit
von Rittershausens Werk für seine eigene Arbeit hervor. In der Tat
referiert er im *Leo Galeatus* (Amberg 1677, S. 560) auf Rittershausens
Werk.



1656-1665 — Ruinae

In seinen umfangreichen *Ruinae* — die vier Bände der vier Dekaden umfassen insgesamt fast 3000 Druckseiten — stellt Bisselius je Band zehn bemerkenswerte 'Untergänge' aus der alttestamentarischen und römisch-griechischen Zeit dar. Er geht dabei strikt chronologisch vor und belegt seine Darstellungen ausführlich mit Zitaten aus der Bibel oder aus antiken Historikern. Die *Ruinae* sind, da Exempelsammlung, auch als Hilfsmittel für die Ausarbeitung und Illustration von Predigten konzipiert. Die Arbeit an den *Ruinae* reicht mindestens bis ins Jahr 1644 zurück. Bisselius widmet den ersten Band Gott, den zweiten Maria, den dritten David, den vierten und letzten der heiligen Engelschar.

1656 — Ruinae 1

JOANNIS BISSELI, | è Societate JESU, | ILLUSTRUM, | Ab Orbe condito, | RUINARUM, | *DECAS I.* | Cum Breviariis Capitum, | & Indice. | *Permissu Superiorum.* | AMBERGÆ, | *Formis Georgii Haugenhoferi.* | ANNO M. DC. LVI.

1657 — Ruinae 2

JOANNIS BISSELI, | è Societate JESU, | ILLUSTRUM, | Ab Orbe Condito, | RUINARUM, | *DECAS II.* | Cum Breviariis Capitum, | & Indice. | *Permissu Superiorum.* | AMBERGÆ, | *Formis Georgii Haugenhoferi.* | ANNO M. DC. LVII.

1658 — Ruinae 3 [1+2]

JOANNIS BISSELI, | è Societate JESU, | ILLUSTRUM, | Ab Orbe Condito, | RUINARUM, | *DECAS III.* | Cum Breviariis Capitum, | & Indice. | *Permissu Superiorum.* | AMBERGÆ, | *Formis Georgii Haugenhoferi.* | ANNO M. DC. LVIII.

1659 — Palaestinae [...] Topothesia

JOANNIS BISSELI, | è Societate JESU, | PALÆSTINÆ, | Seu, | TERRÆ-SANCTÆ, | TOPOTHESIA, | *Secundum Regiones, ac Tribus,* | *expres̃a.* | *Permissu Superiorum.* | AMBERGÆ, | *Formis Georgii Haugenhoferi.* | ANNO M. DC. LIX.

Ursprünglich gedacht als chorographischer Exkurs zur *Ruina* Sauls (Ruin. 3, 21).

1663 — Ruinae 4,1

JOANNIS BISSELI: | è Societate JESV, | ILLUSTRUM, | Ab Orbe Condito, | RVINARVM, | *DECAS IV.* | QUADRIPARTITA; |

Vsque ad Christum. | Cum Breviariis Caputum, | & Indice generali.
| *Permissu Superiorum*. | DILINGÆ, | *Formis ACADEMICIS*, | Apud
IGNATIVM MAYER. | ANNO M. DC. LXIII.

1663 — Ruinae 4,2

JOANNIS BISSELI, | è Societate JESV, | ILLUSTRUM, | Ab Orbe
Condito, | RVINARVM, | *DECADIS IV*. | PARS II. | *Permissu Supe-*
riorum. | DILINGÆ, | *Formis ACADEMICIS*, | Apud IGNATIVM
MAYER. | ANNO M. DC. LXIII.

1663 — Ruinae 4,3

JOANNIS BISSELI, | è Societate JESV, | ILLUSTRUM, | Ab Orbe
Condito, | RVINARVM, | *DECADIS IV*. | PARS III. | *Permissu*
Superiorum. | DILINGÆ, | *Formis ACADEMICIS*, | Apud IGNA-
TIVM MAYER. | ANNO M. DC. LXIII.

1664 — Teilausgabe aus den Ruinae

JOANNIS BISSELI, | è Societate JESV, | REIPUBLI- | CÆ
ROMANÆ | VETERIS | ORTUS, ET IN- | TERITVS | Cum Brevi-
ario Caputum, & | Indice particulari. | *Permissu Superiorum*. |
DILINGÆ. | *Formis ACADEMICIS*, | Apud IGNATIVM MAYER.
| ANNO M. DC. LXIV.

1664 — Ruinae 4,4

JOANNIS BISSELI, | è Societate JESV, | ILLUSTRUM, | Ab Orbe
Condito, | RVINARVM, | *DECADIS IV*, | PARS IV. | *Permissu*
Superiorum. | DILINGÆ, | *Formis ACADEMICIS*, | Apud IGNA-
TIVM MAYER. | ANNO M. DC. LXIV.

1665 — Ruinae 4 (Indexband)

ILLVSTRVM | RVINARVM | *DECADIS IV* | INDEX | Vniversa-
lis. | *Permissu Superiorum*. | DILINGÆ, | *Formis Academicis* | Apud
IGNATIVM MAYER. | ANNO M. DC. LXV.

1679 — Dasselbe (enthält nicht Ruinae 4)

1679 — Ruinae 1

JOANNIS BISSELI, | è Societate JESU, | ILLUSTRUM, | Ab Orbe Con-
dito, | RUINARVM, | *DECAS I*. | *Cum Breviariis Caputum*, | & *Indice*. |

EDITIO ALTERA. | *Cum Gratia, & Privilegio Sac. Cæs. Majest. | Et facultate Superiorum.* | DILINGÆ, | Typis & Sumptibus JOAN. CASPARI BENCARD, | Bibliopolæ Academici. | Per Joannem Michaelem Spörlin. | ANNO M. DC. LXXIX.

1679 — Ruinae 2

JOANNIS BISSELI, | è Societate JESU, | ILLUSTRUM, | Ab Orbe Condito, | RUINARUM, | *DECAS II.* | *Cum Breviariis Capitem, | & Indice.* | EDITIO ALTERA. | *Cum Gratia, & Privilegio Sacræ Cæs. Majestatis.* | *Et facultate Superiorum.* | DILINGÆ, | Typis & Sumptibus JOAN. CASPARI BENCARD, | Bibliopolæ Academici. | Per Joannem Michaelem Spörlin. | ANNO M. DC. LXXIX.

1679 — Ruinae 3 [1+2]

JOANNIS BISSELI, | è Societate JESU, | ILLUSTRUM, | Ab Orbe Condito, | RUINARUM, | *DECAS III.* | *Cum Breviariis Capitem, | & Indice.* | EDITIO ALTERA. | *Cum Gratia, & Privilegio Sac. Cæs. Majest. | Et facultate Superiorum.* | DILINGÆ, | Typis, & Sumptibus JOAN. CASPARI BENCARD, | Bibliopolæ Academici. | Per JOANNEM MICHAЕLEM SPÖRLIN. | ANNO M. DC. LXXIX.

1679 — Palaestinae [...] Topothesia

JOANNIS BISSELI, | è Societate JESU, | PALÆSTINÆ, | Seu, | TERRÆ-SANCTÆ, | TOPOTHEsia, | *Secundum Regiones, ac Tribus, | exprefa.* | EDITIO ALTERA. | *Cum Gratia, & Privilegio Sacræ Cæs. Majest. | Et facultate Superiorum.* | DILINGÆ, | Typis, & Sumptibus JOAN. CASPARI BENCARD, | Bibliopolæ Academici. | Per JOANNEM MICHAЕLEM SPÖRLIN. | ANNO M. DC. LXXIX.



1666 — Digitus Dei

DIGITVS DEI, | Humana Corda Tangens, | Das ist / | Hertz-Berüerender | FINGER GOT- | TES / | Durch | JOANNEM BISSELIUM, | der Societet JESV Priestern/ | In underschidlichen Fasten= | Exemplen vorgestellt; und aller= | maist / zu Dillingen / in der Academi= | schen unser Lieben Frawen Kirchen der | Societet IESV, in dem Jahr Chri= | sti 1665 / geprediget: | An jetzo aber in den Truck ver= | fertiget. | Dillingen/ | In der Academische Truckerey/ | Durch IGNATIVM MAYER. | Cum Facultate Superiorum. | Im Jahr Christi/ 1666.

Sammlung von neun Fastenexempeln, gewidmet dem Weingartener Benediktinerabt Domenicus I. Laymann von Liebenau (1637-1673). Bisselius erwähnt in der Dedikationsepistel (datiert auf den 7. März 1666), dass er den Widmungsempfänger seit 1618, also seit der Zeit seiner philosophischen

Studien, kenne. Bisselius habe sich 1653 zur Krönung Ferdinands IV. in Regensburg aufgehalten, dort den Weingartner Historiker Gabriel Bucellinus angetroffen und durch diesen *durch vil Monat die Gunst und vilfältige würrckliche Gutthaten* des Abtes erfahren. In dem auch für sein Verhältnis zur deutschen Muttersprache aufschlussreichen Widmungsschreiben verweist Bisselius darauf, dass er zum Zeitpunkt der Abfassung des Werks noch an den *Ruinae* (deren letzter Band 1663 erschienen war) gearbeitet habe und eine anscheinend nicht ausgeführte bzw. veröffentlichte Fortsetzungsplane.

1680 — Dasselbe

DIGITUS DEI, | Humana Corda Tangens, | Das ist / | Hertz-Berürender | FINGER GOTTES / | Durch | JOANNEM BISSELIUM, | der Societet JESV Priestern/ | In unterschiedlichen Fasten= | Exempeln vorgestellt; und aller= | meist / zu Dillingen / in der Academischen | unser Lieben Frauen Kirchen der Socie= | tet IESU, in dem Jahr Christi 1665 | geprediget: | Anjetzo aber zum andern mahl | in den Truck verfertigt. | Cum Gratia & Privilegio S. C. M. & Fa- | cultate Superiorum. | DILLINGEN/ | In Verlag und Druckerey Johann | Caspar Bencards Academischen | Buchhändlers. | Durch Friederich Severin Groch. | Im Jahre Christi / 1680.

1681 — Dasselbe

[diese bei DE BACKER/SOMMERVOGEL aufgeführte Ausgabe ist nicht nachzuweisen]



1670 — *Antiquitates Angelicae*

Widmungsträger ist der Eichstätter Bischof Marquardt II, Graf Schenk von Castell (1637-1685), der den Kaiser seit 1669 als Prinzipalkommissar am Regensburger Reichstag vertrat. Es handelt sich um eine zweiteilige Zusammenstellung diverser biblischer Episoden, in denen Engel eine wichtige Rolle spielen. Jeder Teil der in jambischen Trimetern abgefassten Gedichtsammlung besteht aus drei Büchern zu je 8 oder 10 Einzelstücken. Nur das letzte Buch mit Geschehnissen aus der Apostelgeschichte beschränkt sich auf drei Engelepisoden. Eine *Conclusio* schließt das Gesamtwerk ab. Den Schluss des ersten, alttestamentlichen Teils bildet die *Dactylotheca Senecæ ad Vigilium Luchavium* (S. 399-433, datiert auf den 14. April 1668).

1670 — *Antiquitates Angelicae Veteris Testamenti*

[Beschriftung des Titelpupfers] JO | ANNIS | BIS- | SELII | è Societ | JESU | ANTI | QUITA | TUM | Angeli- | carum | Vet: Te- | stamenti

| TUBA | JAM- | BI- | CA || Reverendiss.°, ac Celsissimo, S. R. I. Principi Domi= | no, Domino MARQUARDO, Episcopo Eustetten= | si, nec non S. Cæs. Majest. ad Imperii Comitia | Ratisbonæ Plenipotentiario; se dedicant, ac subdunt | ANTIQUITATUM ANGELICARUM | VETERIS TESTAMENTI | Libri Tres. A.° 1670.

1670 — Antiquitates Angelicae Alterius Testamenti

Reverendiss.°, ac Celsissimo, S. R. I. Principi Domi= | no, Domino MARQUARDO, Episcopo Eustetten= | si, nec non S. Cæs. Majest. ad Imperii Comitia | Ratisbonæ Plenipotentiario; se dedicant, ac subdunt | ANTIQUITATUM ANGELICARUM | ALTERIUS TESTAMENTI | Libri Tres. A.° 1670.

1701 — Dasselbe [posthumer Nachdruck]

1701 — Antiquitates Angelicae veteris Testamenti

JOANNIS BISSELI | è Soc. JESU, | ANTIQVITATUM | ANGELICARVM | veteris Testamenti, | TUBA JAMBICA | juxta Exemplar Ambergense | recusa. | *Augustæ Vindelicorum*, | Apud Laurentium Kronigerum, | & Hæredes Theophili Cœbelii, | 1701.

1701 — Antiquitates Angelicae novi Testamenti

JOANNIS BISSELI | è Soc. JESU, | ANTIQVITATUM | ANGELICARVM | novi Testamenti, | TUBA JAMBICA | juxta Exemplar Ambergense | recusa. | *Augustæ Vindelicorum*, | Apud Laurentium Kronigerum, | & Hæredes Theophili Cœbelii, | 1701.



***1673 — Rationale Aaronicum**

RATIONALE | AARONICUM | EUSTETTENSI ECCLESIAE | PROPRIVM. | REVEREND.mo AC CELS.mo S. R. I. | PRINCIPI | ET | AUREATENSIVM EPISCOPO | MARQUARDO II. | NEC NON | REVERENDIS.mo AC ILLUSTRIS.mo D.D. | CATHEDRALIS ECCLESIAE | CANONICORUM COLLEGIO | A | COLLEGIO SOCIETATIS JESV | EUSTETTENSI | OB | INSTAURATAM EJUSDEM FUNDATIONEM | IN | PERPETUUM GRATI ANIMI | MONIMENTUM | Inscriptum, Dedicatum, Oblatum. | Anno M. DC. LXXIII. | INGOLSTADII. In Officina Typographica | JOANNIS PHILIPPI ZINCK.

Im Namen des Eichstätter Kollegs verfasste, dem Fürstbischof von Eichstätt Graf Marquard II. Schenk von Castell (1637-1685) sowie dem Eichstätter Domkapitel aus Dankbarkeit für die Rettung des in finanzielle Nöte geratenen Jesuitenkollegs gewidmete Schrift. Es werden die zwölf auf dem *Efod* (i.e. Rationale) Aarons angebrachten Steine, die jeweils eine Tugend symbolisieren, der Reihe nach mit je einem heiligen Bischof der Vergangenheit (als sog. *Prototypen*) und je einer Marquard II. zukommenden Funktion oder Eigenschaft in eine analoge Reihe gebracht. In der biblischen Vorlage (Ex. 28) stehen die einzelnen Edelsteine für die zwölf Söhne Israels, in der Dankgabe sollen sie auch die 14 Domkapitulare, die das Rationale des Eichstätter Bischofs zieren, symbolisieren. Bisselius' Autorschaft ist nicht unmittelbar nachzuweisen. Dass zumindest Idee und Konzept von ihm stammen, erhellt jedoch aus der Dedikationsepistel zu den *Antiquitates Angelicae*. Demnach habe er Marquard ein *Rationale Aaronicum* widmen wollen, es dann jedoch nicht fertiggestellt (Umfang: 32 Seiten).



1675-1677 — Medulla

Bisselius' monumentales zeitgeschichtliches Hauptwerk behandelt in europäischer Perspektive die beiden Dezennien bis zum Ausbruch des Dreißigjährigen Kriegs. Das letzte Jahr des dritten Septenniums (1621) wurde nicht behandelt. Für die Intention des Gesamtwerks ist die Dedikationsepistel zum ersten Buch aufschlussreich, in der der Autor sein Werk dem hl. Joseph aus Dank für die Genesung aus schwerer Krankheit widmet. Den Auftrag zu seiner *Medulla* erhielt Bisselius während der Arbeit an der zweiten Dekade der *Ruinae* (erschieden 1657); er lehnte es allerdings ab, die jüngeren Ereignisse in seine Darstellung der klassischen 'Untergänge' aufzunehmen und verschob die Ausführung auf später. Das Werk beinhaltet Gedichte in unterschiedlichen Metren. Widmungsträger des zweiten Septenniums ist Ignatius von Loyola (1609 seliggesprochen); das dritte Septennium ist Jesus Christus gewidmet. – Lit.: WIEGAND (2006) [zum *Leo Galeatus*].

1675 — Medulla 1 [1601-1607]

JOANNIS BISSELLII, | è Societate JESU, | ÆTATIS NOSTRÆ
GESTORUM | EMINENTIUM | MEDULLA | HISTORICA, | Per
aliquot SEPTENNIA digesta. | SEPTENNIIUM I. | Ab Anno M. DC.
I. usque ad Annum | M. DC. VII. inclusivè. | Permissu Superiorum.
| AMBERGÆ. | Apud JOANNEM BURGER. | Anno. M. DC.
LXXV.

1675 — Medulla 2, 1 [1608-1614]

JOANNIS BISSELII, | è Societate JESU, | ÆTATIS NOSTRÆ
GESTORUM | EMINENTIUM | MEDULLA | HISTORICA. | SEP-
TENNIIUM II. | Ab Anno M. DC. VIII. usque ad Annum | M. DC.
XIV. inclusivè. | Permissu Superiorum. | *AMBERGÆ*, | Apud JOAN-
NEM BURGER. | Anno. M. DC. LXXV.

1675 — Medulla 2, 2 (Maria Stuart) [1614]

JOANNIS BISSELII, | è Societate JESU, | AD | MEDULLÆ | HIS-
TORICÆ | SEPTENNIIUM II. | APPENDIX | Anni M. DC. XIV. |
MARIE | STUARTÆ | Viventis, ac Morientis | ACTA. | Permissu
Superiorum. | *AMBERGÆ*, | Apud JOANNEM BURGER. | Anno.
M. DC. LXXV.

Die Themenwahl des als Appendix zum zweiten *Medulla*-Band konzipierten Werks erklärt sich daraus, dass Jakob I., König von England und Sohn der Maria Stuart, seiner Mutter im Jahr 1614 die letzten Ehren erwies.

1676 — Medulla 3, 1 [1615-1618]

JOANNIS BISSELII, | è Societate JESU, | ÆTATIS NOSTRÆ
GESTORUM | EMINENTIUM | MEDULLA | HISTORICA. | SEP-
TENNIIUM III. | Ab Anno M. DC. XV. usque ad Annum | M. DC.
XXI. inclusivè. | Permissu Superiorum. | *AMBERGÆ*. | Apud JOAN-
NEM BURGER. | Anno. M. DC. LXXVI.

1677 — Medulla 3, 2 [1619-1620]

JOANNIS BISSELII, | è Societate JESU, | RERUM | ÆTATIS
NOSTRÆ | EMINENTIUM, | SEPTENNII III, | ANNUS | XIX ac
XX. | Permissu Superiorum. | *AMBERGÆ*, | Apud JOANNEM BUR-
GER. | Anno. M. DC. LXXVII.

1677 — Medulla 3, 3a (Leo Galeatus) [1620]

JOANNIS BISSELII, | è Societate JESU, | LEO | GALEATUS, |
ANNI M. DC. XX. | Hoc est, | MAXIMILIANI, | BAVARIÆ
DUCIS, | *EXPEDITIO, PUGNA, VICTORIA* | PRAGENSIS. | Per-
missu Superiorum. | *AMBERGÆ*, | Apud JOANNEM BURGER. |
Anno M. DC. LXXVII.

Über den Sieg Kurfürst Maximilians von Bayern in der Schlacht am Weißen Berg.

1677 — Medulla 3, 3b (Leo Galeatus) [1620]

JOANNIS BISSELI, | è Societate JESU, | LEO | GALEATUS, | ANNI M. DC. XX. | Hoc est, | MAXIMILIANI, | BAVARIÆ DUCIS, | *EXPEDITIO, PUGNA, VICTORIA* | PRAGENSIS. | Permissu Superiorum. | *AMBERGÆ*, | Apud JOANNEM BURGER. | *Anno M. DC. LXXVII.*

[im Vergleich mit der zuvor genannten Auflage abweichender Umfang, Porträts von Alexander von Haßlang und Maximilian von Bayern].

Zweite Ausgabe (Sulzbach 1725):**1725 — Medulla 1 [1601-1607]**

JOANNIS BISSELI | è Societate JESU, | ÆTATIS NOSTRÆ GESTORUM | EMINENTIUM | MEDULLA | HISTORICA. | Per aliquot SEPTENNIA digesta. | SEPTENNIIUM I. | Ab Anno M.DC.I usque ad Annum | M. DC. VII. inclusivè. | Editio Secunda, | Permissu Superiorum. | *SOLISBACI.* | Apud CHRISTIANUM HOLST. | *Anno M.DCC.XXV.*

1725 — Medulla 2, 1 [1608-1614]

JOANNIS BISSELI | è Societate JESU, | ÆTATIS NOSTRÆ GESTORUM | EMINENTIUM | MEDULLA | HISTORICA. | SEPTENNIIUM II. | Ab Anno M. DC. VIII. usque ad Annum | M. DC. XIV. inclusivè. | Editio Secunda, | Permissu Superiorum. | *SOLISBACI.* | Apud CHRISTIANUM HOLST. | *Anno M.DCC.XXV.*

1725 — Medulla 2, 2 (Maria Stuart) [1614]

JOANNIS BISSELI, | è Societate JESU, | *AD* | MEDULLÆ | HISTORICÆ | SEPTENNIIUM II. | APPENDIX | Anni M. DC. XIV. | *MARIÆ* | *STUARTÆ*, | Viventis, ac Morientis, | ACTA. | Editio Secunda, | Permissu Superiorum. | *SOLISBACI.* | Apud CHRISTIANUM HOLST. | *Anno M.DCC.XXV.*

1725 — Medulla 3, 1 [1615-1618]

JOANNIS BISSELI | è Societate JESU, | ÆTATIS NOSTRÆ GESTORUM | EMINENTIUM | MEDULLA | HISTORICA. | Per aliquot SEPTENNIA digesta. | SEPTENNIIUM III. | Ab Anno M.DC.XV. usque ad Annum | M. DC. XXI. inclusivè. | Editio Secunda, | Permissu Superiorum. | *SOLISBACI.* | Apud CHRISTIANUM HOLST. | *Anno M.DCC.XXV.*

1725 — Medulla 3, 2 [1619-1620]

JOANNIS BISSELI, | è Societate JESU, | RERUM | ÆTATIS NOSTRÆ | EMINENTIUM, | SEPTENNII III | ANNUS | XIX ac XX. | Editio Secunda, | Permissu Superiorum. | *SOLISBACI.* | Apud CHRISTIANUM HOLST. | *Anno M.DCC.XXV.*

1725 — Medulla 3, 3 (Leo Galeatus) [1620]

JOANNIS BISSELII | è Societate JESU, | LEO | GALEATUS, | ANNI M. DC. XX. | *Hoc est*, | MAXIMILIANI, | BAVARIÆ DUCIS, | *EXPEDITIO*, | *PUGNA*, | *VICTORIA* | *PRAGENSIS*. | EDITIO SECUNDA, | Permissu Superiorum, | *SOLISBACI*. | Apud CHRISTIANUM HOLST. | ANNO M.DCC. XXV.

Dritte Ausgabe (Amberg 1727)**1727 — Medulla 1 [1601-1607]**

JOANNIS BISSELII, | è Societate JESU, | ÆTATIS NOSTRÆ GESTORUM | EMINENTIUM | MEDULLA | HISTORICA. | Per aliquot SEPTENNIA digesta | SEPTENNIIUM I. | Ab Anno M DC. I. usque ad Annum | M DC. VII. inclusivè. | Permissu Superiorum. | *AMBERGÆ*, | Apud Joannis Georgii Koch [*sic!*]. | Anno M.DCC.XXVII.

1727 — Medulla 2, 1 [1608-1614]

JOANNIS BISSELII, | è Societate JESU, | ÆTATIS NOSTRÆ GESTORUM | EMINENTIUM | MEDULLA | HISTORICA. | SEPTENNIIUM II. | Ab Anno M. DC. VIII. usque ad Annum | M. DC. XIV. inclusivè. | Permissu Superiorum. | *AMBERGÆ*, | Apud Joannis Georgii Koch [*sic!*]. | Anno M.DCC.XXVII.

1727 — Medulla 2, 2 (Maria Stuart) [1614]

JOANNIS BISSELII, | è Societate JESU, | AD | MEDULLÆ | HISTORICÆ, | SEPTENNIIUM II. | APPENDIX | ANNI M. DC. XIV. | *MARIÆ* | *STUARTÆ*, | Viventis, ac Morientis, | ACTA. | Permissu Superiorum. | *AMBERGÆ*, | Apud Joannis Georgii Koch [*sic!*]. | Anno M.DCC.XXVII.

1727 — Medulla 3, 1 [1615-1618]

JOANNIS BISSELII, | è Societate JESU, | ÆTATIS NOSTRÆ GESTORUM | EMINENTIUM | MEDULLA | HISTORICA. | SEPTENNIIUM III. | Ab Anno M DC. XV. usque ad Annum | M DC. XXI. inclusivè. | Permissu Superiorum. | *AMBERGÆ*, | Apud Joannis Georgii Koch [*sic!*]. | Anno M.DCC.XXVII.

1727 — Medulla 3, 2 [1619-1620]

JOANNIS BISSELII, | è Societate JESU, | RERUM | ÆTATIS NOSTRÆ | EMINENTIUM | SEPTENNII III. | ANNUS | XIX ac XX. | Permissu Superiorum. | *AMBERGÆ*, | Apud Joannis Georgii Koch [*sic!*]. | Anno M.DCC.XXVII.

1727 — Medulla 3, 3 (Leo Galeatus) [1620]

JOANNIS BISSELII, | è Societate JESU, | LEO | GELEATUS, | [!] | ANNI M.DC.XX. | *Hoc est*, | MAXIMILIANI, | BAVAÆ [!] DUCIS, | *EXPEDITIO*, | *PUGNA*, | *VICTORIA* | *PRAGENSIS*. | Permissu Superiorum. | *AMBERGÆ*, | Apud Joannis Georgii Koch [*sic!*]. | Anno M.DCC.XXVII.

Vierte Ausgabe (Amberg 1729)**1729 — Medulla 1 [1601-1607]**

JOANNIS BISSELI, | è Societate JESU, | ÆTATIS NOSTRÆ GESTORUM | EMINENTIUM, | MEDULLA | HISTORICA | Per aliquot SEPTENNIA digesta. | SEPTENNII I. | Ab Anno M. DC. I. usque ad Annum | M. DC. VII. inclusivè. | Permissu Superiorum. | *AMBERGÆ*, | *Typis*, Joannis Georgii Koch. | *Anno M. DCC. XXIX.*

1729 — Medulla 2, 1 [1608-1614]

JOANNIS BISSELI, | è Societate JESU, | ÆTATIS NOSTRÆ GESTORUM | EMINENTIUM, | MEDULLA | HISTORICA | SEPTENNII II. | Ab Anno M. DC. VIII. usque ad Annum | M. DC. XIV. inclusivè. | Permissu Superiorum. | *AMBERGÆ*, | *Typis*, Joannis Georgii Koch. | *Anno M. DCC. XXIX.*

1729 — Medulla 2, 2 (Maria Stuart) [1614]

JOANNIS BISSELI, | è Societate JESU, | *AD* | MEDULLÆ | HISTORICÆ | SEPTENNII II. | APPENDIX. | Anni M. DC. XIV. | *MARIÆ* | *STUARTÆ*, | Viventis, ac Morientis, | ACTA. | Permissu Superiorum. | *AMBERGÆ*, | *Typis*, Joannis Georgii Koch. | *Anno M. DCC. XXIX.*

1729 — Medulla 3, 1 [1615-1618]

JOANNIS BISSELI, | è Societate JESU, | ÆTATIS NOSTRÆ GESTORUM | EMINENTIUM, | MEDULLA | HISTORICA | SEPTENNII III. | Ab Anno M. DC. XV. usque ad Annum | M. DC. XXI. inclusivè. | Permissu Superiorum. | *AMBERGÆ*, | *Typis*, Joannis Georgii Koch. | *Anno M. DCC. XXIX.*

1729 — Medulla 3, 2 [1619-1620]

JOANNIS BISSELI, | è Societate JESU, | RERUM | ÆTATIS NOSTRÆ | EMINENTIUM, | SEPTENNII III, | ANNUS | XIX ac XX. | Permissu Superiorum. | *AMBERGÆ*, | *Typis*, Joannis Georgii Koch. | *Anno M. DCC. XXIX.*

1729 — Medulla 3, 3 (Leo Galeatus) [1620]

JOANNIS BISSELI, | è Societate JESU, | LEO | GALEATUS, | ANNI M. DC. XX. | Hoc est, | MAXIMILIANI, | BAVARIÆ DUCIS, | *EXPEDITIO*, *PUGNA*, *VICTORIA* | PRAGENSIS. | Permissu Superiorum, | *AMBERGÆ*, | *Typis*, Joannis Georgii Koch. | *Anno M. DCC. XXIX.*

Einzeldrucke des Leo Galeatus:**1678**

JOANNIS BISSELI, | è Societate JESU, | LEO | GALEATUS, | ANNI M. DC. XX. | *Hoc est*, | MAXIMILIANI, | BAVARIÆ DUCIS, | *EXPEDITIO*,

PUGNA, VICTORIA | *PRAGENSIS*. | Permissu Superiorum. | *AMBERGÆ*,
| Apud JOANNEM BURGER. | *Anno M. DC. LXXVIII*.

1724

JOANNIS BISSELI, | è Societate JESU, | LEO | GALEATUS, | ANNI M.
DC. XX. | *Hoc est*, | MAXIMILIANI, | BAVARIÆ DUCIS, | *EXPEDITIO*,
PUGNA, VICTORIA | *PRAGENSIS*. | EDITIO SECUNDA, | Permissu Super-
riorum, | *SOLISBACI*. | Apud CHRISTIANUM HOLST. | *ANNO M.DCC.*
XXIV.



1682 — [Dillinger Predigtsammlung]

Die Vorrede ist datiert auf den 1. Januar 1682 (Amberg). Ursprünglich war geplant, die im *Digitus Dei* (1666) publizierte Sammlung von Fastenexempeln des Jahres 1665 mit einer Zusammenstellung der Homilien der beiden Folgejahre 1666 und 1667 fortzusetzen. Das Vorhaben konnte allerdings wegen der Übersiedelung nach Amberg 1667 und der hohen Arbeitsbelastung erst kurz vor Bisselius' Tod umgesetzt werden. Die Predigtsammlung ist zweigeteilt: (1) *Von den sichtbarlichen Erscheinungen der Innwohneren anderer Welt* (Predigten des Jahres 1666; sieben Exempel mit einem Register und einer Appendix, in der auf Fragen des Publikums eingegangen wird) und (2) *Von den Mortibus patheticis, das ist/ Anmüthigen Todt=fählen* (Predigten des Jahres 1667; acht Exempel mit einem Register). Die drastischen Ansprachen behandeln meist fremdländische, z.T. heute noch bekannte Stoffe (so im ersten Teil die Geschichte vom Rattenfänger von Hameln oder im zweiten Teil das Romeo-und-Julia-Sujet bzw. Maria Stuart).

1682 — [Teil 1:] Phaenomena Historica

INCOLARUM ALTE- | RIUS MUNDI | PHÆNOMENA | HISTO-
RICA. | Das ist: | Der Innwohneren der andern | Welt sichtbarliche
| Erscheinungen / | Durch R.P. JOANNEM BISSELIUM, der |
SOCIETET JESU Priestern | In Fasten= Exempeln zu Dillingen / in
| der Academischen Kirchen der SOCIETET | JESU Predigweiß für-
gestellt: | Und jetzo in den Druck übergeben. | *Cum Gratia & Privil.*
Sac. Cæs. Majestatis. | & *facultate Superiorum*. | DILLINGEN/ | In
Verlegung Johann Caspar Bencards | Academischen Buchhändlern.
| Druckts Johann Burger zu Amberg. | Im Jahre Christi / 1682.

1682 — [Teil 2:] Mortes patheticae

MORTES | PATHETICÆ | Oder | Anmüetige | Todt-Fähl. | Durch
R.P. JOANNEM BISSELIUM, der | SOCIETET JESU Priestern | In

Fasten= Exempeln zu Dillingen / in | der Academischen Kirchen der SOCIETET | JESU Predigweiß fürgestellt: | Und jetzo in den Druck übergeben. | *Cum Gratia & Privil. Sac. Cæs. Majestatis. | Et facultate Superiorum.* | DILLINGEN/ | In Verlag / und Truckerey Joh. Caspar | Bencards Academischen Buch= | handlern. | Durch Johann Federle. | Im Jahr Christi / 1682.

Sekundärzeugnisse

1653 — Comicotragödie 'Didacus Garzias' u.a. nach Bisselius [Perioche]

Comico-Tragœdia | DIDACVS GARZIAS, | COMES DE VIRIDI VALLE, | OB SACRILEGAM LIBIDINEM | POST FREQUENTES DEI ADMONITIONES | IMPOENITENS, A MOLOSSO TARTAREO | DISCERPTVS, | In Theatrum Academicum Societatis IESV | Ingolstadij productus | Ex Antonio di Torquemada, & P. Ioan. Bisselij Exemplo | tragico quarto. | Schimpff und ernstliches Spill | Von einem Spanischen Graffen / Namens | DICACVS GARZIAS. | So in fleischlicher Lieb gegen einer Gott verlobten Person | versoffen / nach manicherley Göttlichen Ermahnungen un= | bueßfertig / von einem höllischen Hundt zerissen | worden. | Gehalten / und getruckt zu Ingolstatt den 9. September | ANNO M. DC. LIII. | Bey Georgio Hänlin.

Ingolstädter Schuldrama. Variation des bei Antonio Torquemada (*Hexameron*) und Bisselius (*Exempla tragica*) überlieferten Stoff vom spanischen Edelmann Didacus Garzias (bei Bisselius Didacus de Velledas genannt), der sich nächtens in einer Kirche mit einer Nonne zum Liebesakt verabredet und dort seinem eigenen Requiem beiwohnen muss. Zuletzt wird er von einem Höllenhund zerrissen. Die dramatische Bearbeitung des auf den Jesuitenbühnen beliebten Stoffes weicht z.T. stark von seiner Vorlage ab. – Lit.: VALENTIN (1983/1984) Nr. 1676 (mit weiterer Lit.); die Perioche ist wiederabgedruckt bei SZAROTA Teil 1 (1980), S. 1267-1274 (vgl. auch den Kommentar bei SZAROTA Teil 2 [1980], S. 2363-2365).



[undat.; ca. 1681] — Catalogus omnium librorum

CATALOGUS | OMNIUM LIBRORUM | JOANNIS BISSELLII | Societatis JESU, Historici nostro ævo | celeberrimi. | *Hactenùs nunquam editus, & à plurimis | unicè desideratus.*

Exemplar vorhanden in der Niedersächsischen Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen (Signatur: 8 HLL III, 8111/m). Vierseitiges, unvollständiges Werkverzeichnis, das — einschließlich der Neuauflagen — 30 Werke umfasst.

*: Werke von umstrittener Autorschaft

** : verlorene Werke

[]: nicht von Bisselius stammend, jedoch auf ihn zurückgehend

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Thomas GÄRTNER

ZU EINER NEUEN AUSGABE DER ODENDICHTUNG DES PETRUS CRINITUS

Die im ganzen an der horazischen Odendichtung orientierten Gedichte des Polizian-Schülers Petrus Crinitus (1474-1507) werden dem modernen Leser in einer zweisprachigen kommentierten Ausgabe von Anna Mastrogianni dargeboten.¹ Die Ausgabe beruht auf zwei Drucken des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts (Mastrogianni, *Poemata*, pp. 14-21), einer undatierten Juntina und der Pariser Gesamtausgabe der Werke des Petrus Crinitus aus dem Jahre 1508 (letztere digital zugänglich über Google Books), welche die 'editorische und rezeptionsgeschichtliche Vulgata der Gedichte des Crinitus' darstellt (Mastrogianni, *Poemata*, p. 16). In Anbetracht der Tatsache, daß die neue zweisprachige Ausgabe für lange Zeit die Grundlage jeglicher Beschäftigung mit diesen Gedichten bilden wird², sei es hier gestattet, auf einige Schwierigkeiten der Textkonstitution einzugehen, die zugleich in ihrer Art exemplarisch für eine ganz auf Frühdrucken beruhende Ausgabe eines Renaissancedichters sein dürften.

Carm., 2, 4 (*ad Phosphorum contra insolentiam principum*) lautet in Mastrogiannis Ausgabe folgendermaßen:

Quicumque in astra tendit et sequi velit
Virgam decoris aurei,
Declinet aulam et aestuantes purpuras,
Frontem tyranni despuat.
5 Quid tam scelestum quin sibi arroget impudens
Libido nequam principum?
Non sentis, impotentis ut fastus animi

¹ Anna Mastrogianni, *Die Poemata des Petrus Crinitus und ihre Horazimitation. Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar*, Hamburger Beiträge zur Neulateinischen Philologie, 3 (Hamburg: LIT, 2002).

² Vgl. die Rezension von Klaus Fetkenheuer, *Gymnasium* 111 (2004), 478-480.

- In quemque saevit optimum?
 Extollit audax perditam vecordiam
 10 Fovetque primum noxios.
 At obsoleto moeret indignum nefas
 Ubique virtus pallio
 Et in remoto delitescens angulo
 Modesta secum mussitat.
 15 O ludicram spem vitae et o dementia
 Mortalis impudentiae.
 Vixi tot annos alea infelix gravi
 Nec datur adhuc quies malis.
 Quid contra inermem comminaris acrius?
 20 Inanis est victoria.
 Gradum tuebat hactenus pro viribus
 Non immemor natalium.
 Satis superque constat exemplis meis,
 Quantum tibi nunc arroges.
 25 Sic acta fatis virtus adversantibus
 Animo resistit arduo
 Et obstinata mente defendit gradum
 Nescitque victa cedere.
 Ego interim, Phosphore, quietus vixero
 30 Miserque dicar non reus.

Zunächst einmal scheint hier in zwei Fällen die (im allgemeinen natürlich unzuverlässige) Interpunktion der Pariser Ausgabe zum Schaden des Textes aufgegeben worden zu sein: *indignum nefas* (V. 11) erklärt sich besser denn als Objekt zu *moeret* (Mastrogiani: 'beklagt (...) das unverdiente Unrecht') doch wohl als einen Kommentar über das der personifizierten Virtus zugemutete unverdiente Leid, also grammatisch als Satzapposition, wie in der Parisina durch die darumstehenden Kommata verdeutlicht. Im Schlußvers wäre, wenn Mastrogianis Wiedergabe ('Ich werde ... nicht als ein elender Schuldiger bezeichnet werden'), *non* höchst eigenartig gebraucht und gestellt; richtig muß es heißen 'ich werde als unglücklich, (aber) nicht als schuldig bezeichnet werden', wie das Komma vor *non reus* in der Parisina klar dartut.

Darüber hinaus wird durch die wiedergegebene Textgestalt der Eindruck erweckt, als spräche durchgehend das dichterische Ich in eigener Person, was u.a. zu der problematischen Konsequenz führte, daß der mit 33 Lebensjahren verstorbene Dichter mit *Vixi tot annos* (17) auf seine lange Lebenserfahrung verwies. Tatsächlich liegt in den Vv. 15-24 eine Oratio recta der personifizierten Tugend vor, die mit dem Verbum

dicendi *mussitat* (14) eingeleitet und der Schlußformel *Sic (...) | (...) resistit* (25 f.) beendet wird; erst mit *Ego interim* (29) kommt der Dichter ganz am Schluß auf seine eigene Person zurück (die er natürlich nicht mit der personifizierten *Virtus* identifiziert). Diese in der oben wiedergegebenen Textgestaltung völlig verkannte direkte Rede wirft die von Mastrogianni im Kommentar (Mastrogianni, *Poemata*, p. 255) herausgestellte trichotomische Gliederung des Gedichtes in drei Versdekaden über den Haufen. In der Parisina ist diese *Oratio recta* zumindest durch einen Doppelpunkt nach *mussitat* markiert.

Gegen eine solche Annahme einer *Oratio recta*, mit welcher sich die personifizierte *Virtus* exemplarisch gegen einen sie bedrängenden Mächtigen wehrt, scheint auf den ersten Blick die Verbalform *tuebat* (21) zu sprechen. Jedoch findet sich in der von Google digitalisierten Fassung — trotz einer erheblichen graphischen Ähnlichkeit zwischen *-t-* und *-r-* — deutlichermaßen die (üblicherweise passivische) Form der 1. Person, *tuebar*.

Eine Parallele für eine solche *-t-/-r-* Verlesung in der neuen Ausgabe bietet *carm.*, 1, 4, wo die Empfindlichkeit des noch jungen Dichters gegenüber den ungünstigen Zeitumständen durch den Vergleich mit einem noch zarten Gewächses ausgedrückt wird (53-60):

Sed me sub tenerum tempus adhuc velut
Surgentem vidi robore palmitem
Caeli saevities invida perculit
Deiecitque bonam indolem.
Sic decussa iacent brachia viribus
Allisis, neque posthac animo pari
Audebo ingenium tollere, nec licet
Sperare ulterius mihi.

Die Metapher *brachia* für ‘Zweige’ ist ihrerseits nur verständlich, wenn sie neben einem an *palmitem* anknüpfenden Begriff für ‘Gewächs’ steht (von diesem Gewächs wurden die Äste ‘herabgeschlagen’, *decussa*). Für *viribus* ist vielmehr *vitibus* zu lesen, was durch die digitalisierte Fassung der Parisina wiederum bestätigt wird.

Ein weiteres Beispiel für eine das Verständnis erheblich erschwerende Interpunktion bildet *carm.*, 2, 32 (*ad Neaeram ex epigrammate Platonis philosophi*):

Dum te, Neaera, suavior
Gratumque florem spiritus
E semiulcis suaviis

- Per mutuas vices traho,
 5 Tum mi labella pressula
 Tenello amore saucia
 Animam tenere gestiunt,
 Ne se relinquat protinus
 Tisque labris mollibus
 10 Decepta dulci suavio
 Sensim reperto transitu
 Labatur in pectus tuum
 Et dicat esse gratius
 Servare tam bonos Lares
 15 Tecumque semper vivere,
 Ubi alma Cypris incalet
 Blandusque germinat lepor
 Et grata lusat Charis.
 Quod si Neaera advenerit,
 20 Ut igne amoris percita
 Animula mea misellula
 Me linquat in coetu osculi
 Et me relicto transeat.
 Remitte quam primum potes,
 25 Et redde mi vitam, precor,
 Ut serviam semper tibi
 Fidemque firmam comprobem!

Zugrunde liegt diesem Gedicht, wie Mastrogianni im Kommentar (Mastrogianni, *Poemata*, pp. 274-276) zeigt, ein ebenfalls in jambischen Dimetern gehaltenes Kußgedicht eines Freundes des Gellius, das in der irrealen Vorstellung der Möglichkeit eines Übertritts der Seele beim Kuß endet (FPL⁴ S. 345 f. Morel/Büchner/Blänsdorf = *The Fragmentary Latin Poets*, Apuleius fr. 6 Courtney):

- Dum semihulco savio
 Meum puellum savior
 Dulcemque florem spiritus
 Duco ex aperto tramite,
 5 Animula <et> aegra et saucia
 Cucurrit ad labeas mihi
 Rictumque in oris pervium
 Et labra pueri mollia,
 Rimata itineri transitus,
 10 Ut transiliret, nititur.
 Tum si morae quid plusculae
 Fuisset in coetu osculi,
 Amoris igni percita
 Transisset et me linqueret,

- 15 Et mira prorsum res foret,
 Ut fierem ad me mortuus,
 Ad puerum <ut> intus viverem.³

Bei Crinitus wird diese Möglichkeit des Übertritts in der Schlußpartie (19 ff.) zur Wirklichkeit. Gerade diese Schlußpartie ist aber in der von Mastrogianni gebotenen Interpunktion sinnlos. Wie kann die Ankunft der Neaera (19, 'wenn also Neaera zu mir gekommen ist'), die bereits zu Beginn des Gedichtes geküßt wird (also längst anwesend ist), mit *Quod si* als eine neue Steigerung eingeführt werden? Das Neue kann nur im tatsächlichen Übertritt der Seele zu Neaera bestehen. Also hat man diese Seele (*animam*, V. 7) als Subjekt zu *advenerit* zu verstehen und *Neaera* in V. 19 wie in V. 1 als Vokativ zu deuten. Der Konditionalsatz in V. 19 wird durch einen vier Verse umfassenden Konsekutivsatz (20-23) erläutert (Mastrogianni deutet demgegenüber *Ut* in V. 20 in dem Sinne 'als ob' — was durch V. 13 des antiken Vorbilds nicht gestützt wird — und die Konjunktive *linquat* und *transeat* als Potentialis). Folglich muß die Apodosis durch *Remitte sc. animam* (24) eröffnet werden, was in der Parisina durch einen Doppelpunkt nach V. 23 verdeutlicht wird (den Punkt setzte erst Mastrogianni). In der Anweisung '*Quod si (...) advenerit (sc. anima) | (...), | Remitte (sc. animam)*' hat man eine Variation der in diplomatischer Diktion stilisierten Aufforderung des Kallimachos (AP XII 73 = HE 1057-1062 = epigr. 41 Pfeiffer) an die den Dichter verzaubernden Jünglinge zu sehen, seine flüchtige Seele gar nicht erst bei sich aufzunehmen (V. 4 τῇν δρῆστιν μὴ τι δέχεσθε νέοι).

Ein ähnliches Mißverständnis eines Vokativs begegnet in *carm.*, 2, 25, wo die verändernde Wirkung der Liebe anhand verschiedener Exempla thematisiert wird (41-44):

Blandius spirant Zephyri calentes
 Dumque te sollers Orythia quaerit,
 Frigidus pennis Boreas nivosis
 Suscipit ignem.

Hier nimmt Mastrogianni im Kommentar (Mastrogianni, *Poemata*, pp. 203-204) an, daß Crinitus die Entführung der Orithyia in singulärer

³ Zur vielfachen Imitation dieses Gedichts bei anderen Renaissancedichtern vgl. W. Ludwig, 'Platons Kuß und seine Folgen', *Illinois Classical Studies*, 14 (1989), 435-447 (= Id., *Miscella Neolatina. Ausgewählte Aufsätze 1989-2003*, ed. Astrid Steiner Weber, *Noctes Neolatinae*, 2 [Hildesheim – Zürich – New York: Olms, 2004], II, 48-62).

Weise durch die 'eigene Hingezogenheit der Geliebten' ersetzt habe (sie übersetzt 'während die geschickte Orteithyia zu dir strebt'), erklärt aber *sollers* und *te* für unverständlich (eine Apostrophe an Venus hätte keine Parallele im Zusammenhang des Gedichts). Alle Schwierigkeiten lösen sich, wenn man die Apostrophe in *te* anerkennt, *Orythya* als zugehörigen Vokativ interpungiert, aber *sollers* hiervon separiert und als Praedictivum zu *quaerit* versteht: Das eifrige Streben des Boreas nach Orithyia führt zu dessen wesensfremder Erhitzung.

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Gilbert TOURNOY

AN UNKNOWN LETTER BY JUAN LUIS VIVES TO HIS
FATHER?

Some twenty years ago when I compiled a provisional list of the correspondence sent or received by Juan Luis Vives, it was to be expected that some letters had been overlooked which sooner or later would be brought to our notice.¹ Until now, however, the only new letter that has come to our attention is the one discovered and published in 2000 by Marcus de Schepper.²

Ten years later, I received an e-mail from Edward V. George, our American friend and colleague, saying: 'Andrew Lintott, the British scholar of Roman history, leads off an article (...) with the following tag: "... Ut nunc verius quam aetate ulla alia dici potest: "omnis homo mendax"..." (J. L. Vives in a letter to his father)'.³ Our colleague proceeded: 'As far as I know there is no letter of Vives to his father. Can you throw any light on where Lintott might have gotten this quote?'.

I did not know either of a letter by Vives to his father, and the only thing I could come up with at the time was a reference for the quotation 'omnis homo mendax', which was easy enough to find in the Psalms (116, 11).

The question remained unsolved and continued bothering our colleague, who on 19 December 2011 reiterated his query, so that I felt compelled to give it some more attention. I first got hold of the contribution by Andrew Lintott. In it he discussed a possible humanist forgery of

¹ G. Tournoy, *Pour une nouvelle édition de la correspondance de J.L. Vives*, Universiteit Leuven, Campus Kortrijk, Preprint 77 (Kortrijk, 1992).

² M. de Schepper, 'April in Paris (1514): J.L. Vives editing B. Guarinus. A new Vives "Princeps", a New Early Vives Letter and the First Poem in Praise of Vives', in D. Sacré – G. Tournoy (eds), *Myricae. Essays on Neo-Latin Literature in Memory of J. IJsewijn* (Leuven, 2000), pp. 195-205.

³ Andrew Lintott, 'Acta antiquissima. A week in the History of the Roman Republic', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 54 (1986), 213-228.

some fragments of the *Acta diurna* and since he was inclined to point to Vives 'as a first-class candidate for an impostor of this stature', the nice motto taken from a letter by Vives to his own father seemingly added a brilliant touch of irony.

The main problem, however, for the Vives specialists was and remained that we had no knowledge of any surviving letter by Vives addressed to his father. So, where does this quotation stem from? Scrutinising the entire correspondence of Vives, I found the tantalizing quotation used by Lintott at last in a letter dispatched on 8 July 1524 by Vives to John Longland (1473-1547), confessor to King Henry VIII and since 1521 bishop of Lincoln.⁴ The letter was first published in 1555 at Basel in the second volume of Vives's *Opera Omnia* and reprinted by Majansius.⁵

But how could Lintott mistakenly take that letter for one written by Vives to his father? A closer look at the very page 933 of the 1555 edition on which the text under discussion appears immediately reveals the source for Lintott's erroneous assumption. Indeed, the letter ends with the farewell saying: 'Vale, mi pater', and Lintott must have jumped to the conclusion that this letter was addressed to Vives's father.

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⁴ On Longland, see the entries by Mordechai Feingold in P.G. Bietenholz - T.B. Deutscher, *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, 3 vols (Toronto – Buffalo – London, 1985-1987), II (1986), 341-342; and by Margaret Bowker in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 34 (Oxford, 2004), pp. 395-398.

⁵ *Io. Lodovici Vivis Valentini Opera in duos distincta tomos...* (Basileae, 1555), II, 932-933; *Joannis Ludovici Vivis Valentini Opera Omnia*, ed. Gregorius Majansius, 8 vols (Valentiae, 1782-1790), V, 461-464.

Harry VREDEVELD

TOWARDS A SOUND EDITION OF JAKOB LOCHER'S DRAMATIC WORKS

Cora Dietl's Habilitationsschrift, *Die Dramen Jacob Lochers und die frühe Humanistenbühne im süddeutschen Raum* (Berlin, 2005), offers an ambitious study of Locher's dramatic oeuvre in its literary, historical, cultural, and biographical contexts. Underpinning the analysis is a critical edition of seven works, ranging from 1495 to 1513, printed in separate appendices, with brief introductions and summaries. Intended as a working text, the edition has an apparatus criticus, but no philological notes. For bibliographical descriptions the reader is referred to Günter Heidloff's dissertation, 1971 (Münster, 1975).¹ Editorial principles are presented in an unusually thorough four-page discussion (pp. 379-383). The editor promises an 'objective text', with a minimum of interpretative intervention. To this end, the punctuation, orthography, and capitalization of the copy texts are to be retained. However, question and exclamation marks are to be normalized, as are the graphemes s/f, u/v, and i/j. Abbreviations are to be written out; e-caudata is to be replaced with 'e'.

The book has had a good press. Four published reviews praise Dietl's literary-historical analyses as an impressive contribution to scholarship and hail the edition itself as 'careful', 'excellent', and 'reliable': a 'solid textual basis for further research'.² Had the reviewers studied the edited texts as closely as they did the analyses, they would not, I fear, have been so charitably inclined. For at Dietl's hands (to revive a humanistic trope) Locher returns from the shades, not the doughty warrior of old, but as torn

¹ Günter Heidloff, *Untersuchungen zu Leben und Werk des Humanisten Jakob Locher Philomusus (1471-1528)* (Freiburg im Breisgau: dissertation, 1971; Münster, 1975).

² Thomas Zinsmaier, *Germanistik*, 47 (2006), 239; Michael Rupp, *Arbitrium*, 25 (2007), 161-165; J. Klaus Kipf, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, 129 (2007), 534-539; Dirk Niefanger, *Zeitschrift für Germanistik*, 18 (2008), 417-419. Of the reviewers, only Kipf notes and corrects a number of transcription errors in the edited texts. He also notes numerous errors elsewhere in Dietl's book.

and mutilated as Deiphobus in Vergil's realm of the dead. Whole pages are lopped off. Sentences and words are mangled beyond recognition. Corruptions fester. Sound text is wildly emended. Variant readings are overlooked or distorted. Such is the text on which Dietl's study is based.

The editor, alas, has taken her task far too lightly. Indeed, everything about her edition suggests haste, as if establishing a critical text were an afterthought, a pro forma exercise, rather than the foundation of literary scholarship. Of each *editio princeps*, Dietl has consulted just one copy. In three instances she did not examine the book itself, only a microfiche from the *Bibliotheca Palatina* collection now in the Vatican. How, I ask, is an editor to produce an 'objective' text from a single microfiche, a monochrome one at that? How can she be sure that the dot she renders as a period, a comma, a colon, is not some stray mark or a worked-up space or edge, a worm hole perhaps, or a flyspeck, or a defect in the photocopy?

The folly of using a single microfiche to establish the text is nowhere more glaring than in *Spectaculum de regibus et proceribus christianis* (1502). As presented by Dietl, the play's opening act amounts to just eleven verses that cohere neither grammatically nor metrically. What has happened? Why does the act bear no resemblance to Locher's 'argument'? Lines 1-6 are hexameters. The start of an epic introduction, they quickly trail off into an incomplete sentence. Precisely at the page break in the original book, the opening hexameters turn into lesser asclepiads and take on the character of a prayer to God. This is an editor's nightmare, but Dietl sees nothing amiss. On pp. 236-238 of her literary analysis she sleepwalks through the chaos. In the introduction to the play itself she comments laconically (p. 449): 'Der sehr kurze erste Akt von Lochers 'Spectaculum' besteht aus einem Klagelied über die Verbrechen in der Welt und einem Ruf nach einem Einschreiten des göttlichen Richters. Aus dem *argumentum* erfährt man, dass es sich hierbei um die Rede des Erzengels Michael handelt, der dem Papst erschienen ist'.

If only Dietl had examined a physical copy of the book, or even a second photocopy from some other library! Then it would have dawned on her what ought to have been obvious all along: that four pages of text are missing in the copy from which the microfiche was made.³ Dietl

³ The missing pages were mistakenly bound into the immediately preceding text in the *Sammelband*: Locher's *Threnodia sive funebris lamentatio in laudem inclite matrone Hedvigis* ([Augsburg, 1502]), between sig. a2^v and a3^r.

might have caught the error too if she had paid attention to the scholars she mentions at p. 448 and elsewhere. Thus Paul Bahlmann reports in 1893 that the act consists of a 'carmen nutheticum und ein choriambi-sches Chorlied, in welchem Gott um Hülfe gegen die Türken angefleht wird'.⁴ Heidloff's dissertation indicates that the copy text's first gathering ('a') consists of six leaves⁵ — not four, as Dietl assumes. Dietl even ignores Heidloff's summary of the act: 'Gott ruft die Engelscharen zusammen und beklagt das Vorrücken der Türken. Der Erzengel Michael wird zum Papst gesandt mit der Aufforderung, Konstantinopel und Jerusalem von den Türken zu befreien. Papst Alexander verkündet einen Ablass und sendet einen Legaten zu Maximilian'.⁶

Editorial malfeasance manifests itself also in other, more insidious ways. As I mentioned, Dietl's edition aims to present an 'objective text' (p. 383), on the grounds that intervention is tantamount to interpretation. Brave words, but empty of meaning, for the editor proceeds to grant herself the freedom to change question marks into exclamation marks, as needed. Because the maneuver is not explained, the reader assumes that question marks in the originals will be altered only where the text warrants the change. Examination of Dietl's practice, however, quickly disabuses us of that notion. Question marks, it turns out, can become exclamation marks at the editor's whim. The result is a riot of exclamations, often in the most inappropriate places. As is well known, early prints employ the question mark not only as an interrogative but also as a shorter or longer pause (equivalent to, say, a colon or a full stop). Dietl's text obscures such distinctions by transforming those marks too into exclamations. We could, of course, mentally translate them all back into question marks and so reconstruct the original punctuation. That strategy fails us in *Historia de Rege Frantie* (1495), however. Here the printer regularly uses a type of colon that somewhat resembles our exclamation mark. In Dietl's edition, these colons are rendered as exclamation marks — but only if they happen to be of a certain size. If the upper stroke of the mark happens to be a bit smaller than usual, Dietl quite often interprets the mark as a colon instead. And what is an 'objective' editor to do when confronted with the stray marks that so often mimic punctuation? Ignore

⁴ P. Bahlmann, *Die lateinischen Dramen von Wimphelings Stylpho bis zur Mitte des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts. 1480-1550* (Münster, 1893), p. 14.

⁵ Heidloff, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 64-65, no. xxiv.a.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 320.

them? Reproduce them? Barred from entering by the front door, interpretation sneaks in at the back.

A final example will suffice. Already in the earliest printed books, the sentence-end is generally indicated by a punctuation mark of some sort. However, if the sentence-end coincides with a line break, the punctuation mark can be dispensed with. This is the norm in verse texts; but the pattern can be observed in prose as well. In Dietl's edition, such visual cues are lost. The first act of *Historia de Rege Frantie*, for instance, starts off with a question, followed by a declaratory sentence (p. 392, ll. 1-3): 'Quis deorum immortalium: continuis me somniis adeo terret: ut nullam animi quietem ac tranquillitatem consequi queam venit ad penetralia regia repetito sepe gradu: veneranda quedam imago'. In the original print, the sentence-end after 'queam' does not need a punctuation mark, the pause being sufficiently indicated by the line break. A similar case occurs some thirty lines later (p. 393, ll. 31-32): 'Quid iaces in plumis tepidis carole regum christianissime te vocant universa mundi clymmata ut tibi serviant'. Where Dietl's edited text shows a run-on sentence, the original print has a line break after 'christianissime' to indicate the pause. To represent such pauses, a conscientiously 'objective' editor would have to reprint each line exactly as in the original text, with the same line breaks, or at least, mark the tacit pause with something like a vertical stroke (|).

I turn now to the edition itself. In the following I do not record the obvious printing errors and turned letters that Dietl omits from her apparatus criticus (apparently she intended the apparatus to be exhaustive in that regard too), nor do I note minor transcription errors in punctuation. Because the editor rarely traces Locher's literary sources and models, I insert such notes here and there, not systematically, however, but as they suggested themselves in the preparation of this article. I also make a point of identifying the diverse meters that Locher employs. The lack of metrical analysis is a great weakness in Dietl's edition, especially as corruptions in the copy texts can often be uncovered only by metrical reading.

In Dietl's book, the printed copy texts (always the editio princeps) are each assigned a different siglum. For simplicity's sake, I refer to the copy text of each play with the siglum *A*. *Libellus dramaticus* is designated as *ms*. For other sigla I follow Dietl. Because the line-numbering in her edition is discontinuous and frustratingly clumsy, I add page numbers, where required for clarity.

Copy texts consulted in photocopy or digital facsimile

1. *Historia de Rege Frantie* (1495): National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
2. *Tragedia de Thurcis et Suldano* (1497): Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich (4^o Inc.c.a. 1466^b/16); Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC.
- 3 and 4. *Spectaculum de regibus et proceribus christianis*; *Spectaculum de iudicio Paridis* (1502): Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich; Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC; Bibliotheca Palatina, Vatican Library, microfiche E2052.
5. *Ludicrum drama de sene amatore* (ca. 1503): Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek (digital copy provided by the Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.)
6. *Poemation de Lazaro mendico* (ca. 1513): Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich (4^o P.lat. 841/2).
7. *Libellus dramaticus* (1513): photocopy of Ms. Lat. 11347, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, fol. 66^r-75^v.

Abbreviations

- Boccaccio, *Genealogie* = Giovanni Boccaccio, *Genealogie deorum gentilium*, in *Tutte le opere di Giovanni Boccaccio*, ed. Vittore Branca, VII-VIII (Milan, 1998), ed. Vittorio Zaccaria.
- CCCM = Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis.
- Celtis, *Am.* = Conradus Celtis Protucius, *Quattuor libri amorum*, ed. Felicitas Pindter (Leipzig, 1934).
- Coppel = Bernhard Coppel, 'Jakob Locher und seine in Freiburg aufgeführten Dramen', in P. Tuynman e.a. (eds), *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Amstelodamensis. Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies, Amsterdam 19-24 August 1973* (Munich, 1979), pp. 258-272.
- CSEL = Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum.
- Dietl = Cora Dietl, *Die Dramen Jacob Lochers und die frühe Humanistenbühne im süddeutschen Raum* (Berlin, 2005).
- Hartl = Nina Hartl, *Die 'Stultifera Navis': Jakob Lochers Übertragung von Sebastian Brants 'Narrenschiff'*, 2 vols (Münster, 2001). Partial edition. Cited by chapter and line numbers.
- Heidloff = Günter Heidloff, *Untersuchungen zu Leben und Werk des Humanisten Jakob Locher Philomusus (1471-1528)* (Freiburg im Breisgau: dissertation, 1971; Münster, 1975).
- Kipf = J. Klaus Kipf, review of Cora Dietl, *Die Dramen Jacob Lochers*, in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, 129 (2007), 534-539.
- Locher, *Oratio* = Jakob Locher, *Oratio de studio humanarum disciplinarum et laude poetarum Extemporalis* ([Freiburg im Breisgau, 1496/97]).
- Locher, *Stult.* = Jakob Locher, *Stultifera Navis* (Basel, 1497).
- PL = *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, 221 vols (Paris, 1844-1865).

- Schönbeck = Hans-Peter Schönbeck, 'Plautino more fictum: Der Beitrag des Humanisten Jakob Locher zur Wirkungsgeschichte der plautinischen Komödie', in Susanne Götde and Theodor Heinze (eds), *Skenika: Beiträge zum antiken Theater und seiner Rezeption. Festschrift zum 65. Geburtstag von Horst-Dieter Blume* (Darmstadt, 2000), pp. 349-361.
- Schwenter = Franz J. Worstbrock and Fedja Anzelewsky (eds), *Apologia poetarum: Die Schwenter-Handschrift Ms. lat. fol. 335 der Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz zu Berlin mit den Illustrationen Peter Vischers des Jüngeren*, 2 vols (Wiesbaden, 1987).
- Zelzer = Michaela Zelzer (ed.), *Sancti Ambrosii opera, pars decima: Epistularum liber decimus. Epistulae extra collectionem. Gesta concili Aquileiensis*, in CSEL, LXXXII, 3 (Vienna, 1982).

I. HISTORIA DE REGE FRANTIE

Meters. The metrical introductions and inlays in this play are mostly in elegiac distichs. One poem is in hendecasyllables (p. 390), another in Sapphic stanza (p. 395), and still another in dactylic hexameter (p. 399), but ending in an elegiac distich.

Supplicatio (p. 387)

- 6 **conditionis** The misprint 'conditiones' (A) is corrected by hand in the Edinburgh copy.

Dedicatory letter (pp. 387-389)

- Heading **philomusi** Read 'philomusi' (A).
 8-9 **atroque stigmatē notandus** Cf. Locher, *Stult.*, fol. 108^r (Hartl, 97, 9): 'Est fatuus (...) nigro stigmatē dignus'; dedicatory letter to Locher's edition of *Horatii flacci Venusini Poete lirici opera* (Strasbourg, 1498), front matter, fol. 2^v: 'stigmatē nigro frontes Germanorum inurere nisus est'.
 22-23 **arctophylacum stellas** Read 'arctophylacis stellas' (A).
 23 **hesperium calpen** Emend this reading (A) to 'hesperiam calpen', as in Coppel, p. 262. See Lucan 1, 555.
 24 **at tamen** Read 'attamen' (A).
 25 **splendissimo** Read 'splendidissimo' (A).
 31 **muse celebre et mendicant** In A 'celebre' is immediately followed by 'ε'. Correct this misprint to: 'muse celebres mendicant'.
 negligentiam This is, in fact, the reading in A, in the standard abbreviation 'negliētiam'.
 45 **inter olores canoros perstreperē** Cf. Verg. *ecl.* 9, 36.
 47-48 **ne (...) murem ridiculum pareret** Cf. Hor. *ars* 139.

Epigrama (p. 389)

- 10 **Mausirios** Correct this misprint (A) to 'Maurisios'. The same misprint occurs in the early editions of Locher, *Stult.*, 'Latina navis seu barca socialis', fol. 135^v (Hartl, 108, 12, apparatus criticus): 'Mausirii imbelles'. Lest we assume that Locher, and not the printer, was responsible for the form 'Mausirios', we should note that those same early prints of *Stultifera navis* do write 'Maurisius Atlas' in 'Obiectio Voluptatis criminantis Virtutem', fol. 132^v (Hartl, 114c, 39). A sidenote there explains: 'Mauritania'.
 19 **tu que** Read 'tuque'.

Ad librum epigramma (p. 390)

- 1 **Vade liber** = Ov. *trist.* 1, 1, 15.

- 3-12 **Vivet opus quodcumque per aptas miseris aures (...) nil popolare sapit** Cf. Mart. 7, 69, 5-10: 'vivet opus quodcumque per has emiseris aures; | tam non femineum nec popolare sapit'. Locher imitates Martial's epigram also at ll. 6 and 8.
- 6 **pyerio (...) choro** = Mart. 7, 69, 8.
- 8 **cecropia pectora voce madent** Adapting Mart. 7, 69, 2: 'cuius Cecropia pectora dote madent'.

Play

In the general heading (p. 391) correct the misprint 'Historia Tragico' (A) to 'Historia Tragica' (*Kipf*).

Prologus Actoris (p. 391)

Unlike the pattern elsewhere, the line numbering in the prologue includes the three lines taken up by the general title and heading. The normal numbering system is retained in the apparatus criticus, however (*Kipf*). The same problem occurs at *Iudicium Paridis*, argumentum, p. 469. Cf. also *Historia de Rege Frantie*, p. 405, Conclusio.

- 7 **ad bene beateque vivendum** Cic. *fin.* 1, 5, 14; *off.* 1, 6, 19; and elsewhere; Locher, *Tragedia de Thurcis*, p. 415, prefatio, l. 65.
- 21-22 **Est (...) comedia humane vite speculum** Cf. Locher, *Oratio*, sig. b1^v (quoted at Dietl, p. 67): 'comediam (...) que vite humane speculum est presentissimum'. Locher's characterization goes back to Don. *de com.* 5, 5: 'esse comoediam cotidianae vitae speculum'.

Adhortatio ad spectatores (p. 392)

- 1 **exporgite lumbos** Cf. Plaut. *Pseud.* 1: 'Exporgi meliust lumbos'; *Epid.* 733: 'lumbos porgite atque exsurgite'.
- 9 **sorti confidat inique** Locher, *Stult.*, fol. 34^r, motto, l. 2: 'Qui (...) sorti nimium confidit iniquae'.
- 13 **Adsit – superbi** Cf. Locher, *Stult.*, fol. 16^v: 'Adsit in exemplum Priami fortuna potentis'; and a few lines later: 'Adsit in exemplum Tarquini fama superbi'.
- 14 **croesi casus exitumque grave** This reading (A) is corrected by a contemporary hand in the Edinburgh copy to 'croesi casus exitumque grave'. Cf. Locher, *Stult.*, fol. 40^r: '(...) mortis exitumque grave'.

Act 1

- 1 **imortalium** Read 'immortalium' (A, *Kipf*).
- 7 **acheroicarum virtutum** Correct this misprint (A) to: 'ac heroicarum virtutum'.

- 50 **dii fata secudent** Enea Silvio, *Historia de duobus amantibus*, in Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (Pius II) and Niklas von Wyle, *The Tale of Two Lovers, Eurialus and Lucretia*, ed. Eric J. Morrall (Amsterdam, 1988), p. 127, l. 19: 'Dii tantum fata secudent'.
 59 **regi infensum esse precepi** Correct this misprint (A) to: 'regi infensum esse percepi'.

Act 2

- 79 **Arogonie** Kipf (p. 538) emends this reading (A) to 'Aragonie'. Cf. Dietl, p. 393, l. 33. However, 'Arogonia' is a common variant in Middle and Renaissance Latin.
 86 **seditionis** Printed (in a standard abbreviation) as 'seditōis' in A (not 'seditonis', as Dietl has it).
 88 **olympi rector** Sen. *Herc. f.* 205: 'O magne Olympi rector et mundi arbiter' (quoted at Locher, *Tragedia de Thurcis*, p. 424, Act 2, l. 124). Cf. Locher, *Spectaculum de regibus*, Act 1, l. 6: 'rector olympi'.
trisluci fulminis Sen. *Phaedr.* 189. Cf. Locher, *Tragedia de Thurcis*, p. 441, Act 2, l. 502.
 89 **vadam / quo me fortuna vocat** Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 12, 677.

Chorus Elegiacus (pp. 397-398)

- 13 **larisseus Achilles** = Verg. *Aen.* 11, 404.
 14 **etiam** Read 'eciam' (A).
 26 **Qui cadit ex alto grandius inde cadit** Proverbial. See A. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer* (1890; Hildesheim, 1971), no. 73, with the addendum on p. XLII; *Thesaurus Proverbiorum Medii Aevi: Lexikon der Sprichwörter des romanisch-germanischen Mittelalters*, ed. Kuratorium Singer der Schweizerischen Akademie der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaften, 13 vols. and 1 supplement volume (Berlin, 1995-2002), III, 140-146, 'Fall', nos. 20-161. Cf. Locher, *Historia de Rege Frantie*, pp. 400-401, Act 4, ll. 147-148.

Act 3

- 130 **dolis anxietate** Dietl misconstrues the abbreviation. Read: 'dolis an virtute'.

Chorus heroicus (p. 399)

- 14 **Auri sacra – libido** Cf. Locher, *Stult.*, fol. 111^v (Hartl, 99, 119): 'Auri sacra fames, rerum quoque vana libido'. For 'auri sacra fames' see Verg. *Aen.* 3, 57.

- 17 **propter (...) nomine christi** Restore 'propter (...) nomina christi' (A).
 20-21 **Consulat ergo – suam** An elegiac distich concludes the series of heroic hexameters.

***Chorus Elegiacus* (p. 400)**

- 3 **a celio manat olympto** Read: 'a celso manat olympto' (A).
 20 **triumphat** Restore 'triumphat' (A). Cf. Dietl, p. 395, l. 27: 'triumphos'.

Act 4

- 136 **Proh deum atque hominum fidem** Plaut. *Curc.* 694; *Epid.* 580.
 142 **regiosque falces** Read 'regiosque fascēs' (A).
 147-148 **quanto quis in altiori – tanto gravius ruit** Cf. *Historia de Rege Frantie*, p. 398, Chorus elegiacus, l. 26, with note.
 153-154 **Nec priamo natisque suis contigit quod michi – suo polluerat** Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 2, 501-502: 'vidi Hecubam centumque nurus Priamumque per aras | sanguine foedantem quos ipse sacraverat ignis'. The printed text appears to be corrupt. Locher intends to say that Priam and his sons suffered a fate much worse than the king of Naples did. Emend to something like this: 'Nec michi accidit quod priamo natisque suis contigit (...)'. Cf. *Tragedia de Thurcis*, p. 416, prefatio, ll. 84-85: 'ne mihi (...) accidat: quod Marsie (...) contigit'.
 154 **qui aras quas ipse sacraverat** Read: 'quia aras quas ipse sacraverat' (A).
 155 **ammisi** Correct this misprint ('āmisi' in A) to 'amisi'.
 162 **de ptolomeio** Read 'de ptolomeis' (A). Cf. *Tragedia de Thurcis*, p. 438, Act 4, l. 405.
 163-169 **hanc mutacionem – casum sortiretur** See Plutarch, *Life of Aemilius Paulus*, 27.

***Lamentatio elegiaca* (p. 401)**

- 1-2 **Invida fatorum series – Stare diu** The model is Lucan. 1, 70-71.
 9 **tristes subpondere lapsus** Locher imitates Lucan. 1, 71. The copy texts often print preposition and object together as one word. Dietl follows that practice only occasionally.

Act 5

- 171 **glorississimus** Read 'gloriosissimus' (A, *Kipf*).
 173 **veneratorum nuntium** Read 'venetorum nuntium' (A, *Kipf*).
 175 **videatur** Read 'videtur' (A).

- 177 **unde venis: aut a quo pergis** A tautological phrase. Emend to: 'unde venis: aut quo pergis'. Notice that the Venetian messenger immediately tells his counterpart that he is going straight to Maximilian. Cf. Vulg. *Iudith* 10, 11: 'unde venis aut quo vadis'.
- 181-182 **si quid (...) gestum fuerint** Read: 'si quid (...) gestum fuerit' (A).
- 214-215 **belli exitium** Correct this misprint (A) to 'belli exitum'. Cf. p. 397, heading of 'Chorus elegiacus'.
- 237 **tenuis nugis** Correct this misprint (A) to 'tenuibus nugis'.

Chorus (pp. 404-405)

- 7-9 **Attamen – sacras** Locher imitates Claud. 24, 202-205: 'quam certa fuere | gaudia, cum totis exurgens ardua pinnis | ipsa duci sacras Victoria panderet aedes! | o palma viridi gaudens et amicta [*al.*: amica] tropaeis'.

Conclusio ad lectores (p. 405)

- 1 **Hoc opus exegi** = Ov. *rem.* 811.
procul hinc discedite = Ov. *met.* 9, 509; *fast.* 4, 365.
- 2 **hoc puerile decus** Stat. *Ach.* 2, 119.
- 8 **tersi musa tibulli** Angelo Poliziano, *Silvae*, 4, 539, ed. Charles Fantazzi (Cambridge, MA, 2004), p. 144: 'tersi (...) pia Musa Tibulli'.
- 15b **der rege francie** Read: 'de rege francie' (A, *Kipf*).

Letter to Sigismund Kreutzer and epigram (p. 406)

The letter to Kreutzer and the immediately following epigram have nothing to do with *Historia de Rege Frantie*. They introduce the epigram collection that forms part two of the book.

Letter

- 8 **quitquid** Correct this misprint (A) to 'quicquid'.
- 12 **unum quemque** Printed as one word in A.
- 14 **biblos et cannas niloticas** Cf. Locher, *Stult.*, dedicatory letter, fol. 2^r-2^v (Hartl, I.2, p. 14, l. 29): 'Nilotici calami (...) Aegyptiaeque papyri'. The phrase comes from Apul. *met.* 1, 1, 1, as Hartl points out in her commentary, I.1, p. 175. Cf. also Locher, *Iudicium Paradis*, p. 465, l. 6: 'calamum (...) niloticam papyrum'.
- 15 **bilem vitream** Pers. 3, 8; Locher, *Ludicrum drama*, p. 498, l. 73.
- 17 **non dubio** Read 'non dubito' (A).
- 20 **Conradum Celtis** Kipf (p. 538) needlessly proposes 'Conradum Celtem'.

Epigram

2 **torui (...)** iovis Read 'torvi (...) iovis'.

II. TRAGEDIA DE THURCIS ET SULDANO

In the editorial introduction (p. 410), Dietl says that her copy text is the 'Heidelberger Handschrift, St. Pal. IV. 1315.2'. There is no such manuscript, at Heidelberg or anywhere else. She means microfiche E2179, made from the Bibliotheca Palatina, formerly in Heidelberg, but long since removed to the Vatican Library. Cf. Dietl's 'Abbildungsverzeichnis', p. 531; bibliography, pp. 536-537; introductory note to *Spectaculum de regibus*, pp. 543-544 below. Among the extant copies listed on p. 410, Dietl includes five 'Palatina' copies. All are ghost copies. The numbers cited are old shelf numbers for the same copy.

***Prefatio* (pp. 414-416)**

The preface is largely a patchwork of quotations from Apuleius' *Florida*. See below.

- 1-2 **caperata frontis lanugine: perpexoque Supercilio** Imitated by Ortwin Gratius, 'Oratio facetiarum et invectiviarum habita Coloniae contra ignavos et philosophie inimicos', in *Orationes quodlibetice periucunde* (Cologne, 1508), sig. H2^r: 'Cap[e]rato (...) supercilio: perpexa frontis lanugine'.
- 3 **Ronthos Rhinocerotisque Nasum** Correct 'Ronthos' (A) to 'Ronchos'. The model is Mart. 1, 3, 5-6: 'maiores nusquam rhonchi: iuvenesque senesque | et pueri nasum rhinocerotis habent'. Cf. Locher, *Poemation de Lazaro*, dedicatory letter, p. 505, l. 6.
- 11-51 **Tanta enim – ostentant** Locher adapts Apul. *flor.* 18, 1-5, as Dietl notes on pp. 126-127.
- 34-35 **nil a moribus humanis alienum** Cf. Ter. *Haut.* 77.
- 47 **sermotinatur** Restore the reading 'sermotionatur' in A (and Dietl, p. 127!). The medieval form 'sermocionor, -ari' persisted well into Renaissance times.
- 52-54 **Infestam (...) rabiem (...) propitia voluntas** Cf. Apul. *flor.* 17, 12: 'voces (...) quas infesta rabies vel propitia voluptas ciant'.
- 58-66 **Cupio – traducet** Locher adapts Apul. *flor.* 17, 18-20: 'enimvero qui pueris et adolescentibus et senibus utile carmen prompturus est, in mediis milibus hominum canat, ita ut hoc meum de virtutibus Orfiti carmen est, serum quidem fortasse, sed serum, nec minus gratum quam utile Carthaginiensium pueris et iuvenibus et senibus, quos indulgentia sua praecipuus omnium proconsul sublevavit temperatoque desiderio et moderato remedio dedit pueris saturitatem, iuvenibus hilaritatem, senibus securitatem'.

- 58 **Cupio cum** Read 'Cupio enim' (A). (Dietl misreads the abbreviation.)
- 63 **In multis millibus hominum tanto** The text of A is corrupt. Emend to: 'In mediis millibus hominum cano'. Cf. Apul. *flor.* 17, 18: 'in mediis milibus hominum canat'.
- 65 **ad bene beateque vivendum** Cic. *fin.* 1, 5, 14; *off.* 1, 6, 19; and elsewhere; Locher, *Historia de Rege Frantie*, p. 391, Prologus, l. 7.
- 66-69 **Multa mihi – cognitissimi** Locher adapts Apul. *flor.* 18, 14: 'An non multa mihi apud vos adhortamina suppetunt, quod sum vobis nec lare alienus nec pueritia invisitatus nec magistris peregrinus nec secta incognitus nec voce inauditus nec libris inlectus improbatuvsue?'
- 69-79 **Sed quid me – delphinus Arion** Locher imitates Apul. *flor.* 17, 14-15: 'quo magis celebrari debet frequentius usurpata, et quidem non nisi in auditorio, (...) in hac excellenti celebritate multorum eruditorum, multorum benignorum. equidem et si fidibus adprime callerem, non nisi confertos homines consecrarer. In solitudine cantilavit "Orpheus in silvis, inter delphinus Arion" [Verg. *ecl.* 8, 56]'.
 72 **in speluncis** Read 'In speluncis' (A).
- 84-86 **Marsie (...): qui barbarus: hispidus: multibarbus spinis et pilis obsitus cum phoebo tibia certare Ausus** Cf. Apul. *flor.* 3, 6: 'Marsyas (...) barbarus (...), hispidus, multibarbus [*al.*: inlutibarbus], spinis et pilis obsitus, fertur (...) cum Apolline certavisse'. Cf. Locher, *Tragedia de Thurcis*, p. 417, Elegiaca adhortatio, ll. 17-18.
- 87 **Antigenidas melleus modulator** Taken from Apul. *flor.* 4, 1: 'Tibicen quidam fuit Antigenidas, omnis vocolae melleus modulator'.
- 89-90 **auro fulgurat: (...) ebore candidat** Correct this text (A) to: 'auro fulgurat: (...) ebore candidat'. Cf. Apul. *flor.* 3, 11, describing Apollo's lyre: 'lyra eius auro fulgurat, ebore candidat [*al.*: candidat]'.
 90 **purpurea radiat** Read 'purpura radiat' (A).

Elegiaca adhortatio (pp. 416-417)

Meter: Elegiac distich.

- 9 **collo (...) fusto** Emend this reading (A) to 'collo (...) fusco'.
- 13-14 **adest (...) micant (...) teget** Emend this reading (A) to: 'adest (...) micant (...) tegit'.
- 16 **Tortici (...) crura** 'Tortici' makes no sense here and, moreover, does not fit the meter. The intended reading must be 'Fortia (...) crura'.
- 17-18 **Hispidus – rudi** Cf. *Tragedia de Thurcis*, p. 416, prefatio, ll. 84-86, with note.
- 23 **sito (...) de corde** Correct this reading (A) to: 'suo (...) de corde'.

Argumentum secundum (pp. 418-419)

Meter. What Locher calls 'iambic senarii' are, in fact, choliambics with an admixture of iambic trimeters. Cf. Schönbeck, p. 356. As printed in *A*, several verses are poorly constructed.

The poem is modeled on Juno's monologue at the start of Seneca's *Hercules furens*.

- 1 **Fides (...)** **Tonantis** Cf. Sen. *Herc. f.* 1: 'Soror Tonantis'.
 9 **Stellis (...)** **fixus** Read 'Stellis (...) fixis' (*A*).
 18 **Gentis – domos** As printed in *A*, the verse has seven feet, one of them unmetrical.
 21-26 **Violentus iras mundus – cultus dei** Imitating Sen. *Herc. f.* 27-33: 'vivaces aget | violentus iras animus, et saevus dolor | aeterna bella pace sublata geret. | Quae bella? quidquid horrendum [*al.*: horridum] tellus creat | inimica, quidquid pontus aut aer tulit | terribile dirum pestilens atrox ferum, | fractum atque domitum est'.
 24 **Que bella!** Restore the reading 'Que bella?' (*A*). Cf. Sen. *Herc. f.* 30.
 25-26 **Inimica – cultus dei** As printed in *A*, these verses contain several metrical errors.
 27-30 **Victa – Manu potenti** The model is Sen. *Herc. f.* 57-59: 'at ille (...) | de me triumphat et superbifica manu | atrum per urbes ducit Argolicas canem'.
 27 **trumphant** Correct this misprint (*A*) to 'triumphant'.
 29 **Iugo sub Amplo colla ducit monstrum insolens** Another seven-foot line, with hiatus.

Act 1

- 9 **errorque gentium** Read 'errorque gentilium' (*A*).
 10 **ad conquirendum (...) ac destandum** Emend this reading (*A*) to: 'ad conquerendum (...) ac detestandum'.
 15-16 **qui Annum certis vicibus distinxit** Cf. Prud. *Cath.* 5, 2: 'qui certis vicibus tempora dividis'.
 M18-19 **christe credentium** Read 'recte credentium' (*A*). (Dietl misconstrues the abbreviation 'rœe'.)
 19 **capillis** The reading in *A* is 'cappillis'.
 21-22 **qui furiis infernalibus per-Acheronteo liquore inebriati. tristibus hydrys terri. Colubris eumenidum Amicti** What are we supposed to make of the weird 'per-Acheronteo'? In *A*, 'per-' concludes the line of print; 'Acheronteo' begins the next. Since Locher is establishing a series of four parallel constructions, each made up of an ablative and a past participle, 'per-' must be the prefix to a missing past participle. We thus conjecture: 'qui furiis infernalibus per-<citi.> Acheronteo liquore inebriati. tristibus hydrys

- territi. Colubris eumenidum Amicti'. Cf. Locher, *Stult.*, fol. 111^r (Hartl, 99, 85-86), referring to Sultan Bajazet: 'Percitus est Furiis, facies praecincta colubris | Eumenidum'; *Tragedia de Thurcis*, p. 443, Act 5, l. 25: 'gens furiis bellorum concita diris'; *Spectaculum de regibus*, Act 1, p. 451, l. 5: 'Percitus irarum stimulo'. Winfried Trillitzsch translates the text in precisely this spirit (*italics added*): 'von höllischen Furien *gepeitscht* und vom Wasser des Acheron trunken'. See his *Der deutsche Renaissance-Humanismus: Abriß und Auswahl* (Leipzig, 1981), p. 242.
- 27-30 **luroreque Stygio pontificalem. Cathedram / super quam deus residet. vastissima Corporis molle gravati in iovem ipsum arma contaminant. Tollerabilius quondam fuit quod gygantes sumpserunt.** Locher's text is horribly mangled. Read: 'luroreque Stygio pontificalem. Cathedram / super quam deus residet. contaminant. Tollerabilius quondam fuit quod gygantes vastissima Corporis mole [molle A] gravati in iovem ipsum arma sumpserunt' (A).
- 31 **celicam possessione** Read 'celicam possessionem' (A).
- 32-33 **nihil autem barbara gens / non solum aras disputat** Read: 'mihi [mhi A] autem barbara gens / non solum aras disputat' (A).
- 34 **depopulat** Read 'depopulatur' (A).
- 46-47 **Ite maligni in eternos herebi carceres** Cf. Vulg. *Matth.* 25, 41: 'tunc dicet (...) discedite a me maledicti in ignem aeternum'.
- 50-51 **soror tonantis** Sen. *Herc. f.* 1 (in Juno's lament at being exiled from heaven).
- 56 **devotis** This is, in fact, the reading of A (Munich and Washington copies). The apparatus criticus is in error.
- 73-74 **Lento gradu (...) divina procedit ira: sed tarditatem supplitii gravitate compensat** Cf. Val. Max. 1, 1, ext. 3: 'lento enim gradu ad vindictam sui divina procedit ira, tarditatemque supplicii gravitate pensat'.
- 74-75 **quanto serius: tanto vehementius Idem omnipotens mercedem sceleris exoluet** Quoted from Lact. *inst.* 1, 1, 15. Correct 'exoluet' to 'exolvat'.
- 80-106 **Quod tibi in exemplum – vendicemus** The passage is inspired by Ambr. *fid.* 1, prologue 3, addressed to Emperor Gratian as he is going to war: 'Nam et Abraham trecentos decem et octo duxit ad bellum et ex innumeris tropaea hostibus reportavit signoque dominicae crucis et nominis quinque regum victriciumque turmarum subacto robore et ultus est proximum et filium meruit et triumphum. Iesus quoque, filius Nave, hostes, quos totius exercitus manu valida superare non poterat, septem tubarum sacerdotalium sono vicit, ubi "ducem militiae caelestis" agnovit. Ergo et tu vincere paras, qui Christum adoras, vincere paras, qui fidem vindicas, cuius a me libellum petisti'.
- 83-84 **numeravit – et octo** Vulg. *gen.* 14, 14.
- 88 **moltitudine** Read 'multitudine' (A).

- 91-92 **bellaque Tentoria** Read 'bellicaque Tentoria' (A).
- 96-102 **Ecce dedi – corruebant** Locher paraphrases Vulg. *Ios.* 6, 2-5.
- 99-100 **septem buccinas tollent. contrarium usus (...) in iubileo est**
Emend this reading (A) to: 'septem buccinas tollent. quarum usus (...) in iubileo est'. Cf. Vulg. *Ios.* 6, 4.
- 110 **ecclesiam christe** Correct this misprint (A) to 'ecclesiam christi'.
- 114-115 **Parve (...) res Concordia crescunt. Maxime vero discordia dilabuntur** Cf. Sall. *Iug.* 10, 6: 'concordia parvae res crescunt, discordia maxumae dilabuntur'.
- 116-117 **Nam Christus dixit. ut Matheus ait. Omne regnum in seipso divisum facile destruetur** Cf. Vulg. *Matth.* 12, 25; *Luc.* 11, 17. Locher does not quote the verse directly from the Vulgate, but from Ambr. *fid.* 1, 1, 11 (as printed in the Amerbach edition, part 3, Basel, 1492). There it is an argument for the Trinity: 'Omne regnum in seipso divisum facile destruetur: dominus hoc dicit'.
- 119-120 **accingite (...) lumbos vestros** Vulg. *Is.* 32, 11.

Chorus elegiacus (pp. 422-424)

Heading **lamentatur Christiano rei publice diminutione** Read: 'lamentatur Christiane [Christiano A] reipublice diminutionem' (A). Dietl nearly always turns 'respublica' in the copy texts into two separate words.

Meter: Elegiac distich.

- 1-10 **Heu quam – malesana viros** Locher imitates Boeth. *cons.* 1 carm. 2, 1-5. There Philosophy laments: 'Heu, quam praecipiti mersa profundo | mens hebet et propria luce relicta | tendit in externas ire tenebras, | terrenis quotiens flatibus aucta | crescit in immensum noxia cura!'.
- 2 **Debilibus – rotis** Cf. Locher, *Stult.*, fol. 110^r (Hartl, 99, 12): 'Debilibus vehitur sors modo nostra rotis'; *Tragedia de Thurcis*, p. 447, Epilogus, l. 10.
- 3 **Turbine – magno** Cf. Sen. *Herc. f.* 162-163, as printed in early editions: 'turbine magno spes sollicitae | urbibus errant'. Cf. note at ll. 13-30 below.
- 7-8 **Terrenis agimur fatis et statibus altum In pelagum ruimus**
Read: 'Terrenis [Tertenis A] agimur fatis et flatibus atrum In pelagum ruimus' (A).
- 11 **mortalia pectora cogit** Verg. *Aen.* 3, 56: 'quid non mortalia pectora cogis, | auri sacra fames!'; 4, 412: 'improbe Amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis!'
- 13-30 **Quidam – corda trahit** Modeled on Sen. *Herc. f.* 164-196, with many verbal parallels.
- 36 **Publica res lacero stat tremibundo gradu** Correct this misprint (A) to: 'Publica res lacero stat tremibunda gradu'.
- 61 **quo non prestantior Alter** = Verg. *Aen.* 6, 164.

Act 2

- Heading **vulgus christianum querela fidei notum** Something has gone wrong here. Perhaps emend this reading (A) to: 'vulgus christianum querela fidei cognita'.
- 124-131 **O magne olimpi Rector et mundi arbiter (...) Statue (...) gravibus erumnis (...) modum finemque** Quoted from Sen. *Herc. f.* 205-207: 'O magne Olympi rector et mundi arbiter, | iam statue tandem gravibus aerumnis modum | finemque cladi'. Cf. Locher, *Spectaculum de regibus*, Act 1, Chorus choriambicus, ll. 128-129: 'O tu celicolum rector et arbiter | Presens huic misero consule seculo'. See below, p. 548.
- 127 **manne celicum** Correct this reading (A) to 'manna celicum'.
- 133 **Nobis miseris adiutrices prebeamus** The sentence is part of a series of prayers to God: 'O deus (...) adsis', 'Statue', 'expelle'. Accordingly, correct the reading of A to: 'Nobis miseris adiutrices prebe'. (The printer may have taken the immediately following preposition 'a' as a signal to add a first person plural ending here.)
- 139-142 **Audi israel dominus deus tuus: deus unus est – nomen es ei** Taken from Ambr. *fid.* 1, 1, 6-7 (where 'dicit' for 'dicis' in l. 141). Cf. Vulg. *deut.* 6, 4, and *Is.* 42, 8. In l. 142, correct 'nomen es ei' to 'nomen est ei' (A).
- 150 **Non vulgares** Read 'Nos vulgares' (A).
- 151 **fidemque sancta** Read 'fidemque sanctam' (A).
- 152-154 **unum deum te esse profiteamur – Incurrit** The source is Ambr. *fid.* 1, 1, 10: 'Unum ergo deum, non duos aut tres deos dicimus, ut impia Arrianorum heresis, dum criminatur, incurrit'.
- 154-162 **unum deum communis natura – Myrrha est sepulture** Locher continues to stitch passages together from Ambrose. This one comes from Ambr. *fid.* 1, 4, 31 (as printed in the Amerbach edition, part 3, Basel, 1492): 'Unum deum communis natura testatur, quia unus est mundus. Unum deum fides significat, quia una fides novi et veteris testamenti. Unum spiritum sanctum testificatur gratia, quia unum baptisma in nomine trinitatis est. Unum deum profetae dicunt, apostoli audiunt. Unum deum magi crediderunt et aurum et thus et mirram supplices ad Christi cunabula detulerunt, auro regem fatentes, ut deum thure venerantes; thesaurus enim regni, sacrificium dei, mirra est sepulturae'.
- 163-168 **Omnipotentem deum – recte credentibus dicitur** Cf. the Nicene Creed, as printed in *Codex Justinianus*, ed. Andreas Rommel (Nuremberg, 1475), 1.1.1: 'omnipotentem deum et christum filium dei uno nomine confitetur, deum de deo, lumen ex lumine; qui spiritus sanctum (quem ex summo rerum parente speramus et accipimus) negando non violat; apud quem intemeratae fidei sensus viget incorruptae trinitatis indivisa substantia, quae graeco verbo ὁμοούσιον [*sic*] recte credentibus dicitur'.

- 168 **ὁμοούσιον homoousion** The lemma in the apparatus criticus does not match the edited text. Moreover, Dietl misrepresents the reading in *A*. It should read: 'ὁμοιοσύσιον omusion' (cf. *Kipf*, p. 538). The reading 'ὁμοιούσιον' in *A* is not an error on Locher's part, as Dietl assumes, but is taken from the Nuremberg edition of the *Codex Justinianus* of 1475. See above. The form 'omusion' in the text and sidenote of *A* is likewise not a printing error, as Dietl imagines. It is a standard ecclesiastical form (sometimes also spelled 'omousion'). Locher uses the form also in *Dyalogus de quibusdam heresiarchis et eorum sectis* (printed immediately after *Tragedia de Thurcis*), sig. k4^v: 'in synodo Nicena conclusum / ut omusion scriberetur'.
- 172 **reflectimus** In *A* the word is, in fact, misspelled as 'reflectimus'. (The apparatus criticus is in error.)
- 174 **remissio pectore** Read 'remisso pectore' (*A*). The phrase comes from Sen. *Phoen.* 187.
- 182 **arrianam previtatem** Read 'arrianam pravitatem' (*A*). (Dietl misconstrues the abbreviation.)
- 186 **virgam (...) qui** Read 'virgam (...) qua' (*A*).
- 188-191 **ut contemptis – oculos convertant** Cf. Lact. *inst.* 6, 20, 7: '[philosophi] aiunt enim multo esse praeclarius et homine dignius caelum potius quam caelata intueri et hoc pulcherrimum opus intermicantibus astrorum luminibus tamquam floribus adornatum quam picta et ficta et gemmis distincta mirari'. Unaware of this source, Dietl (pp. 114-115) relates Locher's words to Tertullian's *De spectaculis* and overinterprets their import.
- 190 **pulcherrimum** Read 'pulcherrimum' (*A*).
- 196-197 **Educite – aegypti** Cf. Vulg. *exod.* 32, 11: 'populum tuum' quem eduxisti de terra Aegypti in fortitudine magna'.
- 197-199 **de afflictione – melle fluentem** Cf. Vulg. *exod.* 3, 17; 13, 5.

***Chorus sapphicus* (pp. 427-429)**

Meter: Sapphic stanza. The chief model is Boeth. *cons.* 1 carm. 5. See below.

- 11 **Huc et devote** The metrical error in the second syllable can be corrected by emending 'Huc et' (*A*) to 'Hucque'. Cf. 'Sapphicon Iacobi Locher de chorea', printed among the epigrams at the end of *Historia de Rege Frantie* (Freiburg, 1495), sig. d5^v: 'Huc simul moechi: vetule salaces: | Hucque scortorum properant caterve'.
- 21 **peccorisque** Correct this misprint (*A*) to 'pecorisque'.
- 33-56 **Tu polum – Cuncta gubernas** Locher paraphrases Boeth. *cons.* 1 carm. 5, 1-27. Cf. *Tragedia de Thurcis*, pp. 443-444, Act 5, ll. 33-37; *Spectaculum de regibus*, Act 1, Chorus choriambicus, ll. 117-120 (see p. 547 below).
- 43 **Frigus (...) gratiale** Read 'Frigus (...) glatiale' (*A*).

- 49-50 **Tu puer ventis (...) Imperas** Emend this reading (A) to: 'Tu pater ventis (...) Imperas'. Cf. the sidenote: 'Deus ventis imperat'. Also cf. l. 25 of the chorus: 'Tu pater (...)'; l. 69: 'Da pater (...)'; l. 81: 'Tu (...) pater'.
- 71 **Splendeant** Add a period after 'Splendeant', as in A.
- 74 **sacras (...) secures** Misprinted in A as 'sacros (...) secures'.
- 85-92 **In salo – terras** Modeled on Boeth. *cons.* 1 *carm.* 5, 45-48: 'homines quatimur fortunae salo. | Rapidos, rector, comprime fluctus | et quo caelum regis immensum | firma stabiles foedere terras!'
- 92 **Foedera** Correct this reading (A) to 'Foedere', as in Boeth. *cons.* 1 *carm.* 5, 48.
- Act 3**
- 210 **inquam ipse. animarum nostrarum salus desideratissima** After 'inquam', 'ipse' (A) is superfluous. Emend to: 'inquam. ipsa animarum nostrarum salus desideratissima'.
- 212 **terres** Misprinted in A as 'rerres'.
- 213 **effare quaeso: qui te impellat quod** Emend this reading (A) to: 'effare quaeso: quid te impellat quod'.
- 215-216 **Summe pontifex: et (...) custos vigilantissimus** Emend this reading (A) to: 'Summe pontifex: et (...) custos vigilantissime'.
- 218 **solemniter** Read 'solenniter' (A).
- 221-226 **Antiquus hostis – crudelitatis minister** Locher adapts Siricius, epist. 41a, 1, in Zelzer, p. 296, as printed in the Amerbach edition (Basel, 1492): 'quia non patitur nos quietos ab incursione sua vacare hostis antiquus, ab initio mendax, inimicus veritatis, aemulus hominis, quem ut deciperet se ante decepit, pudicitiae adversarius, luxuriae magister, crudelitibus pascitur'.
- 233-244 **O infelix audacia – per laborem transire** Locher adapts Siricius, epist. 41a.2, in Zelzer, p. 297, as printed in the Amerbach edition (Basel, 1492): 'O infelix audacia, o desperatae mentis astutia! Tam incognitus sermo haereticorum intra ecclesias cancri more serpebat ut occupans pectus totum hominem praecipitaret in mortem, et nisi dominus Sabaoth laqueum quem paraverat dirupisset scena tanti mali et hypocrisis publicata multorum simplicium corda traxerat in ruinam, quia facile ad deteriore partem mens humana traducitur malens per spatiosa volare quam artae viae iter per laborem transire'. The sidenote at l. 241 states: 'Sententia divi ambrosii'. Locher takes the passage from the Amerbach edition of Ambrose's works, but overlooks Siricius' authorship of this letter.
- 246-247 **naufragium miratur** Correct this reading (A) to 'naufragium minatur'.
- 247 **Expellere hereses** Read 'Expelle hereses' (A).
- 257 **ceterum cardinalium ad consilium vocet** Two *Verschlimmbesserungen* and one misprint. Read: 'cetum [*i.e.*, coetum] cardineum ad

- consilium vocitet' (A). Cf. Locher, 'Elegidium ad principes orbis christiani', in his *Carmen de diluvio Rome effuso* ([Freiburg, after 13 December 1495]), fol. [3]^v: 'O vos Cardinei cetus deponite luxum'.
- 261-262 **corpore corporis excluso: arma paremus** Emend this nonsensical reading (A) to: 'torpore corporis excluso: arma paremus'. Cf. *Spectaculum de regibus*, p. 452, ll. 49-51: 'Sed modo torpemus. gladios modo deside dextra | Volvimus (...) | Quom ravidus nostras thurex procurrit in oras'; *Stult.*, fol. 111^v (Hartl, 99, 99), in the face of Turkish atrocities: 'Torpor habet mentes nostras'.
- M262-263 **Tube. marcee** Emend this reading (A) to: 'Tube. marcie'. Cf. l. 262: 'Tubas (...) martias'.
- 266 **Innocentes** Printed in lower case in A.
- M277 **Dyabolus** The reading in A is 'Dyablus' (a medieval variant spelling).
- 280 **quoscumque** Read 'quoscunque (A).
- 281-289 **Sicut est scriptum – defraudent** Locher quotes much of this passage from Siricius, epist. 41a.3, in Zelzer, pp. 297-298, as printed in the Amerbach edition (Basel, 1492): 'sicut scriptum est domino dicente: *Multi venient ad vos in vestimentis [al.: vestitu] ovium, intus autem sunt lupi rapaces, a fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos.* Ii videlicet qui quasi utilitate Christi nosce [*i.e.*, nosse] se iacent, ut sub velamento pii nominis gradientes domum orationis ingressi sermonem serpentinae disputationis effundant, ut sagittent in obscuro rectos corde, atque veritatem catholicam vertendo ad suae doctrinae rabiem diabolico more traducant atque ovium simplicitatem defraudent'.
- 283-284 **induti autem sunt lupi rapaces** Another *Verschlimmbesserung*. Correct 'indutus' in A to 'intus'. See Vulg. *Matth.* 7, 15, as quoted in Siricius' letter. See preceding note.
- 284-285 **hii (...) qui quasi utilitate christianos esse se iacent** Restore the reading in A (quoted from Siricius): 'hii (...) qui quasi utilitate christi nosce [*i.e.*, nosse] se iacent'. Cf. note at ll. 281-289 above.
- 286 **domum omnis hominis ingressi** Dietl misconstrues the abbreviation 'oñonis'. Read: 'domum orationis ingressi', as in Siricius' letter. After 'ingressi' add a colon, as in A.
- 287 **orationis** The word awkwardly repeats 'orationis' in the preceding line and must hence be considered a misprint. Read 'disputationis', as in Siricius' letter.
- 295 **Principiis obstandum est** Cf. *Ov. rem.* 91.
- 297-304 **Fateor – obviu progrediar** Locher adapts Ambr. *epist. extra collectionem* 15, 1-2, in Zelzer, p. 302, as printed in the Amerbach edition (Basel, 1492): 'Recognovimus litteris sanctitatis tuae boni pastoris excubias, qui fideliter commissam tibi ianuam serves et pia sollicitudine Christi ovile custodias, dignumque oves domini audiant et sequantur. Et ideo quia nosti oviculas Christi, lupos

- facile deprehendes et occurre quasi providus pastor, ne isti morsibus perfidiae suae feralique ululatu dominicum ovile dispergant'.
- 298-299 **commissam** The reading in *A* is 'comissam'. For this medieval spelling cf. l. 318 (where Dietl does not alter the text).
- 304-316 **Et quidem multarum – delere cupiunt** Locher adapts Siricius, epist. 41a.4-5, in Zelzer, pp. 298-300, as printed in the Amerbach edition (Basel, 1492): 'Et quidem multarum haeresum malignitatem ab apostolis nunc usque didicimus et experti abrogavimus, sed numquam tales canes ecclesiae mysterium latratibus fatigaverunt quales nunc subito hostes fidei erumpentes doctrina perfidiae polluta cuius sint discipuli verborum fructibus prodiderunt. Nam cum alii haeretici singula sibi genera quaestionum male intelligendo proposuerint convellere atque concerpere de divinis institutionibus, isti non habentes vestem nuptialem, sauciantes catholicos, novi et veteris testamenti ut dixi continentiam pervertentes, illecebroso atque ficto sermone aliquot Christianos coeperunt iam vastare atque suae dementiae sociare, intra se continentes nequitiae suae virus, verum electi blasphemias suas conscriptione temeraria publice prodiderunt et desperatae mentis furore conciti passim in furorem gentilium publice a fidelibus Christianis (...) ad meam humilitatem subito scriptura honorifica videntur esse delati, ut sacerdotali indicio detecta divinae legi contraria spirituali sententia deleantur'.
- 321-322 **gladius spiritualis qui Christianis iter (...) aperis** Emend this reading (*A*) to: 'gladius spiritualis quo Christianis iter (...) aperis'.
- 335-338 **Ab ortu solis – orbis terrarum** Cf. Aug. *epist.* 185, 1 (*CSEL*, LVII, 4, ll. 18-23): 'ab ortu solis usque ad occasum sacrificium mundum offertur nomini meo, quoniam glorificatum est nomen meum in gentibus, per prophetam deus dixit; dominabitur a mari usque ad mare et a flumine usque ad terminos orbis terrae, per psalmum deus dixit'. Cf. Vulg. *Mal.* 1, 11 and *psalm.* 71, 8.
- 343 **exapellamus** Read 'expellamus' (*A*).

Chorus (pp. 434-435)

Meter: Elegiac distich.

- 1-26 **Gens inimica dei – quaeso domos** These verses are reprinted (without attribution) in Ortwin Gratius, *Lamentationes obscurorum virorum* (Cologne, 1518), sig. C4^r, under the title, 'Querimonia fidei ad obscuros Reuchlinistas'. For an edited text see *Ulrichi Hutteni equitis Operum supplementum: Epistolae obscurorum virorum*, ed. Eduard Böcking, I (Leipzig, 1864), 393. Locher uses the phrase 'Gens inimica dei' (l. 1) also in *Spectaculum de regibus*, Act 1, l. 17. See p. 545 below.
- 1 **que te vesania torquet** = Locher, *Stult.*, fol. 34^v: 'O fatue, enormis quae te vesania torquet?'

- 6 **sit nos iugulare** Emend this reading (A) to: 'sic nos iugulare'. (The correction is already made in 'Querimonia fidei ad obscuros Reuchlinistas'.)
iuuat Read 'iuuat'.
- 23 **Ad mea dicta** Correct this reading (A) to: 'Ad mea dicta'. (The correction is already made in 'Querimonia fidei ad obscuros Reuchlinistas'.)
- 23-41 **Ad mea dicta – et exitus idem** The passage paraphrases the 'Orphic Hymn' in Eusebius, *De evangelica praeparatione*, 13, 12, 5, as translated by George of Trebizond. Locher may well have read the translation in Marsilio Ficino, *Epistolae* (1495; repr. Nuremberg, 24 February 1497), book 11, fol. 222^v-223^r, under the heading: 'Orpheus versus de deo':
- Vos qui virtutem colitis: vos ad mea tantum.
 Dicta aures adhibete: animosque intendite [intendere 1497]
 vestros.
 Contra qui sanctas leges contemnitis: hinc vos.
 Effugite: et procul hinc miseri: procul ite prophani.
 [6 verses]
 Unus perfectus Deus est qui cuncta creavit.
 Cuncta fovens: atque ipse ferens super omnia sese.
 Qui capitur mente tantum: qui mente videtur.
 Qui nullumque malum mortalibus invehit unquam.
 Quem praeter non est alius: tu cuncta videto.
 Hic ipsum in terris melius quo cernere possis.
 Hic etenim video ipsius vestigia: fortem.
 Hicque manum video: verum ipsum cernere qui[s] sit.
 Nequaquam valeo: nam nubibus insidet altis.
 Nemo illum: nisi Caldeo de sanguine quidam.
 Progenitus vidit: quem coelorum aurea sedes.
 Sublimisque tenet: cuius se dextera tendit.
 Oceani ad fines quem de radicibus imis.
 Concussique tremunt montes: nec pondere quamvis.
 Immenso sint: ferre queunt: qui culmina coeli
 Alta colens: terris nunquam tamen ille sit absens.
 Ipse est principium mediumque et exitus idem.
- 44 **quaeso** This is, in fact, the reading in A. The apparatus criticus is in error.

Nuntius Mahumeticis cultoribus Bellum indicit (pp. 436-437)

Meter: Lesser asclepiads.

- 7 **Arvam feratia** Correct this reading (A) to 'Arva feratia' (i.e., 'arva feracia'). The correction is first made in an unattributed article,

'Analyse de la *Tragedia de Thurcis et Suldano*, de Locher', *Nouveau Journal Asiatique*, 7 (1831), 312, n. 1.

- 8 **Piseasque – inclitas** Taken from Sen. *Thy.* 123, as printed in the early editions.
 35 **greco alios: quod** Read: 'greco alios: quos' (A).

Act 4

- Heading In A the subheading on sig. H2^v is not enclosed in a box, as in Dietl's edition.
- M366-367 **Superscriptio linearum** Dietl misconstrues the abbreviation. Read 'Superscriptio litterarum'. (A prints 'liarum', not 'linarum', as Dietl has it.)
- 367 **Regi magno Thurco Suldano Aegypti** Read: 'Regi magno Thurco et Suldano Aegypti' (A).
- 368 **ενορα ΤΕΓΥ** Read 'ἐὺ πράττειν' (*Kipf*). Cf. 'Analyse de la *Tragedia de Thurcis et Suldano*, de Locher', *Nouveau Journal Asiatique*, 7 (1831), 313, n. 1.
- 369 **admonuimus** Restore 'admonimus' (A), a medieval and humanistic form.
- 371-372 **cohortaciones in obducatis cordibus** Read: 'cohortationes in obduratis cordibus' (A).
- 377 **pellite tenebris cordis** Emend this reading (A) to: 'pellite tenebras cordis'.
- 384-385 **rabiem sui virus (...) diffudit** Emend this reading (A) to: 'rabiem sui viri (...) diffundit'.
- 391 **assettoni** Read 'assertioni' (A).
- 392 **penitendio** Read 'penitendo' (A).
- 402-403 **per potentem** Correct this misprint (A) to 'perpotentem'.
- 403 **sicamen Regem** Emend this reading (A) to 'sicanie Regem'. Do the same (*mutatis mutandis*) in the marginal note.
- 416 **terretur** Restore 'terrereetur' (A).
- 424 **Carthagensis** Read 'Carthaginensis' (A).
- 425-437 **Quid gessit Amphitrioniades – herculea clava mansit** Locher adapts this passage from Sen. *Herc. f.* 215-240, with close verbal parallels.
- 427 **cristarum caput** Read 'cristatum caput' (A). Cf. Sen. *Herc. f.* 216.
- 430 **fului** Read 'fulvi'.
- 434 **cartessii littoris** Correct this reading (A) to 'tartessii littoris'. See Sen. *Herc. f.* 232.
- 446 **turritis Navibus** Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 8, 693: 'turritis puppibus'.
- 452 **hostibus occurrendum** Read: 'hostibus est occurrendum' (A).
- 457-458 **Audiendum est facinus attrox** Correct these misprints (A) to: 'Audendum est facinus atrox'.
- 469-470 **Nihil reliqui est (...) quam fame volucris** Emend this reading (A) to: 'Nihil reliqui est (...) quam fama volucris'.

- 479 **inprimis** Read 'in primis' (A).
 483 **immunis** Add a period after 'immunis' (A).
 487 **procul ammoveamus** Correct this reading (A) to 'procul amoveamus'.
Agerumpe Read 'Age rumpe' (A).
 492-494 **Tumultus pectus – e fundo tellus** Locher adapts Sen. *Thy.* 260-262: 'tumultus pectora attonitus quatit | penitusque volvit; rapior et quo nescio, | sed rapior. – imo mugit e fundo solum'.
 493 **voluit** Read 'volvit'.
 502 **Trisulcum fulmen** Misprinted in A as 'Trisultum fulmen'. Cf. the marginal note. Also cf. *Historia de Rege Frantie*, p. 397, Act 2, l. 88, with note.
 502-503 **sydera sub pedibus cernis** Cf. Verg. *ecl.* 5, 57: 'sub pedibusque videt nubes et sidera Daphnis'.

***Classicum Mahumeticos excitat* (pp. 441-442)**

Meter: Glyconic. The model is Sen. *Thy.* 336-403.

- 1 **Miles theutonicos** Correct this reading (A) to 'Miles theutonicus'.
surgit Read 'furit' (A). (The apparatus criticus is in error.)
 5-7 **Hunc forte – Sceptrum** Locher imitates Sen. *Thy.* 339-341. Albertino Mussato had earlier borrowed Sen. *Thy.* 339 at *Ecerinis*, 113 (opening verse of the chorus in Act 1, scene 3). See *Humanist Tragedies*, ed. and trans. Gary R. Grund (Cambridge, MA, 2011), p. 10.
 9-10 **Romululas (...) Turmas** Correct this reading (A) to 'Romulidas (...) Turmas'.
 16 **et nostram** Read 'Et nostram' (A).
 18-19 **Fortis lancea – perforat** Locher imitates Sen. *Thy.* 363-364.
 21-27 **Reges convenient – iuga** Imitating Sen. *Thy.* 369-375.
 32 **surgunt adriatici freti** Dietl's needless emendation spoils the meter. Restore the reading of A: 'Surgunt adriaci freti'.
 37 **Fortes** Misprinted in A as 'Tortes'.
 39 **Urbes sternere Machinis** = Sen. *Thy.* 386.
 43-46 **Nobis mors – suam** Modeled on Sen. *Thy.* 401-403.

Act 5

***Heroic poem* (pp. 443-444)**

Meter: Dactylic hexameter.

- M1-2 **heroicorum carmen** Correct this misprint (A) to 'heroicum carmen'.
 2 **nun** Read 'nunc' (A).

- 5 **rutilis** Correct this misprint (A) to 'rutilis'. Cf. l. 35 below; and, for example, p. 445, l. 7.
- 33-37 **summe pater – machina mundi** Cf. *Tragedia de Thurcis*, p. 428, Chorus sapphicus, ll. 33-56, with note. Cf. also *Spectaculum de regibus*, p. 458, Chorus tricolos, ll. 242-243.
- M36 **Machina** Pace Dietl, this is also the reading in A ('Machīa').

Fama (pp. 444-445)

- 508-528 **O pectora – letis mutavimus** Locher adapts Sen. *Thy.* 920-940.
- 518 **Nuntio. (...) prostratos.** There is no punctuation after these words in A.
- 522 **bistanii lacus** Restore 'bistonii lacus' (A). Cf., for example, *Historia de Rege Frantie*, p. 400, Chorus Elegiacus, l. 14; *Tragedia de Thurcis*, p. 439, Act 4, l. 431 and M434.
- M522 **bistanius** Correct this misprint (A) to 'bistonius'.

Triumphus (pp. 445-447)

Meter: Sapphic stanza.

- 6 **Efferrant currum** Correct this misprint (A) to 'Efferant currum'.
- 11 **tenebrasque crassus** Emend this reading (A) to 'tenebrasque crassas'. Cf. *Tragedia de Thurcis*, p. 444, Act 5, l. 48.
- M17 **fides christi** Read 'fides cristi' (A).
- 23 **plectrum** Delete the virgule after 'plectrum'. There is no punctuation here in A. The same goes for the virgule at the end of ll. 30 and 46.
- M25-26 **Carrus triumphalis** Emend this reading (A) to 'Currus triumphalis'. Cf. l. 25: 'triumphalem (...) currum'.
- 26-27 **leti (...) Fronte** A *Verschlimmbesserung*. Emend 'letae (...) Fronte' (A) to 'leta (...) Fronte'.
- M29-30 **urbes picte** This marginal note should be printed next to ll. 30-31, on a separate line, as in A.

Epilogus (p. 447)

Meter: Elegiac distich.

The postscript Τέλος appears in the Folger copy, but not in the Munich copy.

III. SPECTACULUM DE REGIBUS ET PROCERIBUS CHRISTIANIS

Among the extant copies listed on p. 449, Dietl includes: 'Palatina Heidelberg [sic], St. Pal. IV. 1227.9'. This is not a book in the University Library at Heidelberg, as the editor assumes, but microfiche E2052 in the series 'Bibliotheca

Palatina', the originals of which are now in the Vatican. Cf. the bibliography, pp. 536-537; introductory note to *Tragedia de Thurcis*, p. 530 above.

Dedicatory letter (p. 450)

- 1-4 **Scripsimus iamdudum – exacueretur** In ignorance of Act 1, as actually printed in 1502, Dietl misunderstands the opening sentence, and hence, the play's historical background (p. 236). Locher cannot possibly be referring to his 'Poema Nutheticon phocylidis', published shortly after 5 April 1500. That poem is an elegiac version of Aldo Manuzio's prose translation of Pseudo-Phocylides, 'Poema admonitorium' (Venice, 1495). Dietl also mistakenly believes that Locher does not address a specific historical event.

- 3 Locher intends something like this: 'Quite some time ago, I wrote a *nutheticon carmen* to the princes of Christendom, with the intent of spurring them to a crusade against the Turks'. The poem must have been written in the immediate aftermath of the bull 'Domini et salvatoris', promulgated on 5 October 1500. In it, Pope Alexander VI announced that all proceeds of the jubilee indulgence would be devoted to a crusade against the Turks. To that end he dispatched three legates to the powers of Christendom. Cardinal Raymond Peraudi, the legate sent to Germany, left Rome on October 26. See Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571)*, II: *The Fifteenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1978), pp. 531-532.
- prophanissimos Thurcos: geticosque latrones** Dietl alters 'Thurcas' (A) to the more common form 'Thurcos'. On p. 446, l. 42, however, she allows 'Thurcas' to stand: 'Tu feros Thurcas: populos cruentos'. See also p. 397, l. 93: 'thurcarum gentes'; p. 521, l. 79: 'Turcas'; p. 523, l. 100: 'Turcas'; p. 524, l. 145: 'Turcas'; p. 526, l. 224: 'Turcarum'; p. 527, l. 254: 'Turcas'. Locher uses the form 'Thurcas' here to avoid triple repetition of the ending '-os'.

Act 1

In A, the first act runs from sig. a2^v to a5^r. Working from a defective copy (Bibliotheca Palatina, microfiche E2052),⁷ Dietl prints just the opening six lines of 'Carmen nutheticon' and the last five verses of the chorus. Here is the complete first act (edited according to Dietl's editorial principles):

ACTUS PRIMUS.

Carmen nutheticon contra perfidos Thurcorum insultus.

Quom deus omnipotens nuper per candida vultum.

Astra coruscantem terris demitteret imis.

Vidit grande nefas. quod toto serperet orbe.

⁷ See pp. 520-521 above.

- Quodque truces animas tenebroso mergeret orco.
 5 Percitus irarum stimulo. gravitateque motus.
 Infandi sceleris devexi rector olympi.⁸
 [a3'] Mox vocat angelicas lituo crepitante cohortes
 Et simul heroas. quorum monumenta nitebant
 In solio celi galee. clypeique minaces.
 10 Turba puellarum castis redimita capillis
 Protinus adcurrit. vocemque exaudit atrocem
 Eterni regis. cuius per secula nomen
 Gentibus horrendum. quas fallit perfidus error.
 Sede deus celsa cunctis ad magna vocatis
 15 Prelia celicolis. rutilo sic fatur ab ore.
 Immemor en pene veteris. misereque ruine.
 Gens inimica dei.⁹ cum totas fudimus undas
 In faciem terre. vapido quoque mersimus urbes
 Sulphure. nunc rursum pindum sustollit olympo
 20 Elevat et montes scythicos. rupesque nivales.
 Tantalus ideis iterum pomposus in antris
 Divinos tentat nutus. divosque lacessit.
 Et iam calce babel turrim. saxoque quadrato
 Insanus nembroth condit.¹⁰ variasque loquelas
 25 Elicit. et vanos incassum concipit astus.
 En iterum babilon iudeas tendit in urbes
 Edificatque magog. falsas et construit aras.
 Barbara linigeris mystis infecta canopus
 Sacra bovis repetit. combos¹¹ crocodilon adorat.¹²
 30 Coptica tota canem. porrumque sacratur in hortis.¹³
 Omnibus. hirsutas tellus mendesia capras
 Mulget honore deum. gravius modo dicere glisco
 Taurica gens iterum. qua bosphorus equore spumat
 Angusto. mactat cultro trepidantia corda
 35 Diraque sanguineis marcentia guttura cyphis
 Lavit. et in tanto celebrat fera. sacra¹⁴ cruore.
 Qua sol eous fulgenti lampada curru
 [a3'] Exerit. et mediis consistit pronus in agris
 Ethiopum. cultus fuit et qua corniger hamon
 40 Qua furit et boreas. qua colchos parte propinquum

⁸ Cf. Locher, *Historia de Rege Frantie*, p. 397, Act 2, l. 88, with note.

⁹ The phrase occurs also in *Tragedia de Thurcis*, p. 434, Chorus, l. 1.

¹⁰ See Harry Vredevelt, 'Materials for a New Commentary to Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff*', *Daphnis*, 26 (1997), pp. 574-575 (note to *Narrenschiff*, 15, 13-16).

¹¹ A city in Egypt ('Ombus'). See Iuv. 15, 35, as printed in the early editions.

¹² Iuv. 15, 2.

¹³ Cf. Iuv. 15, 8-9.

¹⁴ For 'fera sacra' see Ov. *met.* 13, 454.

- Aspicit et pontum. qua concurrentia saxa
 Luctantur. phrigiis qua quondam victor in oris
 Floruit atrides. qua parte superba corynthos
 Rupibus insedit. thurcus dominatur iniquus
 45 Leges discindit nostras. et templa prophano
 Diruit insultu. multo maiora scelesto
 Facta movens animo. latios spurcare penates
 Adriacumque fretum. iam pannona regna gradivo
 Theutonicumque iugum. mastrucis circuit atris
 50 Ne tamen ethereas leges impune lacesat
 Undique sevitia. rabieque citatus atroci.
 Vade citis alis succinctus chare michael
 Ad fidei proceres. quos nostro numine bella
 Aggredier iubeas. et iussis ferre medelam
 55 Angelus etherei regis cito iussa capessens
 Ad romam tendit cursum. rubeisque galeris
 Indutos patres. affatur voce severa.
 Surgite pontifices. sevis occurrite thurcis
 Iamque ciete tubas. crucifixi signa minacis
 60 Celica. nunc sursum pugnaci tollite dextra
 Concurrent animis bellantibus undique turbe
 Christigenum. manibusque struant mavortia castra.
 Non opus est differre mora tam nobile factum.
 En ego precedam lauro victrice phalanges
 65 Indomitaque manu sevissima pila getharum
 Et scythicas acies disrumpam. victor ubique
 Ecclesie populus. celo famulante triumphos
 Spectabit celebres. nostris et colla catenis
 [a4] Thurcorum constricta videt. torvosque gelonos
 70 Post currus. rhedasque trahet. devictaque regna
 Romulus accipiet letus. magnusque sacerdos.
 Ergo moram belli. tardos et rumpite nexus
 Christus adest. superique simul. victoria dulcis
 Spem prefert alacrem. nihil est quod perditis illos
 75 Auspicii motus fausti. numenque benignum.
 Non est tuta salus hominum. pax nulla per orbem.
 Celica lex christi magno discrimine passim
 Frangitur. et tumidis contunditur anchora petri
 Fluctibus. heu sricula penitus submersa charibdi.
 80 Arma parate manu. conscendite navibus equor
 Nam coniurati venient ad classica venti.
 Et prestabit iter qui fecit thetyos undas
 Felicesque vias. sacram reparabimus urbem
 Melchisedech. dabimusque deo pia thura supremo
 85 Corruet infidus cultus. mahometica sacra
 Ad stygias trudemus aquas. coenumque charonis.

- Non tyros et sidon. nec serviet alta corynthos
 Non lesbos. venerisque paphos. non bellica sparta
 Ad fidei leges redient et pontica regna.
 90 Et quos gypsatis traducit gallia plantis
 Urbs constantini geticis obsessa colonis
 Ad christum rediet grecis comitata manipulis.
 Nil retrahit vestros animos. dextrasque potentes
 Quam turpis luxus. quamque et privatus habendi
 95 Ardor. ab insano veniens errore. quis ergo.
 Est bonus et prudens. et claro stemmate dignus.
 Publica qui refugit tractare negocia. sacrum
 Que cultum christi referunt. nostramque salutem.
 Hec ubi dicta dedit galea vibrante michael
 100 [a4^v] Exarsit summus coetu trepidante sacerdos
 Sextus alexander. rebus quoque consulit arctis.
 Mittit ad externas gentes. mandata. piosque
 Obsequii monitus. quos indulgentia lustris
 Bis decimi cunctis nunc peccatoribus offert.
 105 Atque duces. magnosque viros. quos theutona tellus
 Educat. et fluvius latis quos sequana campis
 Separat. hortantur romani verba legati.
 Colligit impensas magnis comeatibus aptas
 Presidiumque parat. quo sit processus in hostes
 110 Tutior atroces. et sint alimenta ministris
 Christiferi martis. linguas compescite vanas
 Obloquiumque vafrum. quibus indulgentia sancta
 Displicet. et rubei decreta beata senatus.
 At satis esse puto si talia nuncia magnis
 115 Principibus refero. presentis cura laboris
 Quosque prophetie monitus parere fatetur.

Chorus choriambicus.

- Qui res precipites. seclaque temperas.
 Et cursus varios ordine dirigis.
 Cui titan rutilus. lunaque pallida
 120 Reddunt officium cunctaque sydera.¹⁵
 Mortales hominum respice protinus
 Casus. qui dubio remige fluctuant.
 Hos luctus patimur. hecque pericula
 Pro noxis scelerum. flagitiis quoque.
 125 Sic nostras nemesis pernecat aspera
 Mentis et cruciat casibus ultimis.
 Et perdit iuvenes cum senibus rudes.

¹⁵ For ll. 117-120 cf. *Tragedia de Thurcis*, pp. 443-444, ll. 33-37 (with note).

- [a5^r] O tu celicolum rector et arbiter¹⁶
 Presens huic misero consule seculo
 130 Da mortem rigidam damna merentibus.
 Da castis animis stamina vivida
 Da celi dapibus perpetuo frui.

The chorus is an abbreviated version of Locher's poem, 'Ad summum Tonantem choriambicum', published in *Carmen de diluvio Rome effuso* ([Freiburg, after 13 December 1495]), fol. [1]^v. Lines 117-124 form the opening section, ll. 125-132 the concluding section of that poem.

Act 2

Meters. Lines 12-59: Dactylic hexameter. Lines 60-103: Elegiac distich. Lines 104-119: Sapphic stanza.

- 15 **cymbios. et (...) sycambros** Read: 'cymbros. et (...) sycambros' (A). Cf. Locher, *Stult.*, fol. 135^v (Hartl, 108, 17): 'veniunt Cymbri torvi flavique Sycambri'. Locher means the Flemish and Gelderlanders. Cf. Celtis, *Am.* 3, 13, 97-99: 'Haec Batavi madidique habitant loca nota Sicambri | Quos modo Gelrenses Flamineosque vocant | Hollandosque'.
- 16 **Res tua (...) agitur** Cf. Hor. *epist.* 1, 18, 84. After 'agitur' add a period (A), not a colon, as Dietl has it.
- 21 **quem mesta spectat** Read: 'quem mesia [*i.e.*, 'Moesia'] spectat' (A).
- 29-30 **christataque (...) Agmina** Read 'cristataque (...) Agmina' (A).
- 34 **a3^v** Correct the page reference to 'a5^v'. Likewise correct the next two references to 'a6^r' and 'a6^v'.
- 43 **foedamque tyaram** Restore the reading 'foedumque tyaram' (A).
- 44 **mentes pulsare fideles** Read: 'mentes pulsate fideles' (A).
- 47 **de lana sepe caprina** = Hor. *epist.* 1, 18, 15.
- 52 **Descinditque** Read 'Discinditque' (A).
- 59 **In qua (...) possunt spectare** Read: 'In qua (...) possint spectare' (A).
- 66 **Hoc opus. hic labor est** = Verg. *Aen.* 6, 129; Ov. *ars* 1, 453.
- 99 **maximilianus** Read 'maxmilianus' (A). Locher uses the contracted form here for metrical reasons. Cf. ll. 137 and 248 below. At p. 424, ll. 60-61, he tacitly expects the reader to make the contraction.

Act 3

Meter. Lines 120-241: Elegiac distich. Lines 242-257: Fourth Asclepiad (the verses are not indented in either A or Dietl's edition).

¹⁶ Cf. *Tragedia de Thurcis*, Act 2, p. 424, l. 124 (with note).

- 137 **maximiliane** Read 'maxmiliane' (A). Cf. l. 99 above.
 145 **Legibus** Add a period after 'Legibus' (A).
 146 **pugnauiumus** Read 'pugnauimus'.
 151 **Fundimus** Read 'Fudimus' (A).
 176 **extremo divisus littore ponti** Cf. Verg. *ecl.* 1, 66.
 182 **mundus non continet alter** Read: 'mundus nos continet alter' (A).
 192 **scytichum** A medieval variant spelling, but probably a misprint here. Elsewhere Locher writes 'scythicus'.
 193 **niualis** Read 'nivalis'.
 201 **Est mihi nostra fames** Read: 'Est mihi nota fames' (A).
 234 **gessas** The word (here with a medieval spelling for 'gesas') is wrongly scanned with a short first syllable. Elsewhere Locher uses the standard spelling 'gesas'. See Dietl, p. 295: 'lanceis / phrameis / gesis / saryssis'.
 242-243 **pater – serviunt** Cf. *Tragedia de Thurcis*, p. 443, Act. 5, Heroicum carmen, ll. 33-37 (with note).
 248 **maximilianum** Read 'maxmilianum' (A). Cf. l. 99 above, with note.

Act 4

Meter. Lines 258-303: Elegiac distich.

- Heading **de bello differentes** Read: 'de bello disserentes' (A).
 261 **linguere** Read 'linquere' (A).
 270 **Littore brentensii** Correct this misprint (A) to 'Littore brentesii'.
 279 **emerrite** Correct this misprint (A) to 'emerite'.
 286 **Qui vi** The reading in A is 'Qui ni', a misprint for 'Quidni'.
 Postscript **Antonius de hattstat** Read: 'Anthonius de hattstat' (A).

IV. IUDICIUM PARIDIS

For the Cracow reprints of 1522 (based on A) and 1539 (based on W) see Tadeusz Bieńkowski, 'O wydaniach *Iudicium Paridis* Jakuba Lochera', *Mean-der*, 15 (1960), 243-251.

- Subtitle **de tribus deabus. et de triplici hominum vita** Read: 'de tribus deabus. et triplici hominum vita' (A). (Dietl quotes the subtitle correctly on p. 448.)
 Image Dietl misquotes some of the wording around the image in S. To the right of the image, the reading is: 'ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΑ ΑΤΙΒΑ. ΙΥΝΟ.'. Beneath the image, S reads: 'ΦΗΛΑΡΓΙΚΑ VOLVP-TVARIA. VENVS.'.

***Ad lectorem Epigramma* (pp. 464-465)**

Meter: Elegiac distich.

Apparatus In transcribing the epigram in *W*, Dietl prints 'coniux' for 'coniunx'; 'lector' for 'Lector'; 'Mox' for 'mox'. In the second line she tacitly corrects 'arcisque' to 'artisquē'.

***Dedicatory letter* (pp. 465-466)**

- 6 **calamum (...) niloticam papyrum** Cf. *Historia de Rege Frantie*, p. 406, dedicatory letter, l. 14, with note: 'biblos et cannas niloticas'.
- 8 **subitus (...) calor** Stat. *silv.* 1, praef., of poetic inspiration. Cf. Locher, *Poemation de Lazaro*, dedicatory letter, p. 505, l. 3.
- 11-12 **et portentosa carmina** The reading in *S* is 'portentosa et carmina'.
- 12 **Ennius** The reading in *S* is 'Enmus'.
- 13-14 **et siqui ceteri sunt** Read: 'et si qui ceteri sunt' (*A*). The reading in *S* is: 'et si qui certi sunt'.
- 14 **sartago loquendi venit in linguas** Cf. Pers. 1, 80-81.
- 15 **cur quorum** Read 'aut quorum' (*A*).
- 15 **Cum tam** Read 'Cum iam' (*A*). (Make the same correction at p. 266 in Dietl's book.)
- 24 **curarum. estu** Verg. *Aen.* 8, 19.
- 24-25 **oculis linceis** Hor. *sat.* 1, 2, 90-91, as printed in the early editions.
- 25 **totus oculus** Plaut. *Aul.* 555: 'Argus (...) qui oculus totus fuit'.
- 26 **an spurca. lasciva** The reading in *S* is 'an spurca. an Lasciva'.
- 26 **que helenam** The reading in *S* is 'qur Helenam'.
- 28 **Huic epistole** Read 'huic epistole' (*A*).
- 30 **.M.cccccc.ii.** After this date (written out in *S*), *S* adds 'pie dedicatur' (not 'pie deditatum', as Dietl has it).

***Argumentum totius spectaculi* (pp. 466-467)**

- Heading **Iacobo Philomuso** The reading in *S* is: 'Iacobo Locher Philomuso'.
- 2-3 **quas nos latini (...) nuncupamus** Correct this reading (*A*) to: 'quas nos latine (...) nuncupamus'. (This is also the reading in Fulgentius. See Dietl, p. 249.)
- 19 **Id ita considerantes** Correct this reading (*A*) to: 'Id itaque considerantes' (the reading in the early Fulgentius editions, including Locher's own edition).
- 24 **deligendi** The reading in *S* is 'diligendi'.

In transcribing the argumentum of *W* in her apparatus criticus (p. 466), Dietl prints '[T]riplex' for 'TRiplex' (The 'T' is printed as an ornamental initial.) She goes on to print 'quae sit perspicax' for 'quod sit perspicax'; 'cognitatione' for

'cognitione'; 'excelluerit' for 'excelluerint'; 'Id ipsum' for 'Idipsum'; and (in the last sentence) 'pulcerrimam' for 'pulcherrimam'.

Act 1

Meter. Lines 1-20: Elegiac distich. Lines 21-32: Dactylic hexameter. Lines 33-74: Elegiac distich. Lines 75-82: Dactylic hexameter. Lines 83-96: Elegiac distich.

- Heading Dietl misquotes the prologue's subheading in *W*. Read: 'silentium a spectatoribus precatur'.
- 4 **Mixta iocis variis seria** Cf. l. 2 of the prologue to Aesop's fables, as translated by 'Walter of England' (Anonymus Neveleti): 'Dulcius arrident seria mixta [*al.*: picta] iocis'. See Julia Bastin (ed.), *Receuil général des Isopets*, II (Paris, 1930), 7. A standard school-book, Walter's collection was familiar to all students in Locher's day. Cf. Celtis, *Am.*, praef. 48: 'dulcius arriderent seria mixta iocis'.
- 11 **Sermo – passim** The reading in *W* is not 'Vox mea passim volitat', as Dietl has it, but 'Vox mea nunc passim volitat'.
- 13-14 **caneasque per omnes** Read: 'caveasque per omnes' (*A S W*). The sidenote in *W* reads: 'Fabulae rō.'. This does not mean 'Fabulae romanae', as Dietl imagines, but 'Fabulae ratio'.
- 21 **nostro de sanguine cretus** Angelo Poliziano, *Silvae*, 3, 172, ed. Charles Fantazzi (Cambridge, MA, 2004), p. 80.
- 28 **considite** The reading in *S* is not 'conscendite', as Dietl has it, but 'consedite'.
- 29 **Exhilarate** The reading in *S* is not 'Exhilerate', as Dietl has it, but 'Exhilerare'.

Argumentum (p. 469)

The printer has mistakenly inserted this summary into the text of Act 1, rather than immediately after the 'Argumentum totius spectaculi' or immediately after the prologue (as is done in *S*). *W* solves the problem by simply omitting the argumentum. The text is not by Locher himself, as one might assume. It is taken from Boccaccio, *Genealogie*, 12, 50, 1-2, 'De Peleo filio Eaci'.

Unlike the pattern elsewhere, the line numbering here includes the heading. The usual numbering system is, however, retained in the apparatus criticus. Exactly the same problem occurs at *Historia de Rege Frantie*, prologue, p. 391.

- 2 **fuit filius** In *S* 'fuit' is omitted.
- 3 **sic et** In *S* 'sic' is omitted.
- 8 **adeo cum exterruit** Read: 'adeo eum exterruit' (*A S*).
- 9 **ab eodem sibi suasum sed** Correct this reading (*A*) to: 'ab eodem sibi suasum est', as in Boccaccio, *Genealogie*, 12, 50, 1.

- 15 **sendentes** Read 'sedentes' (A).
 19 **oblectationibus** Correct this reading (A) to 'oblationibus', as in Boccaccio, *Genealogie*, 12, 50, 2.
 21 **non fuerat vocata** In Boccaccio, *Genealogie*, 12, 50, 2, the word order is as follows: 'vocata non fuerat'.

Act 1 (continued)

- 42 **Et (...) et** Changed in W to 'Aut (...) vel'.
 49 **palladis oestrum** In W the reading is 'pallados oestrum'. On p. 243, Dietl translates the phrase as 'Raserei wider die Vernunft'. This can hardly be correct. The meaning must be 'gadfly [fury] sent by Pallas'. Cf. *Ludicrum drama*, p. 496, l. 12, where Gerontius laments that his wife is 'oestro percita palladio'. We should not forget that Pallas-Minerva is not only goddess of the arts, but also goddess of war and strife. Cf. *Iudicium Paridis*, p. 478, ll. 257-258, where Pallas warns Paris: 'Sum dea martis atrox. in te miseranda citabo. | Prelia. gorgoneis incipienda tubis'. Hence 'palladis oestrum' means 'the fury of strife'. Cf. further Jakob Locher, *Nenia de obitu et laude illustrissimi principis Sigismundi archiducis austrie* ([Freiburg, 1496]), Proludium, sig. a1^v, where Locher criticizes obscure, unreadable, and alarmist poets: 'Hos phoebus stimulat furiis oestroque minerva'. For a parallel expression cf. *Tragedia de Thurcis*, p. 437, Act 4, l. 384: 'dyabolico vexatus oestro'.
 53 **Tu potes unanimes fratres disiungere** Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 7, 335, of the serpent-haired Allecto (cf. ll. 59-60 below!): 'tu potes unanimos armare in proelia fratres'.
 58 **Tosta** In W the reading is 'Torva', not 'toru', as Dietl has it.
 60 **dolus** This is the reading in W. The reading in S is 'dolos' (following A).
 61-72 **Livor in ore – anxietas** As the marginal note in W indicates, Locher adapts Ovid's description of Invidia. See Ov. *met.* 2, 775-782.
 61 **macies** In W the word is misprinted as 'mauis' (not 'mauies', as Dietl has it).
 64 **laceret** In W the reading is 'lacerat'.
 66 **dira** In W the reading is 'dura'.
 70 **Successosque bonus** Correct this reading (A S) to 'successusque bonos' (W).
 73 **In te suspendis laqueo** Emend this reading (A) to: 'Quin te suspendis laqueo'. Cf. Plaut. *Men.* 912: 'quin tu te suspendis?'. W attempts a different emendation: 'Nam te suspendis laqueo' (W).
 73-74 **quo perdere tentas Forte alium. bestia digna vadis** As printed in A S, the pentameter is incomplete: a word of two or three syllables is omitted before the caesura. The gap can be filled with the help of M. Insert 'stigiis' as an epithet with 'vadis'. Cf. Ov. *Ib.* 224;

Locher, *Stult.*, fol. 103^r (Hartl, 92, 60): 'Praecipitant Stygiis corda superba vadis'. *W* rewrites ll. 73-74 as follows: '(...) quo prodere tentas | Forte alium, tantis bestia digna malis'.

- 74a **Iupiter – constituat** The reading in *W* is: 'Iupiter Mercurio negotium dat pro dearum discordia ut iudicem eligat Paridem'.
Paridem in iudicem constituat *Pace* Dietl, this is also the reading in *S*. Emend the reading of *A S* to: 'Paridem iudicem constituat'.
 82 **nec sit** In *W* the reading is 'ne sit'.
 82a **Mercurius – iacentem** The reading in *W* is: 'Mercurius Parim sub arbore iacentem affatur'.

Act 2

Meter: Elegiac distich.

- 100 **Tris (...) atque** In *W* the reading is 'Tres (...) tumque'.
 111 **magnum promittite montes** Pers. 3, 65.
 112 **Pollicitis dives quolibet esse potest** As *W* indicates, the verse is adapted from Ov. *ars* 1, 444.
 132 **nivei lactea signa poli** Cf. Locher, 'Viri prudentis descriptio', *Stult.*, fol. 129^r (Hartl, 112, 54): '(...) nitidi lactea signa poli'.
 134 **Cognosces – gerunt** The reading in *W* is: 'Lucida cognosces quicquid et astra gerunt'.
 142 **Constans – providus** = Locher, 'Viri prudentis descriptio', *Stult.*, fol. 128^v (Hartl, 112, 8).
 143-144 **Pectus habet – recta gradu** = Locher, 'Viri prudentis descriptio', *Stult.*, fol. 128^v (Hartl, 112, 15-16).
 145-146 **Iudex ipse sui – grata terit** = Locher, 'Viri prudentis descriptio', *Stult.*, fol. 128^v (Hartl, 112, 11-12).
 163 **suadentis** Misprinted in *W* as 'suadentes'.
 181 **quod totus possidet orbis** Cf. Ov. *met.* 7, 59.
 183 **dextra** The reading in *S W* (following *A*) is 'dextro'.
 186 **Sit modo priamides. sic quoque iustus eris** Emend this reading (*A S W*) to: 'Sic modo priamides. sic quoque iustus eris'.
 187 **Excelsam** The reading in *W* is 'Sublimen' (not 'Sublimem', as Dietl has it).
 190 **Secessus – quoque** The reading in *W* is: 'Secessus animi et comoda plura tui'.
 196 **nunc** Omitted in *S*.
 198 **imperiumve** The reading in *S* is 'imperiumque'. In *W* it is 'imperiumque ne'.
 201 **spectare** Schwenter first wrote 'spectabit' (not 'spectabet', as Dietl has it). Realizing his error, he then corrected the word to 'spectare'.
 213 **Lusus – iocorum** Cf. Locher, 'Obiectio Voluptatis criminantis Virtutem', *Stult.*, fol. 132^r (Hartl, 114c, 29-30): 'nostro manant de pectore molles | Deliciae, risus et cantica plena iocorum'.

- 216 **atque** The reading in *W* is 'inde'.
- 220 **Ledeam** The reading in *W* is 'Loedeam', both in the text and in the sidenote. (The apparatus criticus is in error.)
- 227 **providentia** The reading in *W* is 'solertia'. In the sidenote, *W* reads 'voluptuarii', not 'voluptarii', as Dietl has it.
- 231 **revocaret** This is the reading of *W*. In *A S* the reading is 'revoraret'.
- 235 The marginal note in *S* is 'Virtuosa. Pallas.' (not 'Virusa Pallas', as Dietl has it).
- 236 The marginal note in *W* is 'Cytherea Venus' (i.e., 'Cytherea' means 'Venus'). Dietl's apparatus criticus does not make the connection.
- 237-238 **Virtus est – honor** In *W* these verses are preceded by raised double commas, signaling an especially noteworthy passage.
- 237 **donumque** This is also the reading in *W*. The reading in *S* is 'domumque', as in *A*.
- 247-248 The sidenote in *W* is 'Alter sardanapalus.'
- 254 **sacre** In *S* the (unmetrical) reading is 'sacra'.
- 259-260 **gentis (...) mee** Read 'gentis (...) tue' (*A S*). *W* prints 'gentis (...) tuae'.
- 261 **spumifere** The sidenote in *W* is: 'Spumiferae .i. ex maris spuma genitae.'
- 265 **sonabit** The reading in *W* is 'sonabat'.
- 274a **certant** Omitted in *W*.
- 275 **De ramo** The reading in *W* is 'Da ramo'.
- 276 **Cypria** Add a period after 'Cypria' (*A*).
- nunc** The reading in *W* is 'iam'.
- 282 **rompheis** In *W* (as in *A*) the reading is 'rumpheis' (a medieval variant spelling).
- 285 **vereor tectum pugnare** Read: 'vereor. tecum pugnare' (*A*).

Act 3

Meter. Lines 299-376: Elegiac distich. Lines 377-380: Dactylic hexameter.

- 306 **deservique** Read 'deseruique'.
- 325 **Rustica sim sane – pudoris** Taken from Ov. *epist.* 17, 15.
- 327 **me sic** The reading in *W* is 'sic me'.
- 337 **animum** The reading in *W* is 'animos' (not 'animas', as Dietl has it).
- 345 **felicior** This is the reading in *W*. Read 'felitior' (*A*).
- 346a **Cupido – Paride** In *W* the final word of the heading is 'proficiscitur' (not 'profisiscitur', as Dietl has it).
- 347 **valentis** In *W* the reading is 'iacentis'. (In the Munich copy a contemporary hand corrects that reading to: 'potentis | valentis'.)
- 349-350 The marginal note in *S* reads 'Cupidinem describit.' (not 'Cupidinem descripit', as Dietl has it).

- 361 **clerum** In *S* the reading is 'celerum'.
- 364a-380 **Abscedit Paris – fistula cantum** In the apparatus criticus, read: 'fehlt *S*, stattdessen: Sequitur actus quartus ac ultimus Huius spectaculi'. *S* then offers a report about the preparations of the Greeks for war against Troy and the sacrifice in Aulis. The source of this passage — hitherto unidentified — is William Wheatley's commentary on Boeth. *cons.* 4 *carm.* 7. See *Boetius de Philosophico consolatu, sive de consolatione philosophię cum figuris ornatisimis noviter expolitus* (Strasbourg, 1501), fol. CIX^r. On this commentary see C. H. Kneepkens, 'The Reception of Boethius' "Consolatio" in the Later Middle Ages: Trevet, Wheteley and the Question-Commentary, Oxford, Exeter C., 28', in Andreas Bihrer and Elisabeth Stein (eds), *Nova de veteribus: Mittel- und neulateinische Studien für Paul Gerhard Schmidt* (Munich, 2004), pp. 679-712, in particular, pp. 684-686. Schwenter copies out the commentary verbatim in the first paragraph. He allows himself a much freer hand in the second paragraph.
- I may add here that the likewise unidentified passage, 'Hec D<ivus> Fulgencius', which Schwenter copies on fol. 6^v (lower half) comes from Boccaccio, *Genealogie*, 11, 2, 9-12. Schwenter appears to misunderstand the attribution 'Hec Fulgentius' in Boccaccio's text. It refers to the preceding section, not the one he goes on to quote.
- 367-368 **saltate (...) cupimus** Read 'saltare (...) cupimus' (*A W*).
- 369 **lasciviaque verba** Correct this misprint (*A*) to 'lascivaque verba' (*W*).
- 371 **saltare. capisco** Read 'saltare cupisco' (*A W*).

Act 4

Meter: Elegiac distich.

- 380b **Menelaus – esse** The lemmata in the apparatus criticus do not match the edited text. The reading in *W* is not 'abductam vxorem conqueritur', as Dietl has it, but 'uxorem abductam conqueritur'.
- 393 **Quid fit** The reading in *W* is 'Quid sit'.
- latio** Correct this misprint (*A S W*) to 'latro'. Cf. *Spectaculum de regibus*, p. 457, ll. 206-207.
- 400 **vetare** The reading in *S* is 'vitare'.
- 401 **dextram potius** The reading in *W* is 'potius dextram'.
- 403 **mediter** Correct this reading (*A S*) to 'meditor' (*M W*).
- 428 **Aiax (...) antimachusque** Locher must mean 'Aiax (...) antilochusque', as Martha Lethner notes in her dissertation, 'Das "Iudicium Paridis de pomo aureo" des Iacobus Locher Philomusus' (Vienna, 1951), p. 149.
- 436a **Preco – bellum** In *W*, an adapted form of this heading is printed in the margin.
- 442 **Frangere** Add a period after 'Frangere' (*A*).

- 446a **Vite – Venere** In *W*, an adapted form of this heading is printed in the margin.
- 465-470 **Edere – redit** Paraphrasing Sardanapalus' epitaph, as given in Strabo, *De situ orbis*, 14, 5, 9. I quote the text from Gregorio Tifer-nate's translation, as published at [Venice] in 1494, fol. 123^r:
 “Sardanapalus, Anacindaraxis filius, Anchialem et Tarsum una die condidit. Ede, bibe, lude.” Et:
 Cum te mortalem noris, presentibus exple
 Deliciis animum. Post mortem nulla voluptas.
 Namque ego sum pulvis, qui nuper tanta tenebam.
 Haec habeo quae edi quaeque exaturata libido
 Hausit; at illa manent multa et praeclara relictæ.
 Hoc sapiens vitae mortalibus est documentum’.
- Cf. Locher, *Poemation de Lazaro mendico*, p. 508, ll. 29-30; p. 509, l. 73. Locher quotes part of Sardanapalus' epitaph also in *Ora-tio*, sig. a4^v-b1^r.
- 466 **Haustibus – docet** Cf. *Libellus dramaticus*, p. 528, l. 272, with note.
- 467 The sidenote in *W* reads ‘Sardanapoli’ (not ‘Sardanapali’, as Dietl has it).
- 472a In the sidenote, *W* reads ‘consistit’ (not ‘sonstitit’, as Dietl has it).
- 477 **Concha – semine nata** Cf. Serv. A. 5, 801: ‘Venerem dicit a mari procreatam. et ut fert fabula, Caelus pater fuit Saturni. cui cum ira-tus filius falce virilia amputavit, delapsa in mare sunt: de quorum cruore et maris spuma nata dicitur Venus’.
- 485 **thesauros donat avaros** Correct this reading (*A*) to: ‘thesauros donat avaris’. *W* solves the problem by changing ‘avaros’ to ‘abunde’.
- 489 **Hec mercatorem – ad indos** Cf. Hor. *epist.* 1, 1, 45: ‘impiger extremos curris mercator ad Indos, l per mare pauperiem fugiens [cf. l. 486 above], per saxa, per ignis’.
- 495 **Hanc – laborque** The sidenote in *W* reads: ‘Activæ vitae comites’..
- 500 **Huncce** Read ‘huncce’ (*A*).
- 501 **celsasque domos** The reading in *W* is ‘celsamque domum’.
- 522 **ad superos que vita tuta patet** Emend this reading (*A*) to: ‘ad superos qua via tuta patet’ (*M W*).
- 551-552 **Hisce soloecismos et torvi gestibus oris Barbariem. iuvenis vin-cere quisque potest** Dietl's emendation of ‘soloecismus’ (*A*) to ‘soloecismos’ merely exchanges one error for another. Emend ‘soloecismus’ to ‘soloecismis’. The meaning is: ‘Through [drama-tic performances like] these, every student can rid himself of barba-rous speech, with its solecisms and uncouth facial gestures’. (Cf. Dietl's translation on p. 265.)
- Dietl misquotes the colophon of *W*. Read: ‘Impressum Viennae Austriae per Ioannem Singrenium, Expensis Bartholomei Werlen, Bibliop<olae>.’.

Ad lectorem (p. 490)

Meter: Elegiac distich. Dietl numbers the lines as if they were part of the play itself.

559 **Sinon** Read 'Si non' (A).

V. LUDICRUM DRAMA DE SENE AMATORE

Title epigram (p. 494)

Meter: Elegiac distich.

1 **rugoseque** In *R* this vocative form is altered to a (metrically impossible) ablative: 'rugosoque'.

Dedicatory letter (pp. 494-495)

Heading **Domino Iacobo Locher (...) M. S. Sulgentis** Dietl expands the initials 'D J L' (A), but not 'M. S.'. For 'Sulgentis' read 'Sulgensis' (A; Dietl, p. 282).

2 **spurcissimas defecate veneris (...) erumnas** The epithet 'defecate' cannot be correct. Locher intends something like 'defedate' (i.e., 'defoedatae'), 'defrenate', or 'defamate'. For 'defamate' cf. Gell. 14, 2, 10: 'spurcissimaeque vitae ac defamatissimae'.

4-5 **ridiculos pre se fert** The reading in A (not recorded in the apparatus criticus) is 'ridiculus presefert'.

8-9 **adhuc** The reading in A is 'aduc' (a medieval variant of 'adhuc').

Argumentum (p. 495)

Meter: Dactylic hexameter.

Play

1 **dicacule** The form 'diacule' (A) is a common Middle and Neo-Latin variant. Cf., however, Dietl, p. 137: 'histriones dicaculos'; *Ludicrum drama*, p. 498, l. 74: 'diccaculis'.

5 **intra parietes domesticos** The entire dialogue takes place inside the couple's home, not (as Dietl states on p. 494) 'auf offenem Platz'. Cf. p. 496, l. 12: 'meis in edibus'. In other words, Locher's drama starts where Plautus' *Asinaria* leaves off. Dietl's misconception causes her to make a bad emendation at p. 502, l. 143 ('Intro' altered to 'Intra').

6 **promeritus** Misread as 'permeritus' in *R*.

8 **qui num** Correct this misprint (A) to 'quoniam'.

- 12 **oestro (...) palladio** Cf. *Iudicium Paridis*, p. 470, Act 1, l. 49, with note: 'palladis oestrum'.
- 18 **quid tam** Misread as 'quod tam' in *R*.
pre se fers The reading in *A* is 'presefers'. Emend this to 'pretefers' (or, if preferred, to 'pre te fers' (*R*)).
- 21 **Ira (...) brevis furor est** Hor. *epist.* 1, 2, 62: 'Ira furor brevis est' (noted by Schönbeck, p. 358); Macr. *Sat.* 4, 2, 9: 'ira, quae brevis furor est'.
- 27 **proh pudor** Read 'proch pudor' (*A*).
lambecula Correct this misprint (*A*) to 'labecula' (*P*).
- 31 **gnato nostro** In *R* this reading is altered to 'nostro gnato'.
- 31-32 **O turpem patrem! turpiorem filium!** Cf. Hor. *carm.* 1, 16, 1: 'O matre pulchra filia pulchrior'.
- 38 **sepulchralis, umbra** Read 'sepulchralis umbra' (*A*).
- 51 **palam et vestes** Correct this misprint (*A*) to: 'pallam et vestes' (*P*).
- 62 **quod** Read 'quid' (*A R*).
- 72 **Achorontis** Correct this misprint (*A*) to 'Acherontis' (*R*).
- 73 **bilem vitream** Pers. 3, 8 (noted by Schönbeck, p. 358); Locher, *Historia de Rege Frantie*, p. 406, dedicatory letter, l. 15.
- 75-76 **compesco labellum** Iuv. 1, 160.
- 76 **malefacta toto** Correct this misprint (*A*) to 'malefacta tota' (*R*).
- 86 **συμπληγάδες** Read 'συμπληγάδας' (*A R*).
- 88-89 **luxuria – foedissima est** Cf. Cic. *off.* 1, 34, 123: 'luxuria vero cum omni aetati turpis, tum senectuti foedissima est'.
- 89 **exastuant** Correct this misprint (*A*) to 'exestuant' ('exaestuant').
- 90 **καὶ – Μῶρος** Read: 'καὶ σὺ γέρων εἶ καὶ μῶρος' (Schönbeck, p. 357). For the proverb see Suet. *Claud.* 15, 4.
- 92-93 **ianua est diaboli: ictus scorpionis** Cf. Ps. Hier., *epist.* 42, 'Ad Oceanum. De vita clericorum', *PL*, XXX, col. 289 A-B: 'ianua diaboli, via iniquitatis, scorpionis percussio'.
- 94-96 **melius est enim – ac litigiosa** Cf. Vulg. *prov.* 21, 19 (Schönbeck, p. 358): 'melius est habitare in terra deserta quam cum muliere rixosa et iracunda'.
- 103 **verna tecum verba funditat** Cf. Plaut. *Amph.* 1033.
- 104 **eloquere quod iubet** The reading in *A* is 'eloquere quid iubet'. Emend this to: 'eloquere quid lubet'.
- 111 **virum** The correction is made by a contemporary hand in the Zwickau copy of *A*.
- 123 **Eristratis** Misprinted in *R* as 'Eristrati'.
- 138 **ζῶη καὶ ψυχή** Read: 'ζῶη καὶ ψυχή' (*R*). See Iuv. 6, 195.
- 139-140 **sine ut te amplector que (...) suavium ori meo prebere potes**
Restore the reading of *A*: 'sine ut te amplecter qua (...) suavium ori meo prebere potes'. (The misreading 'que' is also found in *R*). The form 'amplecter' (*A*) for 'amplectar' is an archaism. It is also commonly found in medieval and Renaissance Latin. See Forcellini, s.v.

- 'amplector', and, for example, the old editions of Plaut. *Truc.* 942: 'vin te amplecter?'.
- 139 **dulci melle dulcius suaviū** Locher combines Plaut. *Truc.* 371, 'melle dulci dulcius', with Catull. 99, 2, 'suaviolum dulci dulcius ambrosia'.
- 143 **Intra** Restore the reading of A: 'Intro'.
oblivio ominū rerū Read: 'oblivio omnium rerum' (A).

***Ad spectatorem* (p. 502)**

Meter: Elegiac distich.

- 3-4 **Exemplar vite – notat** Cf. Hor. *ars* 317.

VI. POEMATION DE LAZARO MENDICO***Ad lectorem* (p. 505)**

Meter: Elegiac distich.

***Dedicatory letter* (pp. 505-506)**

- 2-3 **filo tenui contextum** Cf. Hor. *epist.* 2, 1, 225; Locher, *Poemation de Lazaro*, p. 514, Ad censorem, l. 236: 'Conditus filo tenui'.
- 3 **subito calore** Cf. *Iudicium Paridis*, p. 465, dedicatory letter, l. 8, with note.
- 6 **emuncte naris** Hor. *sat.* 1, 4, 8.
rhinocerotis nasus Cf. *Tragedia de Thurcis*, p. 414, prefatio, l. 3, with note.
- 12 **oleum et impensam (...) perdis** Cf. Hier. *epist.* 57, 12 (quoted in Erasmus, *Adagia* 1, 4, 62): 'oleum perdit et impensas, qui bovem mittit ad ceroma'.
- 23 **non tam (...) quem** Read: 'non tam (...) quam' (A).
- 33 **comis** Read 'communis' (A).
- 34 **epistula** Read 'epistola'.
stimulis gloriae Cic. *Arch.* 29.

***Epigramma ad eundem* (p. 506)**

Meter: Dactylic hexameter.

***Argumentum* (pp. 506-507)**

- 14 **phoebo** The misprint 'plēbo' (A) is corrected by a contemporary hand in the Munich copy.

Ad lectorem (p. 507)

Meter: Elegiac distich.

Poemation

Meter. Lines 1-30: Elegiac distich. Lines 31-214: Dactylic hexameter. Lines 215-234: Elegiac distich.

- 21 **Nam patrii latices: haud nostris montibus vue Sufficiunt nate** Dietl overlooks one misprint and creates another. Read: 'Non patrii latices: haud nostris montibus uve | Sufficiunt nate'. For the emended phrase 'Non (...) haud' cf. *Historia de Rege Frantie*, p. 405, Conclusio, l. 4: 'Non mihi (...) haud'. Also cf. *Historia de Rege Frantie*, p. 401, Lamentatio elegiaca, l. 7: 'Nil prosunt (...) haud'.
- 29 **post mortem nulla voluptas** = *Iudicium Paridis*, p. 487, l. 469 (with note at ll. 465-470).
- 40 **Nestoreosque** Correct this misprint (A) to 'Nestoreosque'.
- 59 **Dum nos fata sinunt** = Prop. 2, 15, 23.
dum vescimur aura = Baptista Mantuanus, *Parthenice secunda sive Catharinaria*, 2, 461. See CCCM, CXIX A, ed. A.P. Orbán (Turnhout, 1992), p. 399.
- 65 **et inexorabile fatum** = Verg. *georg.* 2, 491.
- 73 **deliciis (...) presentibus explet** Recalling Sardanapalus' epitaph. Cf. note at *Iudicium Paridis*, ll. 465-470.
- 78 **Silibet** Correct this misprint (A) to 'Si libet'.
- 130 **rector divus** Restore the reading 'rector divum' (A). Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 8, 572; Sen. *Phaedr.* 680.
- 189 **tantulus** Correct this misprint (A) to 'tantalus'.
- 192 **styx** Restore the reading 'stryx' (A). It is the owl, not the Styx, that hoots.
- 207 **Divitiisque (...) que sunt fomenta malorum** Cf. Baptista Mantuanus, *Parthenice secunda sive Catharinaria*, 3, 136-137: 'Concaedimus ergo | Divitias Orcho, quia sunt fomenta malorum'. See CCCM, CXIX A, ed. A.P. Orbán (Turnhout, 1992), p. 412.
- 229 **borream** Correct this misprint (A) to 'boream'. (The correction is made by a contemporary hand in the Munich copy).
- 230 **eolus** Read 'ëous' (A).

Ad censorem (p. 514)

Meter. Sapphic stanza. The verses are numbered as if they were part of the drama proper.

- 236 **Conditus filo tenui** Cf. Hor. *epist.* 2, 1, 225; Locher, *Poemation de Lazaro*, p. 505, dedicatory letter, ll. 2-3: 'filo tenui contextum'.

VII. LIBELLUS DRAMATICUS NOVUS SED NON MUSTEUS

Prologus (p. 518)

Though the copyist divides the prologue into short lines of unequal length, the piece is not in verse, but in prose, just like the 'prothesis' of the second and third act. Only the choruses in this play are verse.

11 **sibillus** Read 'sibulus' (*ms G*), a Middle and Neo-Latin variant form.

Act 1

- 9 **quod ei fama rumificat** Read: 'quod tibi fama rumificat' (*ms*).
- 13 **montanus Liguribus** Read 'montanis Liguribus' (*ms*).
- 15 **claustris** The copyist first wrote 'clastris', but then corrected the mistake by adding a 'u' over the 'a'. (For a similar correction see *Libellus dramaticus*, p. 530, Chorus tertius, l. 9.)
- 16 **Alpes Rheticus** Read 'Alpes Rheticas' (*ms G*).
- 19 **Langobardi** Read 'Longobardi' (*ms*).
- 21-22 **huc usque** Read 'hucusque' (*ms*).
- 22 **sollicitate volvo** Read 'sollicite volvo' (*ms*).
- 26 **charrissimis** Correct this reading (*ms*) to 'charissimis'.
- 36 **Renniensesque** Read 'Remnensesque' (*ms*).
- 37 **societatem** Read 'sotietatem' (*ms*).
- 38 **instrictusissimus** Correct 'instrictissimus' (*ms*) to 'instructissimus'. (Dietl gets it right in the lemma of the apparatus criticus, but then misprints the manuscript reading.)
- 40 **triste de galeis** Read: 'cristę de galeis' (*ms G*).
- 41 **quodam** Wrongly changed to 'quaedam' in *G*.
- 49 **sepulture honor supremis** Correct this reading (*ms*) to: 'sepulture honor supremus'.
- 55 **in tantum rerum turbine** Correct this reading (*ms*) to: 'in tanto rerum turbine'.
- 58 **Catholicis** In *ms* the reading is 'Chatholicis'.
- 65 **commissimus** Read 'commisimus' (*ms G*).
- sedem Apostolicum** Read 'sedem Apostolicam' (*ms G*).
- 66-67 **procurato. Oratoris quoque munere (...) fungi** Emend this reading (*ms G*) to: 'procuratoris. Oratoris quoque munere (...) fungi'.
- 68 **Sanctissime** Dietl misconstrues the abbreviation. Read 'Beatissime'.
- 69 **sermonibus** Dietl misconstrues the abbreviation. Read 'rationibus'.
- 76 **neque sors neque rectum honestumque** Diet's emendation of 'fors' (*ms*) to 'sors' exchanges one error for another. Read: 'neque fas neque rectum honestumque'.
- 76-77 **At iam tuis mandatis pareo** The legate has just expressed doubts about his fitness for the daunting task entrusted to him. But nonetheless he is determined to accept the assignment. Emend 'At iam' (*ms*) to 'Attamen'.

- 80 **deus noster qui in celis habitat** Cf. Vulg. *psalm.* 112, 5.
 81 **hymno – salutandus est** Dietl supposes that these words are a 'Regieanweisung' which has made its way into the text (pp. 334 and 521). The words, in fact, complete the preceding clause, 'Quod quidem ceptum ut deus noster (...) secundet'.

***Chorus Asclepiadeus* (p. 521)**

Meter: Lesser asclepiads.

- 1 **Stellati (...) conditor etheris** Cf. Boeth. *cons.* 1 *carm.* 5, 1: 'O stelliferi conditor orbis'.
 16 **Quis sanguis poterit fundere innocuos.** The verse is corrupt. First, 'sanguis' has a nominative ending where one expects an accusative. Secondly, 'fundere innocuos' creates an impermissible hiatus. Finally, 'innocuos' is metrically impossible and, moreover, has a plural masculine ending that matches nothing in the clause. Locher may have intended something like this: 'Quis sanguen poterit fundere non nocens?'. For 'non nocens' = 'innocens' cf. *Tragedia de Thurcis*, p. 434, Chorus, l. 9, where 'non iusta' = 'iniusta'.

Act 2

- 83 **adura** Read 'actura' (*ms*).
 84 **lachrymans** Read 'lacrymans' (*ms*).
 86 **tempestive** Emend 'tempestivier' (*ms*) to 'tempestivior'.
 89 **Angleterrie** A barbarism, gratuitously substituted for 'Anglerie' (*ms*). The reference is to Angera in Lombardy. Cf. *Libellus dramaticus*, p. 527, l. 244, where Dietl retains the reading 'Angleriam'.
 90 **proprius accedam** Read 'propius accedam' (*ms*).
 91-92 **O si divinum flamen tam validam linguam ac prepotentem concederet** The copyist has evidently omitted a word after 'prepotentem'. It can be restored via the immediately preceding chorus, p. 521, ll. 5-6: 'Linguam pneuma tuam flectat et organum | Mentis (...) tue (...) dirigat'. Read: '(...) validam linguam ac prepotentem mentem'. (Here 'mentem' was a victim of haplography caused by *homoioteleuton*.)
 93 **Demostheneam** The manuscript reads 'Demosteneam'.
 100 **Magumeticosque** The manuscript reads 'Magumericosque'. Correct this to 'Mahumeticosque'.
 102 **sermonibus** Dietl misconstrues the abbreviation. Read 'rationibus'.
 108 **quibus cum** Read 'quibuscum'.
 110 **regum rex. et dominantium dominus** Cf. Vulg. *I. Tim.* 6, 15: 'rex regum et Dominus dominantium'.
 125 **non est pontificis negotii** Dietl misconstrues the abbreviation. Read: 'non est presentis negotii' (*G*).

- 155 **tum tuis** Read 'cum tuis' (*ms G*).
 156 **slentio** Read 'silentio' (*ms G*).
 159 **ex acta mentis trutina** Read: 'exacta mentis trutina' (*ms*).
 163 **effuerescenti** Read 'effervescenti'.
 164-165 **Propudiosum. Caroli Strumosi. facinus** For the historical background see Marcel Angres (ed.), *Triumphus Veneris: Ein allegorisches Epos von Heinrich Bebel* (Münster, 2003), pp. 195-196, note at *Triumphus Veneris*, 3, 62.
 165 **avibus piis officiat** Dietl misreads the manuscript as 'aeueibus piis officiat' and then makes a wild emendation. Read: 'auribus piis officiat' (*ms G*). Cf. Sall. *Catil.* 58, 2: 'timor animi auribus officit'.
 179 **non est pontificis instituti** Dietl misconstrues the abbreviation. Read: 'non est presentis instituti'.
 185-187 **tam firma (...) ut sit unita et (...) ferruminata. ut** The manuscript reads: 'tam firma (...) ut sic unita et (...) ferruminata. ut'. Correct this to: 'tam firma (...) et sic unita et (...) ferruminata. ut'.
 193 **nostre federis** Read 'nostri fēderis' (*ms*).
 194 **postlimio** Correct this reading (*ms*) to 'postliminio'.
 204 **Sengoriati** Read 'Sengoriaci' (*ms*). This variant of 'Segontiaci' is found in the early printed editions of Caes. *Gall.* 5, 21, 1.
 205 **Aucalites** Read 'Ancalites' (*ms*).
 207 **Ribrogi** Correct this reading (*ms*) to 'Bibrogi'. This variant of 'Bibroci' is found in the early printed editions of Caes. *Gall.* 5, 21, 1.
 208 **Classii** Correct this reading (*ms*) to 'Cassi', as in Caes. *Gall.* 5, 21, 1 (also in the early printed editions).
Camilodinis Correct this reading (*ms*) to 'Camulodunis'.
 210-211 **quodcumque** Read 'quodcunque' (*ms*).
 219 **Pannonia** Restore 'Hannonia' (*ms*), i.e., Henegouwen (Hainaut).
 229 **Ex torrem me** Read 'Extorrem me' (*ms*).
 243 **Novartiam** Correct this reading (*ms*) to 'Novariam'.
Serdonam Correct this reading (*ms*) to 'Cremonam'.

Chorus secundus (p. 527)

Meter: Sapphic stanza.

- 5-7 **Iam satis dirus phlegethon perussit Manium. plenas baratri lacunas Vidimūs umbris** The metrical error in l. 7 appears to be caused by 'umbris'. Since 'umbris' is pointless (hell can never be too full of shades) and redundant ('umbris' lamely repeats 'Manium' in l. 6), we have to assume another scribal error. Emend 'umbris' to 'çesis'. Cf. *Libellus dramaticus*, p. 520, ll. 53-54: 'tot hominum manes (...) a corporibus çesis discedere vidit'; also cf. p. 520, l. 49: 'çesis militibus'. The emendation 'çesis', moreover, leads nicely into the next clause ('rubet et cruore Tartarus ingens').

- 10-11 **inventam Et (...) senectam** Read: 'iuventam Et (...) senectam' (*ms*).

Prothesis actus tertii (p. 527)

- 1 **Actus Regii Dramatis iamiam in proscenium ibit** Emend this strange reading (*ms*) to: 'Actus Tertius Dramatis iamiam in proscenium ibit'. Notice that the sentence goes on to refer to the previous two acts ('ut priores').
- 4 **lepiditate festiuitate vos afficiamus** The copyist seems to have omitted a connecting particle. Emend to: 'lepiditate festiuitateque vos afficiamus'.
milites This is, in fact, the reading in the manuscript (not 'miletēs', as Dietl has it).

Act 3

- 256-257 **quid sibi (...) voluit** Read: 'quid sibi (...) voluit'.
 262-263 **Parcam lapide pater patratus contudit** Correct this reading (*ms*) to: 'Porcam lapide pater patratus contudit'. Cf. Liv. 1, 24, 6-9; Suet. *Claud.* 25, 5; Polydore Vergil, *De inventoribus rerum*, 2, 15, 5, in Polydore Vergil, *On Discovery*, ed. and trans. Brian P. Copenhagen (Cambridge, MA, 2002), p. 292.
- 263 **solemnia** Read 'solennia' (*ms*).
- 265 ***Da schlag – lieber Heine*** The italics are added by the editor to distinguish the German words from the Latin. The same goes for the German inserts at l. 270 and l. 287. The manuscript itself makes no such distinction.
- 267 **ne Ternutium quidem** Correct this reading (*ms*) to: 'ne Teruntium quidem' (i.e., 'ne teruncium quidem').
- 269 **pedicularum** Correct this reading (*ms*) to 'pediculatorum'.
- 270 ***Sammerpotzleychnam*** Read 'Sammerpoczleychnam' (*ms*).
- 270-271 **fodere nequeo mendicare erubesco** Cf. Vulg. *Luc.* 16, 3, where the dishonest steward laments: 'Quid faciam? (...) Fodere non valeo, mendicare erubesco'.
- 272 **Vinum ad equales haustus iniurgitare consuevi** The Swabian is talking about the custom of *Zutrinken*, the obligatory pledging of healths. Cf. *Iudicium Paridis*, p. 486, l. 466: 'Haustibus alternis prelia plena docet'. The form 'iniurgito' is a Neo-Latin variant of 'ingurgito'.
- 277-278 **adversus – calcitrare** Cf. Vulg. *act.* 26, 14: 'durum est tibi contra stimulum calcitrare'.
- 278-279 **patienter ergo feramus – habeamus necesse est** Cf. Hor. *carm.* 1, 24, 19-20: 'levius fit patientia | quidquid corrigere est nefas'.
- 279 **subque deque** Read 'susdeque' (*ms*).
- 282 **naturam et vim ingenii mei non prospicis** Correct this reading (*ms*) to: 'naturam et vim ingenii mei non perspicis'.

- 291 **aleam fortune** Erroneously read as 'aliam fortunam' in *G*.
 297 **Abeat in malam crucem** Plaut. *Most.* 850.
 299 **os in celum** Vulg. *psalm.* 72, 9.
 301 **et quid** I.e., 'ecquid'.
aliquem Dietl misconstrues the abbreviation. Read 'aliquando'.
Ianifrontem bicipitem Correct this reading (*ms*) to: 'Iani frontem bicipitem'.
 304 **Novistine (...)?** **Novisti (...)?** **Novistine (...)?** Correct this reading (*ms*) to: Novistine (...)? Novistine (...)? Novistine (...)?.
 305-306 **plerumque Regie voluntates ut vehementes sunt sic immobiles. sicque sibi adverse** Adapted from Sall. *Iug.* 113, 1, but garbled by the copyist. Emend to: 'plerumque Regiē voluntates ut vehementes sunt sic mobiles. sepe ipse sibi adverse'.
 306 **Itaque nec lubens absque querimonia in hibernacula concede** Dietl misreads the manuscript: 'Itaque non lubens absque querimonia in hibernacula concede'. Since the phrases 'non lubens' and 'absque querimonia' are not easily reconciled, we may assume that the copyist lost his concentration again and omitted a word. We thus conjecture: 'Itaque si non lubens[:] absque querimonia in hibernacula concede'. Cf. *Historia de Rege Frantie*, p. 388, dedicatory letter, l. 43: 'itaque si non grandiloquum (...) cothurnum'.
 307 **Bacchus dator leticie** Verg. *Aen.* 1, 734.
 308-309 **primam hirundinem** Hor. *epist.* 1, 7, 13.

Chorus tertius (pp. 529-530)

Heading **Elgiacus** Read 'Elegiacus' (*ms*, *Kipf*).

Meter: Elegiac distich.

- 1 **Christe salus rerum** = Ven. Fort. *Carm.* 3, 9, 47, in the famous Easter hymn.
 3-5 **Sint (...) sic (...) Sic quoque** Correct this reading (*ms*) to: 'Sic (...) sic (...) Sic quoque'.
 3 **mundi procures** Read 'iuncti procures' (*ms*).
 6 **Barraricumque mare** Emend this reading (*ms*) to 'Barbaricumque mare'. Cf. Hor. *carm.* 2, 19, 17: 'mare barbarum'; Locher, *Spectaculum de regibus*, p. 456, l. 175: 'barbaricumque fretum'.
 9 **Thartari sub vertice** Read: 'Thauri sub vertice' (*ms*). After mistakenly writing 'Thari', the copyist then added 'u' over the 'a'. Cf. *Libellus dramaticus*, p. 519, l. 15, with a similar correction.
 13 **Nil desperandum** = Hor. *carm.* 1, 7, 27.
 14a **Τελος** Read Τέλος.
 14d **Novus sed non musteus** Dietl misunderstands the phrase to mean: 'Neu und doch nicht unerhört' (p. 319). The underlying image is taken from wine. Locher's drama is 'new, but not unmel-lowed'.

ut Φίλαντον. loquuntur The manuscript reads 'ut Φίλαντου loquuntur'. Correct this to: 'ut Φίλαντοι loquuntur' (*Heidloff, Kipf*). Cf. Erasmus, *Adagia*, 1, 3, 92.

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AC ODER ATQUE?

Wer gewohnt ist, bei der Lektüre neulateinischer Verse neben allem anderen auch noch auf den Versbau zu achten, wird sich zunächst wundern über einen Hexameter wie:

Non secus ac alter Titan, qui nubila Martis

Dissipet (...)

(Nicolò Partenio Giannettasio, *Xaverius Viator* (Neapel 1721), p. 113)

Im antiken Latein, jedenfalls in unseren neueren Ausgaben, gibt es kein *ac* vor vokalisch anlautendem Wort; und selbst wenn (die wenigen und meistens textkritisch zweifelhaften Ausnahmen verzeichnet ThLL, s.v. *atque*): Sollte *ac* vor Vokal etwa eine lange Silbe darstellen können? Es drängt sich also geradezu auf, für *ac* in dem zitierten Vers *atque* zu konjizieren, dann scheint wieder alles im Lot, es steht kein *ac* vor Vokal, und die Prosodie ist eindeutig, wir haben das gebotene longum gewonnen.

Aber dann erinnert man sich vielleicht, daß man in demselben Franz-Xaver-Epos p. 66 schon gelesen hat:

Non secus ac umbrae, fugientes Gloria nisu

Sectatur celeri

und daß überhaupt diese Erscheinung ziemlich häufig begegnet. Ich gebe eine kurze, in keiner Weise vollständige Sammlung, die ich vor Jahren begonnen und dann abgebrochen habe, weil sich das Phänomen als allgegenwärtig erwies:

Se dedit ac udam siccis, et tecta domorum¹

Queritat ille: meam ducis ac evadere dextram²

Et mihi periuros ac integritate carentes³

¹ Pierre de Blarru, *Nanceis*, Buch 3, Bd 1, S. 184 der Ausgabe Nancy 1840, vollendet um 1502, erster Druck 1518.

² *ebda*, Buch 5, Bd 2, S. 78.

³ *ebda*, Buch 5, Bd 2, S. 124.

Claudit hyems omni succincto: ac arma sequenti⁴
 Ac ait: Hoc morbo trepidantem solvere mundum⁵
 Mixta vomens misero ac eructans allia Baccho⁶
 Ac ita fit tandem, ut quod vel sudoribus illi⁷
 si sic res ferat, ac ut iam lucrentur et ipsos⁸
 Ac ubi Sol labens defessos pondere currus⁹
 Ac, ubi Borbonium feriunt denso agmine Galli¹⁰
 Ac odiis finem tandem belloque daturus¹¹
 Quasque velit iuste ac aequae sibi reddier oras¹²
 Ut nos ac una voce Deum celebret¹³
 Nec timidae cervae, sed dente ac ungue leoni¹⁴
 Forti impulsus equo, peditesque ac arma revisit¹⁵
 Detulit, ac in eas pelago migrare relicto¹⁶
 Non secus ac arvo in medio cum forte viator¹⁷
 Quem galea & clypeo torquique ac exuit ense¹⁸

Fürs erste dürfte das genügen; jeder aufmerksame Leser wird weitere Fälle finden (in diesen zwanzig Fällen erscheint *ac* fünfzehnmal im longum und fünfmal im biceps.). Zu bemerken ist aber noch, daß das Phänomen bereits in mittellateinischer Dichtung begegnet, zum Beispiel: Roswitha v. Gandersheim, *Gesta Ottonis* 1492: *Ac illum*, Hexameteranfang; *Comoediae elegiacae*: Vitalis von Blois, *Aulularia* 61 *simul ac adolesceret aetas* (Versende); *de nuncio sagaci* 93 *Nobilis ac humilis* (Versanfang); *Rapularius* 424 *Ac in nodoso* (Versanfang).¹⁹

⁴ *ebda*, Buch 6, Bd. 2, S. 190.

⁵ Humbertus Monsmoretanus, *Bella Britannica* (Paris, 1512), fol. 44 r.

⁶ Nicolaus Borbonius, *Ferraria*, 298, verfaßt 1517, gedruckt in seinen *Nugae* (Paris, 1533).

⁷ *ebda*, 304.

⁸ Eobanus Hessus, *Sylvarum libri VI* (Hagenau, 1535), p. 79, vgl. Walther Ludwig, *Miscella Neolatina. Ausgewählte Aufsätze 1989-2003*, ed. Astrid Steiner-Weber, *Noctes Neolatinae*, 2, 3 vols (Hildesheim, etc.: Olms, 2004-2005), I (2004), 244.

⁹ Stephanus Doletus, *Francisci Gallorum Regis Fata* (Lyon, 1539), p. 13.

¹⁰ *ebda*, p. 35.

¹¹ *ebda*, p. 70.

¹² *ebda*, p. 71.

¹³ Philipp Melanchthon, *Epigramm*, verfaßt 1540, vgl. Thorsten Fuchs, *Philipp Melanchthon als neulateinischer Dichter in der Zeit der Reformation* (Tübingen, 2008), p. 195.

¹⁴ Thomas Campion, *De pulvere coniuratione*, 1, 308, verfaßt um 1613/1620.

¹⁵ Abraham Remmius, *Borbonias* (Paris, 1623), Teil 1, p. 53.

¹⁶ [Père Joseph], *Turcias* (Paris, 1625), p. 11.

¹⁷ Paulus Thomas, *Rupellais* (Paris, 1630), p. 68.

¹⁸ Ioannes Henricus Auberius, *Leucata Triumphans* (Toulouse, 1638), wieder abgedruckt im *Parnassus Poeticus Societatis Jesu* (Frankfurt, 1654), dort Pars II c. 410 b.

¹⁹ Weitere Belege in Prinz, *Mittelateinisches Wörterbuch*, sowie in größerer Zahl in P. Chr. Jacobsen – P. Orth, *Materialien zu einem Lexikon der irregulären lateinischen Prosodie* (Erlangen, 2002), nur virtuell greifbar unter: <http://www.mgh.de/~Poetae/Prosodie.htm>.

Man dürfte, angesichts der großen Zahl der Belege, zögern, an sämtlichen einschlägigen Stellen die Überlieferung anzuzweifeln und jeweils *ac* zu *atque* zu ändern. Explizite Bemerkungen in mehreren zeitgenössischen Hilfsbüchern zum Verfertigen lateinischer Verse erheben die Vermutung, daß *ac* in neulateinischer Dichtung ohne Bedenken vor vokalischem Anlaut gesetzt und als lange Silbe verstanden wird, zur Gewißheit.

Paul Aler, *Gradus ad Parnassum*, von 1680 an überaus zahlreiche Drucke, von mir benutzt in der Ausgabe Leipzig 1749, verzeichnet in seinem alphabetisch geordneten Lexikon: 'äc, und. Ac ubi non longum spatium est, unde illa profecta. Luc.' *Ac* ist also ohne Wenn und Aber als Länge bezeichnet, und als Beleg wird ein Lukrez-Vers beigefügt. Gemeint ist damit Lucr., 4, 553, der in heutigen Ausgaben allerdings etwas anders lautet: 'hoc ubi non longum spatiumst unde una profecta', und das sicher zu Recht. Genau wie bei Aler lautet der Vers aber z.B. in der Lukrez-Ausgabe von Michael Fayus (du Fay), Paris 1680 (dort 4, 557). Aler dürfte recht glücklich gewesen sein, diesen Vers als Beleg für seine prosodische Angabe gefunden zu haben, denn für das antike Latein sollte es nach heutigem Wissen eigentlich kein *ac* vor Vokal geben.

Ähnlich verfährt Henricus Smetius, *Prosodia* (Frankfurt, 1599) (zahlreiche Nachdrucke), p. 4: 'Ac (hier ohne übergeschriebene Quantitätsangabe) Mart. Daphnonas platanos ac aërias cyparissos'. Auch dieser Vers, Mart., 12, 50, 1, hat sich seitdem nicht wenig verändert und erst dadurch einen einleuchtenden Sinn erhalten, so bei Lindsay: 'Daphnonas, platanonas et aërios pityonas'.

Die Belege mögen also in beiden Fällen untauglich sein: Entscheidend ist die eindeutige Überzeugung, daß *ac* vor Vokal stehen darf und eine lange Silbe darstellt. Diese Überzeugung vertritt auch Iohannes Lucienbergius, *Thesaurus poeticus in quinque classes divisus* ..., ([Francofordiae Moeni, 1575], erstmals Paris 1544), der fol. AAA 2 (R.) *Äc* verzeichnet, danach aber nur zwei Belege für *simulac* gibt, Verg., *Aen.*, 4, 90 und 12, 222, wo indes jeweils auf *simulac* ein konsonantisch anlautendes Wort folgt: Dadurch kann er seine Behauptung also nicht wirklich beweisen.

Schließlich sei noch angeführt Iacobus Micyllus, *De re metrica libri III* (Frankfurt a. M., 1539), Buch 3 fol. 561 (V.): 'In C desinentia producentur, ut Sic, Hic, adverbium, Ac, coniunctio, Dic, Duc & c.'. Es folgt je ein Beispiel für *Sic* und *Hic*, dann: 'Reliqua nota sunt.' (Es verdient, hierzu hervorgehoben zu werden, daß Micyllus die ausdrücklich anerkannte Autorität für Melanchthon darstellt, denn dieser

verweist anerkennend in seinem Tractat *de prosodia* innerhalb seiner *Grammatica* (Wittenberg, 1579), p. 483 auf die Metrik des Micyllus in drei Büchern, und gerade auch Melanchthon liefert einen der hier zu verhandelnden Fälle von *ac*, s. o.). Offensichtlich hatten Lucienbergius wie Micyllus Schwierigkeiten, Belege für langes *ac* aufzutreiben, was nur zu verständlich ist. An der Tatsache der Langmessung von *ac* wollten sie aber nicht rütteln.

Soweit sind die Dinge also klar. Es bleibt die Frage, wie es zu dieser Auffassung kommen konnte. Wenn ich recht sehe, gibt es bei den antiken Grammatikern nur eine einzige Stelle, an der explizit etwas über die Quantität von *ac* gesagt wird, nämlich Ps.-Probus, IV, 251 (K), der nun allerdings *et*, *-que* und *ac* als kurz bezeichnet, indes nur für *et* und *-que* auch Belege gibt, nicht aber für *ac*. Diese Stelle kann aber unmöglich auf Mittelalter und Neuzeit gewirkt haben, da *ac* dort gerade nicht als Kürze behandelt wird.

Zwar legt es die moderne Sprachwissenschaft nahe, sehr wohl *ac* als bereits antike Länge anzusehen, in Analogie zu *hoc* (auch als Nom. und Acc. Neutrum bekanntlich stets lang gemessen) aus *hodce*, *hocce*, entsprechend *ac* aus *adque*, *atque* (ich danke meinem Kollegen Heinrich Hettrich aufs herzlichste für liebenswürdige und umfassende Beratung in dieser Frage). Diese Erkenntnis dürfte aber dem Mittelalter wie auch der frühen Neuzeit kaum zugänglich gewesen sein.

Es bleibt daher fürs erste dunkel, wie die Langmessung von *ac* in neulateinischer (und mittellateinischer) Dichtung zu erklären ist. Die Langmessung als solche ist aber nicht zu bestreiten. Wir sollten uns also hüten, vorschnell ein *ac* vor Vokal in *atque* zu ändern. Die neulateinischen Dichter haben tatsächlich *ac* geschrieben und hatten dabei keinerlei Unrechtsbewußtsein.

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Gilbert TOURNOY

AN EPIC ON THE AMAZONS BY
IOHANNES HARMONIUS MARSUS?

Twenty years ago a fine booklet was published by Chris L. Heesakkers and Wilma M.S. Reinders: *Genoeglijk bovenal zijn mij de Muzen. De Leidse Neolatijnse dichter Janus Dousa (1545-1604)* (Leiden, 1993). Trying to find some information concerning a friend of Dousa's who might also have been in touch with Justus Lipsius, the name of Johannes Harmonius Marsus in the *Index nominum* attracted my attention. This Italian humanist, who around the turn of the fifteenth/sixteenth century had composed a tragedy *De rebus Italicis deque triumpho Ludovici XII Regis Francorum*, along with a comedy entitled *Stephanium*, had indeed aroused my interest since the early 1970s.¹

And now he appeared in a poem directed by Janus Dousa to Daniel Heinsius, where he was said to have composed an epic on the Amazons. I quote the Latin text and the Dutch translation:

Quae tantum iis, quantum Sallustii pagina ficto
Lucii Asino, aut Marsi praestat Amazonidi.

De laatste verheffen zich even ver boven de eerste als het werk van Sallustius boven de aan de fantasie van Lucius ontsproten Ezel, of boven het Amazonenepos van Marsus.

(In English:) The latter (viz. the historical facts) are as much superior to the former (viz. the figments of one's imagination) as Sallust's work surpasses Lucius' Golden Ass or the epic on the Amazons by Marsus.

In the index the authors thus identify the "Marsus" with Johannes Harmonius Marsus. Nothing is known, however, of an epic on the Amazons written by Harmonius Marsus and hence this attribution is not very probable.

¹ Walther Ludwig had published this comedy in 1971. After having discovered the tragedy in a unique Paris manuscript and transcribed it, I eventually published it in 1978 as the first volume of our newly established series *Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia*.

The clue for the correct understanding of this verse is supplied by Martial, who in one of his epigrams mentions a Marsus as the author of a poem entitled *Amazon* (epigr. 4, 29, 7-8):

Saepius in libro numeratur Persius uno
Quam levis in tota Marsus Amazonide.

Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae
KU Leuven

INSTRUMENTUM BIBLIOGRAPHICUM NEOLATINUM

apparaverunt

Dirk Sacré, Gilbert Tournoy, Kris Delcroix

iuvantibus Antonio Dávila Pérez, Jeanine De Landtsheer, Jan Papy et Toon
Van Hal

Appellatio ad auctores

Auctores librorum et commentationum de rebus neolatinis enixe rogamus ut nuntium de novis opusculis nobis mittant (in Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae, Blijde-Inkomststraat 21 (Box 3311), B-3000 Leuven, Belgium), quo citius in hoc instrumentum possint referri.

Haec bibliographia absoluta est Kalendis Octobribus anni 2012.

SIGLA:

<i>AHSI</i>	<i>Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu</i> (Roma)
<i>ARG</i>	<i>Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte</i> (Gütersloh)
<i>BHR</i>	<i>Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance</i> (Genève)
<i>Camenae</i>	<i>Camenae</i> (Université de Paris – Sorbonne – Paris IV), quae inveniuntur in interrete: http://www.paris-sorbonne.fr/la-recherche/les-unites-de-recherche/mondes-anciens-et-medievales-ed1/rome-et-ses-rennaisances-art-3625/revue-en-ligne-camenae/
<i>CamHung</i>	<i>Camoenae Hungaricae</i> (Budapest)
<i>CH</i>	<i>Les Cahiers de l'Humanisme</i> (Paris)
<i>CR</i>	<i>Calamus renascens. Revista de humanismo y tradición clásica</i> (Alcañiz – Teruel – Cádiz)
<i>DGP</i>	<i>De Gulden Passer. Tijdschrift voor boekwetenschap</i> (Antwerpen)
<i>ERSY</i>	<i>Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook</i> (Middleton, WI)
<i>GSLI</i>	<i>Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana</i> (Torino)
<i>HL</i>	<i>Humanistica Lovaniensia</i> (Leuven)
<i>IJCT</i>	<i>International Journal of the Classical Tradition</i> (Boston)
<i>IMU</i>	<i>Italia Medioevale e Umanistica</i> (Milano)
<i>JMRS</i>	<i>The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies</i> (Durham, N.C.)
<i>JWCI</i>	<i>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</i> (London)
<i>NJ</i>	<i>Neulateinisches Jahrbuch</i> (Hildesheim – Zürich – New York)
<i>RELat</i>	<i>Revista de Estudios Latinos</i> (Madrid)

RHR	<i>Réforme, Humanisme, Renaissance</i> (Lyon)
RIN	<i>Rinascimento</i> (Firenze)
RnR	<i>Roma nel Rinascimento</i> (Roma)
RPH	<i>Revista Portuguesa de Humanidades</i> (Braga)
RPL	<i>Res Publica Litterarum</i> (Roma)
RQ	<i>Renaissance Quarterly</i> (New York)
RS	<i>Renaissance Studies. Journal of the Society for Renaissance Studies</i> (Oxford)
SCJ	<i>The Sixteenth Century Journal</i> (Missouri, CO)
SPV	<i>Studia Philologica Valentina</i> (València)
SUP	<i>Studi Umanistici Piceni</i> (Sassoferrato)
TAPhA	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i> (Atlanta, GE)
Vates	<i>Vates. The Journal of New Latin Poetry</i> , qui invenitur in interrete: http://pineapplepubs.snazzystuff.co.uk/vates.htm
WBN	<i>Wolfenbütteler Barock-Nachrichten</i> (Wiesbaden)
WRM	<i>Wolfenbütteler Renaissance Mitteilungen</i> (Wiesbaden)

ABBREVIATIONES:

ACNU	Steiner-Weber Astrid – Alejandro Coroleu – Domenico Defilippis – Roger Green – Fidel Rädle – Valery Rees – Dirk Sacré – Marjorie Woods – Christine Wulf (eds.), <i>Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Upsaliensis. Proceedings of the Fourteenth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies</i> (Uppsala 2009), 2 vols (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2012).
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Thesaurus Linguae Latinae (...), IX, 1, 1: *n - navalis*; XI, 2, 1: *r - rarus* (Berlin - Boston: De Gruyter, 2011-2012)

2. INDEX VERBORUM RECENTIORUM

Sequuntur verba quae neque in *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (ThLL) neque in *Lexico Totius Latinitatis Forcelliniano* (Forc.) reperiuntur. Ea autem quae in lexicis et glossariis mediae et inferioris Latinitatis leguntur stellulis (*) notavimus; cruciculis (+) quae in lexico neolatino Renati Hoven (Hoven), orbiculis (°) quae in indice verborum neolatorum Iohannis Ramminger (Ramm.) interretiali offenduntur. Uncinulos (!) eis praemisimus verbis, quae quidem reperiuntur apud veteres, at intellectu insigniuntur diverso. Nomina locorum virorumve et mulierum quaeque ex eis sunt derivata, aliaque id genus vocabula non nisi raro afferuntur.

*Accipitrarius, -a, -um: *concerning falconry*: 379

*Admodo, *adv.*: *now, from now on*: 34, 42

[Adscriptio, -onis: *postal address*: 473

*+Apophtegma, -atis (*habet* Forc., *deest* in ThLL) = dictum: 424-425, 427-428, 434-435, 439-440

Arabo-Hispanus, -a, -um: *Arabo-Hispanic*: 384

Arabo-Hispanius, -a, -um: *Arabo-Hispanic*: 384

*Archidapifer, -feri: *chief steward*: 486

*+°Archidux, -ducis: *archduke*: 552

*Aspernare = aspernari: 176

*+°Aurantium, -ii: *orange*: 477

*+Baccalaureus, -ei: *Bachelor*: 485

*+°Baptismalis, -is, -e: *baptismal*: 458

*Biblicus, -a, -um: *biblical*: 424-425

[*+Bulla, -ae: *bull*: 315

*Campanile, -is: *bell tower*: 474

*+°Cardinalatus, -us: *cardinalate*: 241

*Chronologicus, -a, -um: *chronological*: 54

[*Collatio, -onis: *sermon, sacred work*: 36

Comeatus, -us (*correpta prima syllaba*) = commeatus: 547

[*+°Comitatus, -us: *earldom*: 299

+Comico-tragoedia, -ae: *tragicomedy*: 507

Confabulatio Romanensis: *novel*: 472, 481

*+°Confrater, -fratris (*habet Forc., desideratur in ThLL*): *confrère*: 36

*+Conrector, -oris: *vice-principal*: 440

*+Conventualis, -is, -e / -is: *conventual*: 241

*Cultivare = colere: 479

*Dactylothea, -ae = dactyliothea: 499

*Diaculus, -a, -um = dicaculus: 557

*+°Dictionarium, -ii: *dictionary*: 384

+Didacticus, -a, -um: *didactic*: 430

*Diffinitor, -oris: *definitor*: 55

*+°Disceptatiuncula, -ae: *small dissertation or discussion*: 372-373

*+°Diurnale, -is (*sensu leviter diverso apud Hoven*): *journal*: 474

[*+°Elector, -oris: *Elector*: 486

*+°Electoralis, -is, -e: *concerning an Elector*: 488, 492

Elegantiolae, -arum: *small manual for writers of elegant Latin*: 65-240

*Epistolari: *write a letter*: 65

*+Epithalamicus, -a, -um: *concerning a wedding*: 487

Erotodidascalus, -i: *teacher of love*: 494

*Faustus, -us: *jubilation*: 37

Flamineus, -ei = Flander: 548

*+Florilegium, -ii: *anthology*: 391-393, 399, 411, 428

[*+°Galea, -eae (*habet hoc sensu Forc., deest in ThLL*): *galley*: 32

Gessa, -ae (*correpta prima syllaba*) = gesa (*kind of javelin*): 549

*+Hebraismus, -i: *Hebraism*: 313

*Iniurgitare, -o = ingurgitare: 564

Interrete, -is: *internet*: 241

Interretialis, -is, -e: *referring to internet*: 242

Isagogius, -a, -um = isagogicus: 76

Ladinus, -i: *Rhaeto-Roman*: 473-474

Ladinus, -a, -um: *Rhaeto-Romance*: 474

[*^oLatinare, -o: *use Latin, write Latin*: 480

*+Lectura, -ae: *lecture*: 56

Liber baro: *baron*: 325, 486

Libera baronissa: *baroness*: 486

*Licentiare, -o: *award the licentiate's degree*: 56

[*Magistrare, -o: *award the master's degree*: 56

*+Nuncupatorius, -a, -um: *dedicatory*: 364

Nutheticos, -a, -on = admonitorius: 544

*Oneirocriticus, -a, -um: *concerning the interpretation of dreams*: 379

*+Paedagogicus, -a, -um: *pedagogic*: 124

*+^oPapismus, -i: *papistry*: 307

*+^oPapisticus, -a, -um: *papistic*: 301, 307

Paraphrasticôs, *adv.*: *through paraphrasis*: 304

*^oPerantea = antea: 37, 43

Perapprehendere, -ndo = apprehendere: 34

*+^oPerbellus, -a, -um (*habet Forc., inter spuria exhibet ThLL*) = perpulcher: 128

^oPerconcinne, *adv.*: *very elegantly*: 198

^oPerdiffusus, -a, -um: *widespread*: 222

*Permagis, *adv.* = magis, valde: 29

Perpraedicare, -o: *praise abundantly*: 31

^oPerusitate, *adv.*: *very commonly*: 216

*+Pervenuste, *adv.*: *very beautifully*: 110, 158, 184, 188

Photographicus, -a, -um: *photographic*: 241

*Plenipotentarius, -ii: *authorized agent*: 500

*Polyanthea, -ae: *anthology*: 391, 394-401, 403-404, 409-410, 412-413, 428

*Praecitatus, -a, -um: *previously cited*: 311

Praeclassicus, -a, -um: *preclassical*: 472

[*+Praedicator, -oris: *Dominican*: 35, 37-38, 49, 52, 54

Prosimetricus, -a, -um: *prosimetric*: 495

Prophoneticus, -a, -um: *dedicatory (diversa est vis verbi apud Cangium)*: 364

[*+^oProtestans, -tantis: *protestant*: 307

*Proximus, *adv.*: *more closely*: 76

+*^oRecudere (*inter voces dubias habet Forc., vi diversa*): *reprint*: 490, 491, 500

[*+^oReputatio, -onis = fama (*significatu diverso apud Forc.*): 128

*+°Residentia, -ae: *residence*: 37

+°Reuchlinista, -ae: *follower of Reuchlin*: 540

*+°Schaci, -orum: *chess*: 285

*Sermocionari, -onor = sermocinari: 530

Sermonarius, -ii : *preacher*: 302

*Suldanus, -i: *sultan*: 541

*+Superattendens, -entis: *superintendent*: 299

Superundanter, *adv.* = *superabundanter*: 47

°Theographice, -es: *description of God, of the gods*: 262

*+°Tractatulus, -i: *small treatise*: 65, 73

Triremis, -mis (*generis masculini!*) = *triremis*, -mis, *fem.*: 45

+°Typographeum, -ei: *printing office*: 449, 458, 487

+*°Typographia, -ae: *printing office*: 7, 359-360

+*°Typographicus, -a, -um: *typographical*: 500

+*°Typographus, -: *printer*: 311, 377, 492

[+*°Typus, -i: *printing character*: 280, 301, 308, 361, 377, 457, 487-488, 494-495, 498, 505

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* For convenience's sake J.C. Warner added an *index fontium* to the text he edited (p. 236). Hence these names are not included in this general *index nominum*.

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NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

Humanistica Lovaniensia follows the *MHRA Style Book. Notes for Authors, Editors and Writers of Theses*, ed. by A. S. Maney - R. L. Smallwood, 5th edn (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 1996), with a few exceptions as noted below. Accepted manuscripts that do not follow these rules can be delayed in publication.

1. bibliographical references

1.1. first reference

1.1.1. references to books

The information should be given in the following order:

- author: forename in full, if not possible his initial(s); family name as it appears on the title page

- * Sometimes it might be better to include the author's name within the title (e.g. *text editions*).

- * The names up to three authors should be given in full; for works by more than three authors the name of only the first should be given, followed by 'et al.' (= et alii) (see example 4).

- comma

- title: title of the work (including the subtitle) as it appears on the title page, in italics

- * Title and subtitle should always be separated by a colon. For books in English, capitalize the first word after the colon and of all principal words throughout the title. For titles in other languages, follow the capitalization rules for the language in question.

- * Titles of other works occurring within the title should be enclosed in single quotation marks.

- comma

- editor, translator etc.: the names of editors etc. should be treated in the same way as those of authors (as to forename, number); they should be preceded by the accepted abbreviations 'ed. (by)', 'trans. (by)', 'rev. (by)', ...

- comma

- series, edition, number of volumes:

- * If a book is part of a numbered series, the series title and the number (in Arabic numerals) should be given. Series titles should not be italicized (see example 2).

- * If the edition used is other than the first, this should be stated by '2nd edn', '3rd rev. edn' (see example 5).

- * If the work is in more than one volume, the number of volumes should be given in the form '2 vols', a comma separating title and number of volumes (see example 3).

- details of publication: place of publication, publisher's name and date of publication are enclosed in parentheses; a colon separates the place from the publisher's name; a comma separates the latter from the date

* If place or date are not given but can be ascertained, they should be enclosed in brackets. If one of them remains uncertain, one should use '[s.l.]' (= no place), '[s.a.]' (= no date) or '[s.l.a.]' when both are lacking.

* In giving the place of publication, either the current form of place names in the language the article is written in, or its official form in its own country should be used.

* The name of the publisher should be given without secondary matter such as ' & Co.', 'Ltd', 'S.A.', etc. Forenames or initials should be omitted. Where a publisher's name includes 'and' or '&', the conjunction should be given in the form which appears on the title page.

* A reference to a work in several volumes published over a period of years should state the number of volumes and give inclusive dates of publication, with the date of the volume specifically referred to in parentheses after the volume number, when it is not the first or last in the series. If a work in several volumes is still in the process of publication, the date of the first volume should be stated, followed by a dash; the date of the individual number being cited should be added in parentheses after the volume number (see example 5).

- If the reference is to a book as a whole, a point will conclude it. If further information about volume and/or pages is requested, a comma is added, followed by the number of the volume (in small capital roman numerals and where necessary the year of publication in parentheses), a new comma, concluded by the exact page or pages.

* When the volume number is given, 'p./pp.' should be omitted, unless the page number(s) is (are) also in roman numerals (see example 5). If there is no volume number, the numerals are preceded by 'p./pp.', 'col./cols', 'fol./fols'.

* The first and the last number of the span should always be stated (instead of 'sqq.' or 'ff.')!

Examples:

(1) Mark Morford, *Stoics and Neostoics: Rubens and the Circle of Lipsius* (Princeton New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991).

(2) G. Oestreich - N. Mout, *Antiker Geist und moderner Staat bei Justus Lipsius (1547-1606): der Neustoizismus als politische Bewegung*, Schriftenreihe der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 38 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1989).

(3) Leon Voet, *The Plantin Press, 1559-1589: A Bibliography of the Works printed and published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden*, 6 vols (Amsterdam: Van Hoeve, 1980-1983).

(4) *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, eds. G. Pignatelli et al. (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960-).

(5) *Indice Biografico Italiano*, 3a edizione corretta ed ampliata, ed. T. Nappo, 10 vols (München: Saur, 1999-2002), III (2000), 944.

1.1.2. references to articles in journals

The information should be given in the following order:

- author (cf. supra)
- comma
- title of the article, in single quotation marks; title and subtitle are separated by a colon
 - * The title of works of literature occurring within the title of an article should be italicized or placed within quotation marks.
- comma
- title of journal, in italics
 - * Only the main title should be given; an initial 'The' or 'A' and any subtitle should be omitted.
 - * In case of several references to the same journal, an abbreviated title should be indicated after the first full reference or in a preliminary list of abbreviations.
- comma
- volume number, always in arabic numerals
- year of publication, in parentheses
- comma
- first and last page numbers of article cited, without 'p./pp.'
- page number(s), in parentheses and preceded by 'p./pp.' in case of a particular reference

Examples:

- Godelieve Tournoy-Thoen, 'Le manuscrit de la *Biblioteca de Catalunya* et l'humanisme italien à la cour de France vers 1500', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 24 (1975), 70-101; 26 (1977), 1-81; 27 (1978), 52-85.
- Michel Oosterbosch - Gilbert Tournoy, 'Two Unknown Autograph Letters by Justus Lipsius (1547-1606)', *Lias*, 23 (1996), 321-326 (pp. 325-326).
- Perrine Hallyn-Galand, 'La "Praelectio in Suetonium" de Nicholas Béraud (1515)', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 46 (1997), 62-93 (p. 87).

1.1.3. references to articles in books

The information should be given in the following order:

- author (cf. supra)
- comma
- title of the article, in single quotation marks (cf. 1.1.2.)
- comma
- the word 'in' (without colon) followed by title, editor's name, and publication details of the book, as in 1.1.1.
- comma
- first and last page numbers of article cited, preceded by 'p./pp.'
- page number(s), in parentheses and preceded by 'p./pp.' in case of a particular reference

Example:

- Jozef IJsewijn, 'The Coming of Humanism to the Low Countries', in *Itinerarium Italicum: The Profile of the Italian Renaissance in the Mirror of its European Transformations. Dedicated to P.O. Kristeller...*, eds. H. A. Oberman - Th. A. Brady, Jr. (Leiden: Brill, 1975), pp. 193-305 (p. 260).

1.1.4. references to theses and dissertations

The titles of unpublished theses and dissertations should be in roman type within single quotation marks, capitalization following the conventions of the language in question. The degree level, university and date should be in parentheses.

Example:

- Robert Ingram, 'Historical Drama in Great Britain from 1935 to the Present' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 1992), pp. 17-23.

1.1.5. references to manuscripts

Names of repositories and collections should be given in full when first occurring; an abbreviated form should be used for subsequent references.

Example:

First reference: Leiden, University Library, ms. Lips. 4.

Later reference: Leiden, UL, ms. Lips. 4.

1.1.6. references to classical authors

In references to classical authors and their works the system of abbreviations adopted in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* ... *Index librorum scriptorum inscriptionum ex quibus exempla afferuntur*, 2 edn (Leipzig: Teubner, 1990) should be followed, but with the (abbreviation of the) author's name in normal print, the (abbreviation of the) title in italics and comma's between all parts of the reference.

Example:

Stat., *Silv.*, 3, 1, 182.

1.2. later references

In all further references, the shortest, intelligible form should be used. This will normally be the author's name (without initials) followed by (the volume and) the page reference. When more than one work of the same author is referred to, the title should be repeated in a shortened form. Phrases as 'loc. cit.' and 'op. cit.' should not be used.

Examples:

- IJsewijn, 'The Coming of Humanism', p. 195.

- Voet, *The Plantin Press*, II, 234-139.

2. lay-out

2.1. quotations

- *Short quotations* (not more than about forty words of prose or two complete lines of verse) should be enclosed in single quotation marks and run on with the main text. If, however, there are several such short quotations coming close together and being compared or otherwise set out as examples, it may be appropriate to treat them in the same way as longer quotations.

* If two incomplete lines of verse are quoted, the line division should be marked with a spaced upright stroke l.

* A quotation within a quotation is enclosed within double quotation marks.

* If a short quotation is used within a sentence, the final full point should be outside the closing quotation mark; the initial capital may be altered to lower case.

* When a short quotation is followed by a reference in parentheses, the final punctuation should follow the closing parenthesis.

* The final point should precede the closing quotation mark only when the quotation forms a complete sentence and is separated from the preceding passage by a punctuation mark.

Examples:

- Clusius was generous with his advice and with gifts of plants, including the still rare and valuable tulips, a 'thesaurum hortense' ('garden treasure'), as Lipsius called one gift in 1585.

- According to Peter Smith 'the seven newly discovered poems by Catullus are absolutely fabulous'.

- Michel Oosterbosch and Gilbert Tournoy inform us 'that in the *index* to that same *Inventaire* (p. 526) the questionable initial was resolved into "Nicolaus" '.

- Soames added: 'Well, I hope you both enjoy yourselves.'

- *Long quotations* (more than about forty words of prose or two complete lines of verse) should be broken off by an increased space from the preceding and following lines of type script. No quotation marks are needed. The quotation should also be distinguished from the main text by using a smaller size and indenting.

* Omissions within prose quotations should be marked by [...] (an ellipsis); omitted lines of verse should be marked by an ellipsis at the end of the line before the omission. An ellipsis at the beginning or the end of a quotation is not necessary.

* A reference in parentheses after a long quotation should always be placed outside the closing full point and without a full point of its own.

Example:

- Harvey does, however, provide several references to the Court of Arches as the locale. For example, he writes:

If we were wearye with walking, and loth to go too farre to seeke sport, into the Arches we might step, and heare him plead; which would bee a merrier Comedie than ever was old Mother *Bomby*. As, for an instance: suppose hee were to sollicite some cause against Martinists, were it not a jest to see him stroke his beard thrice, and begin thus? [...] O, we should have the Proctors and Registers as busie with their Tablebooks as might bee, to gather phrases, and all the boyes in Towne would be his clients tio follow him. (*Gabriel Harvey: His Life, Marginalia and Library*, ed. by Virginia F. Stern (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), p. 81)

2.2. footnotes

- Footnotes should be limited to what is strictly necessary, e. g. for documentation and for the citation of sources relevant to the text.
- The number of footnotes can also be kept down by incorporating simple references (such as line numbers or page references to a book already cited in full) in the text, for instance in parentheses after quotations. Adjacent references to several lines of the same text or to several pages of the same publication can be grouped together in the same footnote.
- Neither should footnotes repeat information already clear from the text: if for instance a bibliography is added to a book or an article, the length of the footnotes can be reduced.
- Wherever possible a footnote reference should be placed at the end of a sentence so as not to interrupt the flow of the text. In this case the footnote reference number follows the punctuation mark.
- All footnotes should end with a full point, whether or not they form complete sentences.

2.3. general requirements

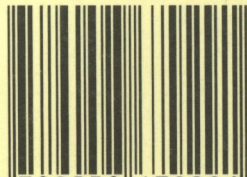
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- Titles for chapters or paragraphs in the text should be put in bold and should be numbered in Arabic.
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